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HISTORICAL
TRADITIONS AND FACTS

RELATING TO

NEWPORT AND CAERLEON,

BY

A MEMBER OF THE CAERLEON AND MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

PART I.

PRE-HISTORIC AND ROMAN PERIODS.

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HISTORICAL

TRADITIONS AND FACTS

RELATING TO

NEWPORT & CAERLEON.

PRELIMINARY.

Few literary tasks involve greater difficulties than those with which the topographer meet in the attempt to trace the history of a town up to its origin. As a rule towns are not so modern that their formation may be found recorded in the newspapers of the present century, or particulars of the same culled from the recollections of the oldest inhabitant. The task requires in most cases much research, a careful reading of the old Chroniclers, and a close examination of ancient records. The farther the recesses of antiquity are penetrated the more perplexing does the work become and the more labyrinthine does the path appear. The progress of civilisation has effected many changes in the march of century after century; new places spring up and get confused with the old, names of persons and places in process of time are corrupted and altered, and written records get lost and destroyed. When from these and similar obstacles a consecutive series of historical memo randa is rendered impossible, and the writer falls back upon tradition, he meets with discrepancies innumerable, and finds names and dates and legends so contradictory upon their face as to admit apparently of no reconcilement. These remarks especially apply to the work in hand. If Newport does not claim a very ancient origin, Caerleon on the other hand is indisputably entitled

to the highest antiquity which may be awarded to the first cities of Great Britain. Where written testimony fails the dim light afforded by tradition gives substantial evidence to support the opinion that soon after the period when Britain first became the habitation of man, the district in which Caerleon is located rose into comparative importance: the very earliest traditions of the country referring to the shores of the Severn and the Usk as the principal seats of dominion and government. In ages less distant many of the early inhabitants of Britain were driven into this district by the invading and victorious Romans. Here, too, were the Roman legions stationed during the four centuries of their residence and rule in the British Isle. Subsequently, occurred those frequent contentions between other hostile invaders—Saxon, Dane, and Norman—and the hardy and courageous natives, which for centuries desolated the neighbourhood with the horrors of carnage and rapine. It is generally admitted too, that in this district the gospel of Christianity was preached in Apostolic days; that here the first Christian temple in Britain was erected; and here, when the British Christian Church was well established, did her bishops, in the days of St Augustine defend the primitive truths and practices she had preserved, and the freedom and privileges she enjoyed from the insidious arrogance and assumed authority of the See of Rome. In fact, so numerous are the events crowded in period after period, that it becomes questionable whether any other district in the kingdom possesses a more deeply interesting past. It may be as well to state that the writer's object has not been so much to eliminate truth from fiction, as to bring into a focus all the information obtainable relating to Newport, Caerleon, and district; a task hitherto unaccomplished. Subsequent writers by reason and analogy may proceed a step further, and by their efforts a history of the district may ultimately be obtained. The present compilation, moreover, may not be perfect, and the author will be most grateful if any

errors or omissions can be pointed out and corrected by friends who feel an interest, or may have made a study of the subject.

A brief description of the district, and the towns of Newport and Caerleon as at present existing, seems necessary before proceeding further. Newport is situate in the county of Monmouth, on the right bank of the river Usk, about four miles from its confluence with the Bristol Channel. Its longitude is 2 degrees 59 seconds W., and latitude 51 degrees 32 seconds N. Newport is by far the largest town in the county, and contains a population of about 40,000. It is within the hundred of Wentloog, the Rural Deanery of Newport, and the Diocese of Llandaff. The town is an incorporated borough governed by a mayor, aldermen, and councillors, and shares conjointly with the boroughs of Monmouth and Usk, in the honor of sending one representative to Parliament.

On the west side of the river Newport has extended beyond the limits of the original borough, a large portion of the town being now in the parish St. Woolos, by which the town on this side is altogether surrounded. The portion of the town on the east side of the river is wholly within and surrounded by the parish of Christchurch.

The principal entrances to the town are, the Cardiff-road from Cardiff; Stow-hill from Risca and the Western Valleys district; Marshes-road from Pontypool and the North; Caerleon-road from Caerleon, Usk, and Monmouth, and Chepstow-road from Chepstow. The latter two entrances converge near the eastern end of the bridge, and after crossing the same unite with the Marshes-road, and at the western end of the bridge falls into High-street. High-street and Commercial-street, with its continuation termed Commercial-road, form the great artery of the town. Dock-street, Stow-hill, and Bridge-street, are the other principal thoroughfares, from which numerous subsidiary streets branch off nearly at right angles. The town contains a large number of buildings for religious worship, including four churches, a chapel

of ease, and several mission rooms in connection therewith; one Roman Catholic church, a Jewish synagogue, and upwards of 30 chapels belonging to various sects of Nonconformists. There are also a large number of public elementary schools, and a free public library. The Victoria-hall, containing numerous offices and a large room for public assemblies, is a fine architectural structure. The Town-hall, in which is centered most of the municipal offices, is comparatively insignificant, and unworthy of the town at the present day.

There are extensive docks and numerous wharves for the purposes of shipping. on the right bank of the river, and railways connect the town with all parts of the kingdom. The facilities for trade and locomotion are also increased by a tramway laid in the principal thoroughfare; by local canals, and steam boats, which ply regularly to and from Bristol, Liverpool, and Ireland. The town, by the enterprise of public companies, is lighted with gas and well supplied with water.

The ancient buildings which may be enumerated are few, viz., the Castle, on the north side, now used as brewery, storehouse, and offices; a dwelling house and shop, called the Murenger's House, in High-street; and a building situate in Stow-hill known as the House of Refuge, now utilized as a place for the relief of casual paupers.

Caerleon, distant from Newport about three miles to N.E., is situated on level ground, and nearly surrounded with hills. The river Usk divides the town into two portions; that on the right bank, which is in the parish of Llangattock, is generally recognised as Caerleon town, and that on the left bank, which is in the parish of Christchurch, being known as Caerleon village, or Ultra Pontem. The latter contains no public edifice, and comprises only a few private dwellings; in the former is the Church, the Priory, and the remains of the old Castle.

The general appearance of Caerleon is that of an ordinary small country town, and there is nothing in its outward aspect which, to the stranger, indi-

cates the importance and grandeur it possessed in ancient times. Such indications have long ago disappeared. The remains of Roman magnificence and wealth, which Time's destructive hand had lightly touched, were gradually demolished during the unceasing civil strife which for several centuries found its object of contention, and vented its passion in this particular locality. Fire and sword, and other artifices of vengeful war levelled the temples, palaces, and places of defence which once existed; one by one they were trampled under foot, buried beneath the surface of the earth and shrouded in oblivion, until after the lapse of more than a thousand years the treasures of antiquity are exhumed from the soil, collected, compared, and deposited in a fitting museum for their preservation as memorials of an era long since past. From the light of these objects the past history of Caerleon so dimly written in the ancient chronicles is more fully developed; and without them, indeed, its ancient greatness cannot be adequately judged and appreciated.

The importance which Newport has attained during the present century, as one of the principal sea-ports in the Bristol Channel, is attributable chiefly to two causes:—First, the discovery and development of the mineral resources abounding in the district; and, second, its favourable geographical situation as a maritime port.

The River Usk, upon which both Newport and Caerleon are situate, rises in Breconshire, amidst the Black Mountains, and from thence finds its way through Abergavenny, Usk, and Caerleon, continuing its devious course till it embraces Newport. Here it swells out into a broad river, about 200 yards wide, and with a depth of water at high spring tides of from 40 to 50 feet. From the town it flows to the Bristol Channel through a series of "reaches," all of which are navigable for ships of the largest class.

The Usk is swelled by numerous tributaries, most of which are mountain torrents, among which

may be named the Gavenny, the Kebby, the Olwy, the Bertrim, the Torvaen, or Afon Llwyd, and the Ebbw, which receives the Sirhowy.

With regard to the mineral resources of the district, it may be observed that nearly the entire area of the County of Monmouth is divided between the two great systems of the old red sandstone and the carboniferous, the former being the more extensive. They are separated by the range of limestone hills, commencing with the Blorenge Mountain, west of Abergavenny, and continuing towards the south, leaving Pontypool on its western skirts, and then taking a south westerly direction towards Machen, and into Glamorganshire.

That part of Monmouthshire lying adjacent to or between this range of hills and the River Rhymney includes the valleys of the Avon, Ebbw, Sirhowy, &c., and contains the whole of the coal and iron works of the county, the principal being those at Blaenavon, Abersychan, Pontypool, Cwmbran, in the valley of the Avon, and in the more western valleys, at Blaina, Nantyglo, Ebbw Vale, Sirhowy, Beaufort, Victoria, and Tredegar, and lower down the valley, at Crumlin, Abercarn, and Risca.

The product of these works conveyed by railways running down the several valleys find their most natural outlet at the docks and River Usk, at Newport, while other works in the valleys of the Rhymney, Taff, and Rhondda, by recent railway arrangements, possess the double advantage of the facilities afforded by Newport and the neighbouring port of Cardiff. From these ports the minerals are conveyed to all quarters of the globe where commercial intercourse has been established.

Although the great antiquity of Caerleon is generally admitted, it has been supposed that prior to the development of the coal and iron trades of the district, Newport, as a town, had no existence, but the facts to be adduced in the present work will prove this supposition to be altogether without

reason. A century ago the place was in a lamentable state of decay; the inhabitants were less than 1,000, many of the houses then existing were void and dilapidated; the castle, town gates, and public buildings in ruins; no manufactures were sustained, and little business of any kind carried on; the past history of the town had been forgotten, and the future not then foreseen, but the remains of a castle, an ancient church, and other ecclesiastical buildings indicated that the town from some cause had declined from its former importance.

Records of the past show that the town and district possess a not uneventful history, and have participated in many of those stirring events which prominently mark the annals of the British nation. These occurrences it is proposed to set forth in successive periods from the earliest era to the time when Newport reached her lowest point of decadence, and from thence to trace those circumstances which have tended to bring together into this district so important and prosperous a community.

PRE-HISTORIC

At what time the district assumed its present geological conformation it would be useless, perhaps, to enquire. We are content to imagine a period when its general outlines resembled that of the present day. When in the numerous rivers and streams with which the district is watered fish disported themselves undisturbed, while on the banks grazed herds of wild cattle; when the hills were covered with thick woods, and towering over all the extensive and beauteous landscape, and wearing the some barren aspect as to day, rose Mount Twyn Barlwm in silent solitude.

At such a period when the whole island was uninhabited by man, tradition tells us of the arrival of Hu, the mighty leader of the Cymru, from the country of Summer, that is, the district of Constantinople.

This, as well as many other of the older traditions, is preserved in the well-known form of Welsh poems called Triads, which are unquestion-

ably more ancient than any Saxon writings, and they give what was considered, when they were taught, the true account of times then long past.

The next distinguished ruler mentioned in the Triads is Prydain, the son of Aedd, from whom it is alleged the country took its name. It is thus stated :—

"There were three names given to the Isle of Britain from the beginning. *Before* it was inhabited it was called the Sea-girt Green Spot. *After* it was inhabited, it was called the Honey Island, from the quantity of wild honey found in it. And after the people were formed into a commonwealth by Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, it was denominated the Isle of Prydain. (English: Britain's Isle.) And no one has any right to it but the tribe of the Cymry, for they first settled in it, and before that time no persons lived therein, but it was full of bears, wolves, crocodiles, and bisons"

This Triad is here introduced, because it will be hereafter found that Aedd, the father of Prydain, is claimed as the first of a long list of Kings said to have governed Siluria or Gwent.

Other traditions of the early inhabitants are recorded in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This writer, who lived in the early part of the 12th century, and to whose writings it will be convenient occasionally to refer, says the origin of the British is attributed to one Brutus, the Trojan, and his companions, who passed from Greece through Italy and Gaul, and at length found their way to Britain about the time that Samuel the prophet governed Israel (B.C. 1100). From the statements of Geoffrey, it may be inferred that the country was not then destitute of inhabitants, for he says there were giants who strenuously opposed the invaders, but unsuccessfully. It cannot be reasonably supposed that the word giants (gigantes) is to be understood in its literal sense, but that it indicates the petty rulers or generals who commanded the people. This tradition, although set forth at length in the pages of

Geoffrey, was evidently current for ages before, as Nennius, who probably lived in the 9th century, seems to have been acquainted with it in his day. That some writers however believed in the reality of those giants appears from a narrative in the works of Enderbie, which, having a local reference, is here appended :—

"Amongst these prodigious caitiffs one exceeded all the rest in bulk and robustiousness, who was called Gogmagog, with whom Corineus, nephew to Brute wrestled, and although he had a rib broken by this monster, yet so foiled him that he cast him down from the cliffs, for which cause the place afterwards was called The Fall of Gogmagog (I have heard some say that in Glamorganshire there is a place which the inhabitants in their own mother tongue call Cwymp y Cawr, which is as much as to say The giant's fall or overthrow.)" If any reader can identify the place or is acquainted with any tradition respecting it we shall we glad to be informed. There is another legend connecting these worthies with this district, which we extract from Geoffrey. After the death of Brutus, Locrinus, his eldest son divided the island of Britain between himself and his two brothers, Camber and Albernactus, and after overthrowing Humyr (Humber) King of the Huns, found in one of his ships three damsels of celestial beauty, one of whom was Essylt (al Estrildis) "a daughter of the King of Germany," who eventually became his queen. Locrinus had married Gwendoline, but kept Estrildis in secret. He became divorced from his wife, however, and advanced Estrildis to be queen. Gwendoline thereupon raised an army against Locrinus, and in a battle he was killed. She then assumed command of the kingdom, and had Estrildis and her daughter, Sabre thrown into the river, publishing an edict that the river should bear her name to perpetuate her memory, and by that the infamy of her husband. The river is therefore called Sabren or Sabrina, corrupted or modernised into Severn.

Milton *(Mask of Comus)* thus puts the legend into flowing verse :

There is a gentle nymph not far from hence,
That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream,
Sabrina is her name, a virgin pure;
Whilom, she was the daughter of Locrine,
That had the sceptre from his father, Brute.
The guiltless damsel, flying from the mad pursuit
Of her enraged stepdame, Gwendoline,
Commended her fair innocence to the flood
That stayed her flight with his cross-flowing course.
The water nymphs, that in the bottom played,
Held up her pearled wrists, and took her in,
Bearing her straight to aged Nereus' hall,
Who, piteous of her woes, reared her lank head,
And gave her to his daughters to imbathe
In nectared lavars, strewed with asphodel,
And through the porch and inlet of each sense
Dropt in ambrosial oils, till she revived,
And underwent a quick immortal change,
Made goddess of the river.

Geoffrey gives many details of the state of the country at that time, and a long list of kings said to be descended from Brutus. The truth of the whole circumstances, however, has long been doubted, and the conclusion which Milton arrived at two centuries ago is now generally accepted. Milton says: "Of British affairs from the first peopling of the island to the coming of Julius Cæsar, nothing certain, either by tradition, history, or ancient fame hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming has, by the greater part of judicious antiquaries, been long rejected for a modern fable."

Nevertheless, Milton does not omit to relate these tales, covered as they are with "the rust of time," observing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been found to contain in them many footsteps and relics of something true. It may not be out of place to remark here that the Welsh had offended Milton by their unshaken loyalty to Charles, and he showed but little respect to those matters in which the Welsh take much glory. The incidents of these tales are, however, little to the purpose of this work, and are therefore passed by without further reference.

Whatever may be said of the Ancient Britons in general will apply in most respects to the inhabi-

tants of this district in particular, for it seems to be unquestioned that the original inhabitants, on being pressed by invading nations, retired here, and here preserved not only their manners and customs, but their independence, from the rule and influence of the invaders for a longer period than in any other portion of the island.

When we find, therefore, the best authorities stating that the early inhabitants lived chiefly by hunting and fishing—for the latter employment using small canoes hollowed out of a tree, or a wicker frame covered with skins (a coracle) which they could carry upon their backs from one river to another—it is not difficult to realise this condition of things, when at the present day similar coracles are in use on the rivers Usk and Wye. The preservation of this practice for a period of over 2,000 years is an archæological fact not unworthy of notice.

The dwellings of these early people are supposed to have been mere huts—which, like their coracles, were easily removed from place to place. Even when towns began to be formed the dwellings were but little better, being made of the boughs of trees interwoven and covered with clay; the inside of which the family used in common both day and night.

"Hence by degrees the embryo town began,
As want or habit formed its artless plan.
The increasing numbers part the chosen spot,
And each with rival toil adorns his lot;
Extends his little hut, and clears around
The obtruding thorns and brambles from the ground;
Brings from the shattered tree the ponderous beam
With thatch and reeds, and rushes from the stream;
Constructs with rude design the simple shed,
From rains and tempests to protect his head.
The walls with bark, and pliant wattle weaves,
And spreads his easy couch of withered leaves."

There can be little doubt that the people soon formed trackways or roads leading through the country in various directions, in the line of which, probably, the celebrated Roman roads were afterwards constructed. Among the numerous

roadways mentioned and identified are two which ran into this district, namely, Ryknield-street and Akeman-street. The former extended from the Tyne to Birmingham and Gloucester, and thence to Caerleon. Akeman-street ran from the eastern coast to Cirencester, and thence to Aust, where was the ancient Passage across the Severn. From the western side of the river the road ran by Chepstow to Caerwent, Caerleon, Newport, Cardiff, and thence to St. David's. A confirmation of the opinion that this latter roadway ran through Newport occurs in a document in the possession of O. Morgan, Esq., of the time of Henry VI., wherein a certain house, &c., is described as in Newport, and situate at the corner of the Akeman-street. We may reasonably conclude, then, that the district now known as the levels of Caldicot and Wentloog, extending from Chepstow, on the Wye, in the east, to Cardiff, on the Taff, in the west, and of which Newport, on the Usk, is the centre, must have formed a magnificent hunting and fishing ground for the ancient Britons; and bearing in mind that the great highway of communication between east and west passed through Caerleon and adjacent to the spot where Newport now stands, it requires but little exercise of the imagination to picture on the banks of the Usk the erection of many a primitive hut, from which the dwellers daily issued forth to skim the waters of the river in their canoes or scour the adjacent plains to procure the necessary food for their daily sustenance, the features and condition of the district affording ample exercise for their skill, and no doubt an abundant harvest as a reward for their toil.

Whatever may have been the period at which Britain was first peopled, or from whence the first inhabitants proceeded, it seems certain that long anterior to the Christian era, different tribes existed in the country and located themselves in districts apart from their neighbours.

The most ancient name by which this district is supposed to have been known and distinguished is

Syllwyg, or Esyllwyg, Tir Esyllt, Bro Esyllt, and Gwlad Esyllt all strictly synonymous. The inhabitants were accordingly called Syllwyr, or Esyllwyr. The name is thought to have been derived from Syllt,—look, view, or object, and therefore signifiying a country abounding with beautiful views. The name or title was subsequently latinized by the Romans into the more familiar words Siluria for the country, and Silures for the people.

The Esyllwyr or Silures possessed all that tract of country bounded by the Severn and the Towey, upon which Carmarthen is situate, thus comprising the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Brecon, Radnor, Hereford, and part of Gloucester and Worcester; in fact, comprising the greater part of South Wales. South Wales west of the Towey, was occupied by a tribe of people called Dimitiæ, and North Wales and Anglesey by the Ordovices.

Of ancient British towns, the names of more than 80 have been preserved, and their sites identified with places known or existing at the present day. One of these towns, and probably that of the greatest importance in bygone days, is Caerleon upon the Usk. Of its origin little can be stated, its antiquity being such as to involve it in the mythic traditions of the very remote past. The earliest age to which the foundation of Caerleon has been ascribed is given in an account preserved among the Iolo MSS. of the periods of oral tradition and chronology relating to compilations before the introduction of the Christian faith. The calculations are thus set down :—

From the time that the Cimbric nation first arrived in the Isle of Britain to the period of Evrawc the Mighty, the son of Mymbyr, the son of Madawc...	500 years.
From the time of Evrawc the Mighty to the period when Lleon the Mighty was made the king of the Cimbric nation	190 ,,

This Lleon built Caerleon, Chester, and other cities.

From the time of Lleon to Bleidydd ... 66 ,,

From Bleidydd to Llyr Llwyd, who constructed Caer Eithras in Gwent (Usk) 20 ,,

From Llyr to Prydain, who first instituted a powerful Government in Britain, and was sole monarch in the island..... 287 ,,

From Prydain to the time of Dyvnwal Moelmud 29 ,,

This Dyvnwal Moelmud established a national and municipal government at Caerleon, the capital of all Britain, granting it a right of barter in all the other cities of the island.

Among other names following is that of Blegywryd, who is stated to have been buried magnificently at Caerleon.

Then follows the name of Beli Mawr, whose son Lud is said to have built London.

According to this calculation, Caerleon was founded by Lleon the Mighty, King of the Cimbric nation, about ten centuries before London was built by Lud, son of Beli Mawr, the reasonableness of which computation must be left to the judgment of the reader.

The connection of Dyfnwal Moelmud with the ancient city of Caerleon is confirmed by other records which do not, however, attribute so early an origin to the city. Thus in an old account (supposed to be a compilation out of Brut Brininoedd) of the 24 British Kings by whom the 33 chief cities of the Isle of Britain were built, there is an entry under date B.C. 406, which says:— Beli, son of Dyvnwal Moelmud, was King of the whole Isle of Britain, and his brother Brân was Emperor of Rome. This Beli founded a city on the side of the river Wysg (Usk), and he called it Caer Lleon ar Wysg, and this was the chief city of the Isle of Britain, for the privileges and rank of the island were preserved in it, and seven sciences, and the Round Table, and the principal Arch-

bishoprick of the three, and the fatal chair, and 13 rareties of the sovereign rareties of the Isle of Britain, and at that time it was called a second Rome on account of its beauty, its pleasantness, its size, its strength, and its opulence. He reigned 26 years.

The version preserved by Geoffery of Monmouth is as follows :—"Belinus returned to Britain (from Italy), which he governed during the remainder of his life in peace ; he repaired the cities that were falling to ruin, and built many new ones. Among the rest he built one city or fortress upon the river Usk, near the sea of the Severn, which was for a long time called Caerosc, and was the Archbishop house (metropolis) of Dyved, Dimitiæ, but after the invasion of the Romans it lost its first name, and was called the City of the Legions, from the Roman legions which used to take up their winter quarters in it.

This Belin, or Belinus, is the same sovereign who, tradition says, subsequently built the City of Bristol, and whose effigy with that of his brother Brennus, or Bren, still ornaments the Broad-street front of St. John's Church in that city. Doubts have been entertained with regard to the existence of Belin and his connection with the ancient City of Caerleon, but it would be presumption to test the accuracy of a statement which has been current for many centuries, and which is not positively contradicted by historical facts. Some writers have conceived that the site of the ancient (ante-Roman) British town or fortress may be recognised in the old encampment known as the Lodge farm, a mile to the north-west of the present Caerleon, and as supporting this supposition it may be mentioned that the place was called Bellingstoke, an appellation, however, which has now become obsolete. Archdeacon Coxe states the fact that it was called Bellingstoke, but, in commenting upon this statement, Mr. Wakeman remarks, "Where he got his information on this point is not stated, but, if correct, the name would seem to confirm the statement that it was the work of some powerful chief-

tain of the name of Beli or Belin." In making these remarks, and thus to some extent throwing doubt upon the statement of Archdeacon Coxe, Mr. Wakeman had probably overlooked the fact that the same had been previously made most distinctly by the poet Churchyard *(temp.* Elizabeth), who describes the fortress as being on a very high hill, of a marvellous strength, and adds that "Bellinus Magnus made this called Bellingstoke." There is thus direct evidence that nearly three centuries ago Beli or Belinus was regarded as the founder of this stronghold. What authority Churchyard had for the statement is not known.

The fact of different tribes locating themselves in different districts of the island has been already alluded to. Each tribe no doubt was under command or governance of a chief to whom the title of prince or king has been applied. It seems to have been customary for these princes to elect one of their number as general chief or supreme leader—Brennin Prydain oll. When the Romans conquered Britain it was this power of the general chief which they affected to wield, allowing the prince a limited exercise of their former authority.

Occasionally this chosen prince was of Silurian origin, and when this was the case, Caerleon being the Silurian capital, became also the capital and residence of the king of all Britain, a distinction now little regarded, and the statement of which is received with feelings akin to incredulity.

It may have been noted by the reader, as adding to the importance of Caerleon, that Belin is said to have been monarch of the whole island of Britain, and not of the district of Esyllwg only. This also was the case with his successor, and son, Gwrgiunt Brabtruc (*i.e.* Gwrgiunt with the red beard)—in English, Corinbratus. The date of Gwrgiunt's reign is difficult to ascertain. Enderbie sets it down as 4,834 years after the creation. In the Brut Tysillio it is given as 506 B.C. Gwrgiunt is described as a sober, prudent prince, who followed the example of his father in all his actions, and ruled the kingdom for the space of 29 years in

great peace and tranquility. During his reign he ornamented the city of Caerleon with buildings, and fortified it with walls, and at his death he was buried in the city, in which he appears to have taken so great an interest.

This Gwrgiunt Brabtruc was, no doubt, a remarkable person, or his name associated with the improvement and strengthening of the city of his residence would not have been so handed down to posterity. The records of his life are summed up in the foregoing brief sentences, but with respect to his burial, imagination has suggested that the spot where his remains were interred was marked by a sepulchral mound, which amplified by after generations, and turned into a place of defence by succeeding races, became a spot of historic interest, and at the present day remains an unsolved puzzle to the most learned antiquarians.

Gwrgiunt was succeeded by his son, Guintellius, and this king by his son, Sissillius, who, according to Mr. Howes, was also buried at Caerleon. These statements tend to strengthen belief in the tradition that Caerleon, was the general residence and place of sepulture of the ancient British kings.

A list of the Kings of the district of Siluria even approximately correct seems impossible to be obtained, but the following, quoted from an old Welsh MSS seems to accord with most generally accepted opinions.

The first on the list is Aedd, whose name has been already referred to. He is said to have been king of the nine Cantreds or Hundreds of Syllwg, Siluria, or Gwent. It is said of him that he proposed to yield up his domains if the Lords of the whole island would constitute a general monarchy, and bestow the sovereignty on the wisest and best of their princes. The dignity was offered to Aedd, which he declined, but his son, Prydain, was pronounced the most wise in council, the most convincing in eloquence, of valor the most unquestionable, and of intentions the most equitable, peaceful, and just. For these

reasons he was invested with the supreme sovereignty, and from him the island was denominated Prydain, afterwards Britain. Other kings are named in the order following.

II.—Dyvnwal, the son of Prydain, who succeeded his father in Syllwg or Gwent only.

III.—Cymmarch.

IV.—Albon, his son. (Clydris, another son of Cymmarch, was elected King of all Britain, but was not the ruling Prince of Gwent.)

V.—Amryn.

VI.—Dingad.

VII.—Grediol.

VIII.—Meirion.

IX.—Ceraint.

X.—Arthan, Arch, or Arth.

XI.—Caid, or Ceidic.

XII.—Ceri

XIII.—Baran

XIV.—Coel

XV.—Llyr Llediaith, son of Baran

XV.—Bran, son of Llyr

Iolo Morganwg's MSS, however, contain a much longer list than the above, and in which Llyr is placed No. 39, with Bran and Caractacus immediately following.

Respecting the above kings very few particulars have been preserved. Ceraint, ninth on the list, was celebrated or probably notorious as being one of the three arrant drunkards of the Isle of Britain. In his drunkenness he burnt all the corn far and near over the face of the country, so that therefrom a famine came. There is no record of this said Ceraint having performed any honourable deeds to balance the vice and crime recorded of him, and, according to the Iolo MSS. he gave himself up to drunkenness, in which state he died. The 14th on the list, Coel, may be recognised as the impersonation of "Old King Cole, the merry

old soul," of the familiar ballad. Llyr, the succeeding king, was the original of Shakespeare's King Lear, and his son Bran, the father of Caradog (Caractacus), whose talents are said to dispel the darkness of fable, and introduce illustriously the dawn of British history.

We pause here to dwell on the thought that at a period 19 centuries ago—on the eve of the Roman invasion of our country, on the threshold of the Christian era, Caerleon, at present an insignificant town, was then, and had been for ages past, the residence and burial place of British Kings—the most important city in the whole Island of Britain! Many will no doubt regard the statement as incredible, but to disbelieve national traditions and records because they describe a condition of things which do not now exist, and which it is difficult to conceive, would be to upset the basis of all history.

DRUIDISM.

Having dealt with traditions relating to the civil government of Britain in pre-historic times, it is now proposed to give information—scanty though it be—appertaining to the religion of the ancient inhabitants of this district.

In treating of this subject the same difficulty arises as in dealing with civil affairs, to decide at what period to commence in order to secure at once completeness and interest to the narrative. History, and beyond that, dim traditions carry the mind back to very remote ages.

After the patriarchal form of government and religion, Druidism seems to be the chief system of which any account is preserved. Its origin has been traced by some writers to the eastern magi, and by others to the Phœnicians. With reference to its introduction into Britain, Williams makes the following observations :—

"In the true spirit of an antiquarian novelist, a character not unknown to the times, and becomingly zealous for the great descendants of Belinus, whom he has placed on the banks of the Usk, but of whose deeds fame has been negligent; the

author might conduct the Phœnician adventurer from the coast of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly by an easy voyage on the Severn; introduce the first magi at the court of Caerosc (Caerleon), and describe their prudent, but hospitable reception by the reigning Prince of Siluria. In tracing the progressive effects of the mysticism of the magi on the rude minds of the Cambrians, he might take either the epic or the tragic lines of composition, describing the Druids gradually and mildly insinuating their doctrines, or giving a terrific succession of martyrs in the first efforts to introduce them."

In opposition to the opinion however, that Druidism had an eastern origin, many writers hold that it was an institution peculiar to Britain. Cæsar says, "It is believed that Druidism was invented in Britain, and thence transplanted into Gaul." He further states that those who wished to be thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of Druidism, then resorted to Britain for the purpose. Cæsar's observations respecting Druids are generally regarded as authoritative, and although the particulars he gives properly refer to the Druids of Gaul, they leave no doubt that the Druidism of Britain was essentially the same. He says they attend divine worship, perform public and private sacrifices, and expound matters of religion. A great number of youths are gathered round them for the sake of education, and they enjoy the highest honor, for nearly all public and private quarrels come under their jurisdiction. The Druids take no part in warfare; nor do they pay taxes like other people; they are exempt from all military service, and from all public burdens. Attracted by such rewards many came to be instructed by their own choice, while others are sent by their parents. They are reported to learn in the school a great number of verses, so that some remain there 20 years. Besides, they hold a great many discourses about the stars and their motion, about the size of the world and of various countries, about the nature of things, about the power and might of the immortal gods; and they instruct the youths in these subjects.

Although there seems to be no distinct testimony showing a direct connection of Druidism with Caerleon, there are yet circumstances favouring the inference that Caerleon, as well as being the principal seat of civil government, was also a centre or focus of the Druidic religion. The remarks of Cæsar imply that in Britain there existed an institution or school, where, by the professors of Druidism, the youths from Gaul and other parts were instructed in the mysterious tenets of that religion. Now it is reasonable to suppose that such an institution would be found where the intelligence of the nation was concentrated, viz, the seat of civil government, and this supposition is strengthened by subsequent circumstances respecting which there is more certainty.

For instance, it is clear that in Roman times a school or college at Caerleon had become famous for the learning of its students, and Geoffrey of Monmouth states, that it contained 200 philosophers who studied various sciences therein. This seems to agree with the condition of things respecting the instruction of the Druids described by Cæsar.

Again, in the list of the early schools or colleges of Britain, Caerleon is by some writers placed first on the list, owing, in all probability, as much to its early origin as to its fame. Now as a school in those early days would scarcely become famous in a generation, the conclusion seems reasonable that the Roman school at Caerleon, was an improved organization of an institution founded by the Druids in still earlier times.

Of other known references to early Druidism we may mention that of the three chief conventions (prif orsedd,) of the Isle of Britain, that of Bryn Gwyddon, at Caerleon, was set down as the first, and that of the three conventions of perfect song (gyvan Gerdd) that of Bryn Gwyddon, at Caerleon was one. The motto of the convention of Bryn Gwyddon was Coel clywed : Gwer gwlad (Hearing is believing : seeing is truth), and it has been conjectured that what is supposed to be the

remains of a Roman amphitheatre, and is commonly known as King Arthur's Round Table, had something to do with the ancient gorsedd of Bryn Gwyddon.

Of those huge Druidic structures, such as exist at Avebury and Stonehenge, there are no remains, if they ever existed in this district; but dotted here and there are large stones, generally believed to be of Druidic origin. One of the principal is a cromlech, discovered some years ago at a small farm called Caerllwyd, in the parish of Newchurch. Its situation is on a hill to the north of Caerwent, and distant about four miles. The upper, or incumbent stone, is twelve feet long, three and a half feet broad, and the supporters are twelve feet high. The whole is surrounded by a bank and a slight trench.

No particulars of this interesting relic appear to have been given by Williams, Coxe, or any of the numerous tourists who in the beginning of the present century undertook the task of describing the more remarkable places in the county.

Again, the village of Trelech is remarkable for three Druidical stones, which stand a short distance from the church. They are of huge size, and the natives call them Harold stones, believing them to have been set up by Harold, on his obtaining a victory over the Welsh near this spot. The best authorities, however, concur in the opinion that they are of Druidical origin. Near Pontypridd, also, exists a huge stone which is held in great regard by the modern Druids, and around which they still occasionally assemble.

A tradition is preserved that the mystic ceremonies of Druidism were performed in the eye of the sun upon the eminence of Mount Twyn Barlwm.

Beside Druidism, however, there were other forms of paganism existing, in which the inhabitants of Caerleon seem to have very early participated. Thus Stow preserves a tradition that Ebranck, great grandson of Locrine, son of Brute, who, with his followers, is said to have first peopled

Britain, built a temple in the city to the goddess Diana, and placed in it an archflamen. Diana, it is known, was worshipped by the Greeks and Romans, both as a destroying and a preserving goddess, and her worship was conducted with splendid rites. Her temple at Ephesus, one of the seven wonders of the world, was destroyed several centuries before the birth of Christianity.

In the absence of reliable testimony, inferences only can be drawn from what is known of other places as to the period at which the temple at Caerleon was erected, and the character of the worship here performed. The tradition of Ebranck having built the temple, which we have extracted from from Stow, is found also in Harding, who in his peculiarly rough verses thus states the matter :—

> Three archflamens he made through all Brittain,
> As archbishops now in our laws been
> Three temples all to govern, and Domaine.
> At Troynovant, one, Loegres to overseen
> Her false gods to serve and to queme.
> At Ebranch, another for Albany,
> And at Caerleon, for Cambre one soveranly.

That a temple dedicated to the worship of Diana existed at Caerleon in Roman times, is satisfactorily established by the existence of a stone commemorating the fact; and as the inscription contains the word "restituit," we must conclude that a prior structure had gone to decay, and of which Ebranck, the British King, may have been the founder.

We have not been able to gather any further information respecting the Temple of Diana at Caerleon at this early period, and we suggest this by the way as one point with others, we shall probably notice as we pass onward, to which the attention of antiquarian friends may be directed with a view to further elucidation.

Besides the notices now published there are few traditions to be collated of any event in connection with the district prior to the time of the Roman invasion of Britain.

ROMAN PERIOD.

In coming to the period of the Roman invasion of Britain, there is more substantial material to deal with than the vague traditions of the prehistoric period hitherto referred to.

The Romans were a people advanced in learning, and not only recorded the events of the time, for the information of succeeding generations, but on their departure from Britain, left behind them, if not indelible traces of their residence, yet, remains which, after the lapse of nearly 15 centuries, are palpable evidence of the high degree of art and social culture to which they had attained.

What degree of fame has been preserved to Caerleon during later ages is in connection with the occupation of the district by the Romans, and therefore we have no hesitation in introducing all the facts available calculated to throw light upon this important event.

The invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar seems in no way to have affected this district, where the Roman soldiers did not then penetrate. The best writers, however, agree that Cæsar, though he did not continue to occupy the country with an armed force, took hostages, and fixed the amount of tribute which Britain was henceforth to pay. After Julius Cæsar's invasion, a period of more than 90 years elapsed before a second attempt was made to conquer the country. This was at the instigation of the Emperor Claudius. A noteworthy feature of his reign was his determined hostility to the Druids. As their religion had a political significance, the Romans never regarded them with the same intolerant indifference they did other creeds. Claudius persecuted them in Gaul, and perhaps his expedition to Britain was caused by his desire to uproot the last stronghold of their preponderant influence. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Aulus Plautius, A.D. 44, who was despatched with four legions. Having made good his landing, the Emperor Claudius soon followed in person, and, after subduing a large district the Emperor returned to Gaul, leaving Aulus Plautius to com-

plete the conquest. During seven years, however, in which he unceasingly struggled with the Britons, he made but little progress, and he was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula. This general extended the scene of his operations to the line of the Severn, by which he was brought into immediate contact with the Silures, who he soon discovered to be a brave and warlike people. To protect the territory he had acquired Ostorius erected here a chain of fortresses with military garrisons, and for a time made no further aggression.

The ancient Britons at this period have generally been represented as uncivilised beings, with manners which approximated nearly to a state of savageness; yet, if we may judge by their works, we may be induced to think otherwise and admit that the arts and sciences were not wholly excluded from their knowledge. They were expert in tactics of warfare, skilled in making chariots of war, and acquainted with certain mechanical powers, as is evidenced in the Druidical structures still existing. They were also capable of drawing and painting, and had some knowledge of astronomy and other sciences, if the statements regarding the Druids are correct. It can hardly be supposed, therefore, that such people would be incompetent to design or construct a dwelling-house, yet they have frequently been represented in that state of helplessness.

In the time of Ostorius, Caractacus, the son of Bran, was the reigning Prince of Siluria; one full of valour and patriotism, and well qualified for the arduous task which fell to his unfortunate lot. Under the condition of things we have represented, let us endeavour to picture him at home. Caerleon being the capital of Siluria, in this city it must be presumed he held his court. It is not therefore as a strange prince, whose courage and talents excite our admiration, that we look upon the renowned Caractacus, but as an ancestor whose interest was peculiarly identified with this district, and of whom the modern Gwentian cannot well be too proud.

We may suppose his mansion wholly constructed of wood, and all one ground story, composed of a large oblong and quadrangular court. A considerable portion of this is taken up by the apartments of such as are retained more immediately in the service of the Prince, and as the rest is more particularly his own habitation, so it consists of one great and several little rooms. In the great room is the armoury displayed; the arms of his father, the gifts of his friends, and the spoils of enemies, being disposed in order round the walls; in this room, in the evening, after hunting, Caractacus sits with his family and guests about him, all listening to the historical song and the harp performance of his bards, or to the songs and harp of his daughters, and all drinking from cups of shell. These are the inferences drawn by a poetical mind, from poetical testimony, but the account assumes an air of probability, and such is the best description we have of the man who, with troops consisting principally of neatherds and shepherds, almost naked and slightly armed, without a system of military revenue, and with little power of establishing magazines, defended and protected Siluria for nine years against the Roman power. The circumstances are proofs of extraordinary talent, and though the details of his defence are not recorded with the scrupulous authenticity becoming their importance they are found to have ever been favourite subjects of poetic and historic praise.

Although Caractacus is supposed to have held his court at Caerleon, it is probable that he occasionally resided at Gloucester, and in this neighbourhood it is likely he first encountered the Roman forces, which had not yet penetrated so far westward as Caerleon. Caractacus ultimately found the bravery of his followers unavailing against the martialled rank and file of the Romans, directed by the skill and strategy of experienced commanders, and was at length completely overthrown. His wife and daughters fell into the hands of the victors, and his brothers sur-

rendered. Caractacus himself was subsequently captured in Shropshire, through the treachery of Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, and sent to Rome captive.

To win over one tribe, at all events, or to play one prince against another were easy devices adopted by the Romans, and which hardly ever failed of success. The want of unity rendered their conquest more easy, and traitors were never wanting when no national unity made treason seem a crime.

The utmost limits of Siluria, as we have previously stated, were of no large extent. It was an obscure corner outside the pale of recognised civilization, yet the capture of its prince who had so gloriously struggled against the military force of the greatest empire in the world was considered a fit subject for a triumph. The British chief, on his arrival in Rome, was received by the Emperor Claudius and his Imperial consort seated on thrones surrounded by all the pomp of their Imperial dignity. Caractacus is represented to have been almost naked, and painted with figures of animals, with a chain of iron about his neck, and another about his middle, the hair of his head hanging down in locks covered his back and shoulders, and the hair of his upper lip, being parted on both sides, lay upon his breast. Standing erect, he craved no mercy as did the rest of the captives, but went boldly on until he came to the Emperor's seat. Tacitus has preserved a speech said to have been delivered by the captive prince. Having observed the splendour of the lofty palaces and buildings of Rome, and saw the display of wealth on every side, he naturally expressed his surprise that the possessors of such riches and conveniences should think it worth while to disturb the inhabitants of a distant isle in their wretched cottages of clay! His manly behaviour appear to have made a favourable impression in his behalf. At the intercession of the Empress, his life was spared, a favour not always granted to captive princes in his situation. A version of the speech of Caractacus is rendered in verse by Pennant.

The Romans, after the capture of Caractacus, still experienced great difficulty in the conquest of Siluria, intersected as it was by numerous and rapid rivers, broken by mountains covered with forests, and defended by a warlike people whose courage was undaunted, for neither frequent defeat nor the capture of their great Prince rendered them weary of the struggle, during which the Romans found no leisure to withdraw themselves from works necessary for their defence. Tacitus says: "After the capture of Caractacus the Romans were often defeated and routed by the single state of the Silures." A writer in Archæological Cambrensis states that Ostorius Scapula succeeded in fighting his way through Siluria as far as Carmarthen, about the year 52, and that he then retired to Caerleon, where he encamped his second legion, and died A.D. 55, an overtaxed and harrassed man.

After the death of Ostorius, A.D. 55, the second legion in all probability did not long remain at Caerleon. For a period of 20 years we have no record of the condition of things which prevailed in the city, but from subsequent events, and a knowledge of what transpired in other parts of Britain, much may be inferred.

Thus in 75, A.D., we have an account of what appears like a renewed invasion of Siluria by Julius Frontinus, and in all probability this was really the case. But such an undertaking would surely not have been necessary had the Roman forces remained in occupation of Caerleon for the 20 years subsequent to their being first quartered there in the time of Ostorius.

That they did temporarily withdraw from the district is only a reasonable conclusion, bearing in mind the stirring events which occurred in Britain during the interval mentioned.

Suetonius Paulinus, who commanded the Roman forces after the death of Ostorius, believing the Druids to be the cause of much disquietude among the conquered people, resolved to make a vigorous effort to annihilate them. As he, with the invaders

pressed forward, the Druids retreated, and large numbers ultimately took refuge in the Isle of Anglesey. The operations of Suetonius in this quarter, and the terrible slaughter of the Druids which took place are probably well known. Hardly had Suetonius accomplished his purpose, than his presence and that of his legions were required in the eastern portion of the kingdom, where the Britons, under the warrior-queen Boadicea, had broken into revolt. With a vengeful ire she aroused the natives and carried havoc in her way. The Roman garrisons attacked were ruthlessly destroyed and it is calculated that 70,000 Romans and their confederates thus perished. The scattered Roman forces, however, speedily concentrated, and courage and discipline ultimately prevailed over superiority of number. While these events were transpiring it is extremely probable that the Roman soldiers were withdrawn from Caerleon, and the district once more fell to the possession and government of the native princes.

The cruelties of Suetonius induced the Emperor Nero to recall him from his command, and under his successors—the Roman rule in Britain was carried out with great mildness. The new officers made no effort to extend the conquests already acquired, but exerted themselves by an equitable administration to reconcile the minds of the natives to their conquared condition.

With the accession of Vespasian to the Imperial throne, however, in A.D. 69, a new era seems to have been inaugurated. This Emperor, who together with his more celebrated son Titus, had served with distinction in Britain under Claudius, was not unmindful of the scenes of his former exploits, and resolved to complete the conquest which his predecessors had begun. More troops were accordingly sent to Britain, and soon the conflicts between the invaders and the natives recommenced. The Brigantes having been subdued, Julius Frontinus, who became Governor of Britain in A.D. 75, turned his attention to the conquest of the Silures. The forces chiefly instrumental in

the success of the operations which followed, are supposed to have crossed the Severn from the neighbourhood of Bristol, between A.D. 76 and A.D. 80. The precise mode in which they crossed or the spot at which they first landed in Siluria has not been satisfactorily determined, antiquaries still differing in many respects. One supposition is that while the Silures were by a feint drawn into the Forest of Dean, near the conflux of the Wye with the Severn, the Roman transports moved diagonally, and disembarked the army near the Charston or Black Rock, one of the landing places of the present New Passage, a short distance from which is the Roman camp of Sudbrook. Others believe that Caldicot Pill, about a mile and a half to the west, received the invaders, while others again appear convinced that the Romans made a partial disembarkation at Beachley, opposite to the Old Passage house at Aust.

From their place of landing the Roman forces proceeded westward to Portskewett, and are supposed to have established themselves first at Caerwent, a spot judiciously chosen either for the attack of the city of Caerleon, still the capital of Siluria, or to cover it when in their possession.

The acquisition of Caerwent was doubtless soon effected, though there are no particulars preserved concerning its conquest, and whatever importance had been attached to Caerwent it soon became eclipsed by the splendour of Caerleon. Indeed, after the Roman occupation, Caerwent is never mentioned in the history of the middle ages, and rarely in the Welsh chronicles. It seems never to have sustained a siege or withstood the predatory incursions of the Saxon or Norman invaders.

To write a sketch of the recapture of Caerleon would require an exercise of the imaginative powers, more suitable to the poet or the fictionist than the narrator of unembellished facts and traditions. There are no records of the defence or capture of the city, but it may reasonably be supposed that the Romans fought for its possession, and that

its defenders did not quit the place so long as with safety to themselves they could retain their hold upon it.

With the loss of the city the Britons would probably retire with their Prince to the neighbouring mountains, and there from the safety of recesses look down and watch the movements of their more powerful enemy, descending occasionally like an avalanche to paralyze the efforts of the Romans to make themselves secure in the city they occupied. British bravery, however, availed but little, as the Roman forces firmly established themselves at Caerleon, subdued the province, and completed its occupation. It was this subjugation of the Silures, described by Tacitus as "a fierce and obstinate people," that gave the Romans quiet possession of South Britain, as they were the last who asserted the liberties of their country against the conquerors of the world.

ROMAN CAMPS.

No sooner had the Romans subdued any British towns of consequence, than they surrounded them with fortified camps for their protection, and their own security; some were temporary, others permanent and stationary. Their erection was a special feature on the banks of navigable rivers and other commanding stations where they thus formed a line of fortified posts for defensive or offensive operations. As this was the invariable custom of the Romans we should expect to find traces of such camps in this district, and there is no difficulty in identifying the public works of this character which the Romans constructed, and on their departure left as mementoes of their military strategy and power. In the neighbourhood of Caerleon, two on the north and two on the south side of the Usk are still visible. They are, The Lodge, about a mile to the N.W. of Caerleon, one above Penros, a third on the high road leading from Caerwent to Newport, and the fourth in St Julian's wood.

There are also in the neighbourhood of Newport the Caerau, the Gaer, Graig-y-Saeson, and New Park. Most of these have been fully described and illustrated by Coxe.

The Lodge Camp is the largest and most important, and is supposed by Harris to have been the summer camp. It is of oval or elliptical shape surrounded with double ramparts, excepting on S.W., where there is a quadruple line of ramparts and ditches. The entrenchments in some places are not less than thirty feet deep. The entrance to it is defended by a tumulus, twelve yards in height, and placed on the inner rampart. From these circumstances it is said to bear more the character of a British than Roman encampment. It has been suggested that Julius Frontinus fixed his station here, but the statement may be regarded as one of those conjectures which writers are prone to indulge in when the facts are not clear. The other encampment, on the north side of the Usk, at Penros, is on an eminence above the Afon Llwyd. It is environed by a single rampart, and the form is nearly square, with five bastions. From the remains found there Coxe thought that the Roman camp may have have been altered and strengthened with bastions during the civil wars of the last century.

The third encampment, to the south of the Usk, above Maindee, is a small circular entrenchment only calculated for exploratory purposes or guarding cattle.

Respecting the fourth encampment, at St. Julians, there are doubts as to its being of Roman origin. Some writers consider it to have been a Saxon encampment, probably formed by Harold to command the river and to cut off all communication between Caerleon and the south, as the camp at the Lodge did the north. It could never have been intended as a defence of Caerleon, as the farthest side has no rampart or ditch and only secured by a natural ravine at some distance.

With regard to Caerau, nothing now remains but the name. The situation of Stow-hill, how-

ever, and the proximity of the Roman road render it probable that such a commanding position for a camp would not be overlooked.

The Gaer encampment is on the brow of the eminence above the river Ebbwy, and just within the boundaries of Tredegar Park. Its remains are perfect, and as they are free from underwood may be traced without difficulty. The place resembles other encampments that are allowed to be Roman.

Graig-y-Saeson is about a mile from Bassalleg and a quarter of a mile from the high road. It is a circular encampment on the brow of the hill, thickly overgrown with trees and coppice, and commanding through the openings of the wood a beautiful perspective of the Bristol Channel. It may be supposed from the name that it was a Saxon encampment, but those who maintain this opinion are alleged to be wholly unacquainted with the customs and language of the Welsh who usually term all foreigners Saxons.

Penypark Newydd lies about a mile further, close to the high road on the left, and is a similar encampment on the level summit of an eminence. In form it is a circular entrenchment, with a foss and rampart of earth. Several large stones scattered in and near the foss appear to have formed part of the walls. The entrance is S.W. by S. Castletown village lies at the foot of the hill.

The ancient Roman fortress of Caerleon does not appear to have been very large. Like most other Roman encampments, in was in shape nearly a square, the circumference of which was about 1,800 yards. The walls were not less than 14 feet high, and 11 to 12 feet in thickness. The angles were rounded, and there was an entrance near the middle of each side. The first in Bridge-street, the second, led into a road now called the Broadway, and very probably to a ford over the river; third into Newport high road, which was the site of the Julia Strata; the fourth, into Mill-street, which was the Roman road to Gobannium or Abergavenny. The shape of the fortress may still

be traced very distinctly, partly by the remains of the walls still standing, and partly by an elevated ridge formed from their ruins. The four angles nearly correspond with the four cardinal points of the compass.

Though the area surrounded by walls was comparatively limited, the suburbs extended a mile or two in each direction, and included probably St. Julian's, Llantarnam, and other places. Coxe gives a minute description of his complete tracing of the walls, by which it appears they were far more perfect in his time than they are at present. Coxe also refers to a striking peculiarity in the situation of the fortress, pointed out to him by Mr. Evans, then vicar of St. Woollos. In a superficial view Caerleon appears to occupy a flat position, but, in fact, that portion of the town which was enclosed by the Roman walls is placed on a gentle rise, connected at one extremity with the lower part of the eminence in which the encampment of the Lodge is situated. This rise shelves on the west and south sides towards the Usk, and on the east towards the Afon Llwyd, and seems to have formed a tongue of land, which, before the draining of the meadows, was probably a kind of peninsula. Hence the fortress, from its position on a rise between two rivers, and almost surrounded with marshy ground, was a place of considerable strength, and well calculated to become the primary station of the Romans in this district.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Although the Romans lost no time in introducing into the Southern and Eastern part of the kingdom their own form and system of government, it appears that a military occupation of the district of Siluria was the utmost they could accomplish during a period of more than a hundred years after their first settlement in Britain. Such, at least, may be inferred from the fact that no inscription has been discovered here which is earlier than the latter end of the second century. The natural difficulties of the country, and the independent and

warlike spirit of the people were both exceptional; and the continued repression, found necessary, was exercised by the "fortresses with military garrisons," which Tacitus commends Agricola for so promptly erecting in this district. We do not find that either Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, or Antoninus Pius were particularly connected with Caerleon, but by the time of Severus there is evidence that the Roman power had become considerably strengthened here.

By Claudius, the whole of Britain subject to the Roman power, was constituted an imperial province under a legate, prætor, or governor, who was commander-in-chief of the army as well as supreme judge, and (though this was the special business of the quæstor) largely interfered in matters of finance. Severus, in accordance with a practice that found favor in his reign, divided the British province into two portions, termed Britannia Superior and Britannia Inferior. What were the boundaries of each division is not clear, but the southern portion with Wales, was comprised in the former, and the northern portion in the latter. This may be gathered from the writings of Herodianus, and also Dio, as the latter, in naming the stations of the legions, says the second legion, called Augusta, which still kept at Caerleon, and the 20th, which was at Chester, were in Britannia Superior, while the 6th legion, resident at York, he places in Britannia Inferior. Subsequently, the Romans recognized three chief divisions of the country, viz., Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Maxima Cæsariensis, whose limits, saith Enderbie, "Dio assigneth by the archiepiscopal seats, grounding his conjecture on the saying of Pope Lucius, who affirmeth that the ecclesiastical jurisdictions of the Christians accorded with the precincts of the Roman magistrates, and that the archbishops had their sees in those cities wherein their presidents abode, so that the eminent seats of the three archbishops here, being London in the east, Caerleon in the west, and York in the north, London diocese, as seemeth,

made Britannia Prima; Caerleon, Britannia Secunda; and York, Maxima Cæsariensis. In the time of Diocletian a further division was made, Flavia Cæsariensis being formed between Britannia Prima and Maxima Cæsariensis. This further division did not, however, affect the relation of Caerleon to the district of which it was the capital. Although Caerleon is generally recognised as the chief city of Britannia Secunda, we must mention that Giraldus Cambrensis, quoting from the tome of St Anacletus, says the metropolitan city of Britannia Prima was Caerleon; Britannia Secunda, Canterbury; of the third division, London; the fourth, York; the fifth, St. Andrews, thus giving Caerleon a higher status than is usually ascribed to the city.

Britannia Secunda included all the country separated from England by the rivers Severn and the Dee, and contained twenty Roman stations. This division was subdivided, the principal portion, and the only one of which we propose to treat, was that of Siluria, which still retained its former name. In this there were no less than fifteen of the twenty Roman stations above mentioned. These stations were classified according to their importance and the privileges accorded to them; and these privileges depended in a great measure upon the conduct of the inhabitants during the period of the Roman military operations. At the head of the list were the Colonies, of which Caerleon was the only one in Wales. There were ultimately nine in the whole kingdom which ranked as such, and they seem to have been settlements or camps of Roman veterans to whom was granted a part of the conquered land as a reward for their courage and faithful service. They had the privilege of electing their own magistrates, and to a large extent were governed by their own customs. The natives, however, were slow to look upon them with favour, and Tacitus says they "hated them as the head quarters of tyranny." Of the second and third classes there were none in this district. Of the fourth, called Stipendiariæ,

Caerwent was an example. Such towns had to pay tribute in coin, which occasionally was exacted with much rigour. These towns were the basis of the Roman administration, and through them the taxes were collected, and in them justice was administered.

Severus came over to Britain to quell some disturbances in A.D. 208, and, probably before going northward with the immense army which he had collected for the purpose, visited Caerleon with his sons Caracalla and Geta. Here he perpetuated the memory of his name, and added to the glory of the city by restoring a building which had then gone to decay. The inscribed stone, erected on the new palace to commemorate this act, was discovered some years ago during excavations in Caerleon churchyard, and is now preserved with other Roman remains in the museum. Severus had been a successful soldier, obtaining many brilliant victories, and, moreover, by the distribution of gifts and exhibitions of unparalleled magnificence, had made himself extremely popular among the Roman people. If the reader can imagine her Majesty Queen Victoria visiting her Indian dominions for the purpose of stamping out an insurrection, and taking advantage of her visit to lay the foundation stone of a palatial building in the chief city of one of her dependencies, some idea may be formed of the importance of the event, and the excitement likely to be occasioned by the presence of Severus, the Emperor of Rome, and his sons Caracalla and Geta, in the city of Caerleon on the occasion commemorated. With the name of Severus Septimius is also inscribed the name of Septimius Geta, his younger son, while that of Caracalla, his elder son, who was also present with him in Britain, is omitted. This has led to the suggestion that the inscription was put up on the completion of the building by Geta, under a feeling of irritation against his brother, and while he was in company with his father operating in the north. The unhappy disputes in the family of Severus are not

unknown, and they are confirmed by the existence of a votive tablet, also in the museum, which was erected for the health, or safety of Severus and his two sons. The part of the inscription reads thus :—"Pro Salute Augustorum, nostrorum Severi et Antonini et Getæ Cæsaris."—As the stone now appears, an effort to erase the words "et Getæ" has evidently been made, the reason for which seems obvious. As Severus died 211 A.D., it is clear, from the import of the inscription, that the stone must have been erected before that time.

Preparatory to further remarks we now give some particulars concerning the Second Augustan Legion which is so particularly identified with Caerleon. A legion in the Roman army was a body of soldiers composing troops of all arms—infantry, cavalry, and engineers. It rarely exceeded 6,000 in number, and may be regarded as a complete army in miniature. The Second Legion stationed at Caerleon was first called Augusta and subsequently Britannica, from its long residence in Britain. It came over from Gaul under the command of Vespasian, and continued here nearly 400 years, to the final departure of the Romans. It had a principal share in all the great actions and great works performed by the Romans in this island, particularly in building the several walls of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Severus. It appears, from inscriptions still remaining, that this was the only legion employed on a body on the wall of Antoninus in Scotland. The head-quarters of this legion was at Caerleon for the greatest part of the time it continued in Britain; but subsequently, it was quartered at Rutupo, or Richborough in Kent, from whence it was soon afterwards transferred to the Continent. From its long association with Caerleon, the city is frequently identified with the name of the Legion, thus it is denominated in Antonine's Itinerary, Isca Legionis Secundæ Augustæ; by the Monk of Ravenna, it is termed Isca Augusta; by Richard, of Cirencester, Isca Colonia, and by other writers Isca Silurum.

From the foregoing remarks it will be concluded that it was at Caerleon the Prætor resided, there that the Roman eagle was deposited; that there were the principal courts of justice, and thence the Imperial edicts were promulgated. The deputies of the Prætor had their inferior courts in the other towns of Siluria, but the *dernier ressort* in all cases was to the supreme seat of judicature, at Caerleon. Caerleon, it will thus be seen, was not only the capital and chief station in Siluria, but also the principal station throughout the whole of the more extensive district of Britannia Secunda.

ROMAN ROADS.

Of the public works constructed by the Romans during their stay in this district none seem to be more note worthy or less perishable than their great road ways. It was one of their first and most important steps in a conquered province to drive these roadways right through the heart of the country, and connect, by them, all the more strategic points. These roads were not mere trackways through the forest or along the mountain side, but constructed on principles which have never yet been excelled. Upon a good foundation, and raised considerably above the surface of the ground there was set a solid pavement of stone compactly fitted together, on each side being a deep ditch, from which the earth was taken to form the embankment. These roads were eminently defensible in themselves, and were useful in enabling troops to be massed at any given point with security and despatch. Their construction was effected chiefly by the soldiers, who were employed by the generals in these and other works for discipline as well as to improve the material condition of the province. It had the advantage, too, of setting an example to the conquered people, though they may have been slow to benefit thereby. So well were these roads constructed that they have been regarded as much works of art as the remnants of tesselated pavements and statuary, coins, and pottery so highly prized.

Of the Roman roads in this district the following may be mentioned, The Via Julia, which ran from Aqua Solis (Bath) and crossed the Severn at Portskewtt; another from Glevum (Gloucester) which met the former near Caerwent, and then proceeded on the line of the old British Akeman-street, to Caerleon and Newport. To the North a road from Caerleon led to Burrium (Usk) where there was a bifurcation, one part proceeding to Blestium (Monmouth), and the other to Gobannium (Abergavenny). Westward from Newport the Via Julia led to Tibia Amnis (Cardiff), and thence onward to St David's. With respect to the Roman roads and stations in the neighbourhood, antiquaries are of opinion that Usk (Burrium) was the first station beyond Isca Silurum towards Uriconium through (Blestium) Monmouth, but the exact road between the different stations in Monmouthshire is uncertain, the difficulty having principally arisen from the general bogginess of the soil in which the roads may have sunk or been covered; from the frequent inundations which have swept away all traces of human art; from the cultivated state of those parts of the country in which the stations were situated, and from the custom of pitching the roads and pathway, and of planting the hedgerows on broad and high embankments, the foundations of which are generally formed of large stones. These local disadvantages, added to the remoteness of the county, and the bad state of the roads before the formation of turnpikes, impeded the researches of antiquaries, and few traces of Roman roads have been discovered.

The course of the Via Julia is described in the 12th and 14th Itin. of Antoninus, and the same stations are mentioned in the 11th Itin. preserved by Richard, of Cirencester. According to these, Caerleon was distant 33 miles from Bath, and 46 from Gloucester. A difference of opinion exists as to the precise route which the road followed from Bath to the shores of the Severn, but it is generally agreed that it crossed the river near the New Passage at Portskewett.

Mr O. Morgan, in his Notes on this point, says the distance, 27 miles, from Bath to Caerwent, is made surprisingly correct if calculated thus :—

	Miles.
Venta Silurum (Caerwent) to Sudbrook ...	3
To Abone (Sea Mills)	9
To Trajectus (Bitton)	9
To Aqua Solis (Bath)	6
	27

About the direction of the road on this side the Severn there is less doubt. From Sudbrook it ran in a direct line to Portskewett, whence it is now the turnpike road to Crick. Here it met the road which came from the station of Glevum (Gloucester) by Lydney, crossing the Wye at Chepstow, and following very nearly in the line of the turnpike road to Pwlmeyric, then crossed the field behind Hayes Gate farmhouse, and fell into a parish road near Broadwell (in which a Roman pavement was discovered perfect some time ago), and thence to Crick. From this point the united roads ran in a straight line to Caerwent, dividing the city into two portions. From Caerwent the road proceeded by Catsash to Caerleon, and passed through Newport ; thence by several encampments on the way to Tibia Amnis the next Roman station, near Cardiff.

A reference to the Via Julia and its connection with Newport is made by the ancient poet Alexander Necham, Abbot of Cirencester, who died in 1217. In writing of the town, he says the Via Julia passed not far from the mouth of the Usk :—

"Intrat et auget aquas Sabrinæ fluminis Osca,
Præceps testio erit Julia strata mihi."

The road from Caerleon to Abergavenny, is thus described in Iter XII. of Antoninus :—

	Mil Pas	
Ab Isca		
Burrio	Novem	9
Gobannio	Duodecim	12—21

In the 13th Iter the distances from Caerleon to Gloucester are given as follows :—

Ab Isca	Mil Pas	
Burrio	Novem	9
Blestio	Undecim	11
Ariconio	Undecim	11
Glevo	Quindecim	15—46

Several antiquaries, and particularly Horsley, who travelled through this district towards the beginning of the 18th century, describe the remains of the Roman road between Caerwent and Caerleon as large and remarkable. Coxe, writing half a century later, says, "Between Crick and Caerwent the foundations of the causeway are yet visible. I observed on the sides of the road in several places large hewn stones, overgrown with the moss of centuries, which were probably employed in the construction of the old causeway." The writer, however, found no vestiges of a Roman causeway visible between Caerleon and Newport, but says that according to the opinion of Mr Evans then Vicar of St Woollos, whose local knowledge of the country was considered extremely exact, the Roman road ran on the right bank of the Usk ; and in company with Mr Evans, Coxe traced its course more than once. From the west gate of Caerleon it went parallel to the walls, and proceeded under the encampment of the Lodge, crossed a brook near some old walls, supposed to have been part of the ancient suburbs of Caerleon, but which were probably the remains of the gate leading into Llantarnam Park, passing Pilbach, where a tesselated pavement and sepulchral inscriptions were discovered ; and then went round the pill by a road different from the present, leaving Malpas Church on the right, and Crindau House on the left, crossed the present high road to Pontypool, passed the Scelti (Malpas brook), near the stone bridge, and continued along the fields, where the track was lost among the works of the canal ; its direction, however, was evident from an

iron and freestone sarcophagus discovered in digging the canal. It passed a little to the west of Newport, and led up the hill by Caerau (a name indicating military works) to the site of St. Woolos Church, near the remains of several encampments and a tumulus, now destroyed, which Harris considered as an arx speculatoria.

The course from hence towards the Taff is doubtful, as the present road divides into two branches, which unite at St. Mellons, the upper leading by Bassalleg, and the lower by Tredegar Park.

The exact purpose of all the Roman roads in this district are not clearly shown by any writer; but their number and various directions afford further proof of the importance of the centre from which they radiated.

BUILDINGS IN THE CITY.

The city of Caerleon, acquired by the Romans, though important comparatively, was doubtless little better than an aggregate of rude timber buildings, protected by defences of the most primitive kind. We have already set forth the works which the Romans completed to improve the latter, and to afford them security against the inroads and attacks which we cannot but imagine were frequently made against them by the native people. In fact, we find it recorded that the place was burnt many times, in contests which took place in the early Roman period.

That the Romans, after conquering Britain, contemplated its permanent occupation there can be little doubt, and it is only reasonable to conjecture that having rendered their position secure by the necessary defensive works, they set themselves the task of bringing the condition of the city somewhat in accordance with the prevailing notions of their advanced state of civilization. What Severus probably begun was no doubt continued by his successors, for it is stated in the Iolo MSS., in a chronological account of times and remarkable events, that in the year 242 Caerleon was rebuilt of

stone and mortar, which previously had been constructed of wood. It was doubtless, then, that some degree of completeness was given by the 2nd Augustan Legion to those buildings the fame of which has been vaguely described by Giraldus, and the remnants of which, after the lapse of so many centuries, are still preserved to indicate Caerleon's departed glory.

We have already referred to the inscribed stone indicating the restoration of a building by Severus. There is still another stone preserved, the fragmentary inscription on which is deciphered by the learned Dr McCaul, as commemorating the dedication of some building about A.D. 234, when Maximius, for the second time, and Urbanus, were consuls. These and other buildings are well known to have exhibited all the skill and elegance in design and construction for which the Romans were at this period famed. To catalogue the various structures or to assign to those known to have been existing the exact site on which they stood would be a matter of impossibility. Some feature, however may be noted: thus the present church in all probability covers the ruins of a pagan temple, for within its now sacred precincts were dug up an altar, on which to the unknown God, the sacrificial offerings had been burnt. In its precincts too, was that building restored by Severus, of which reference has already been made.

A building near the Hanbury Arms and on the site of the Castle, was probably occupied by the second cohort of the Augustan Legion (cohors secunda), with a view to defend the passage of the river. On the site of the Castle Villa we may reasonably place the barracks of the 5th cohort, from the fact of an inscribed stone being found here. In another part of the town, now undefined, the sixth cohort was located. At the foot of the Castle mound may be supposed the barracks of the 7th cohort, rebuilt by the lieutenant of the Emperors Valerianus and Gallienus [A.D. 253 to 260].

In the Castle grounds, how rich has been the

harvest of relics ! evidencing that here was a concentration of objects characteristic of the manners and customs of our Roman ancestors. Here, amidst the barracks of the Roman legions, the fronts of which buildings bore inscriptions indicating the cohorts by whom they were occupied or had been erected or restored, were smoking altars dedicated to the mystical Mithras the Goddess Fortune, and other less appreciated deities; while near at hand were the residences of the chief officers in command, and probably, the palace of the Prætor himself, adorned with colonnades statues and fountains. One building conspicuous among the rest was renowned as a college for educating youths, who were sent hither from all parts of Britain. Extended here and there within the walls, were ornamented villa residences, occupied by the high officials and subordinates of the empire, while intermingled and at the verge of all were the lowly cots of the native born Britons.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

The subjugation of the Britons to a civil power of superior order was not the only result of the Roman invasion. There followed almost immediately a great change in the religion of the country. Druidism which had been the prevalent form of religion up to the time of the arrival of the Romans, soon became corrupted by a species of Paganism, and in stations like Caerleon, where the Roman element formed the greater part of the population, was probably wholly rooted out. From this period, therefore, we find nothing more of Druidism in connection with Caerleon, but read of temples dedicated to Diana, Mithras, Minerva and other Pagan gods. Paganism did not long remain dominant or have undisputed sway, as the introduction of Christianity followed at a very early period.

By whom and where the gospel was first made known in this country is uncertain, but it seems established that the British Church was founded in the apostolic age, and it is highly probable that

Caerleon was one of the first cities in Britain where the message of salvation was preached.

The reasons for this belief will be seen as we proceed.

From the time of the capture of Caractacus, the Silurian prince, there must have continued a constant intercourse with Rome, not only between the officers of the Empire, but also between the imprisoned prince, his family and friends, who were with him, and their numerous relatives and acquaintances who were kept in restraint at home by the Roman forces.

The exhibition of Caractacus and the triumphal reception accorded to Ostorius, his captor, created much excitement at Rome, and St. Paul could not have been uninformed of, or indifferent to, the event. It is not improbable that on his going to Rome he became acquainted with some of the captives, and also with the condition of Britain by means of the saints in Cæsar's household (Phil. iv. 22.) This idea is favoured by Bishop Stillingfleet, in his writing upon the subject. He says further that St Paul might have had some particular encouragement at Rome to come hither, from Pomponia Græcina, wife of A. Plautius, the Roman General under Claudius, in Britain, for that she was a Christian appears from the account Tacitus gives of her. Moncæius affirms "That Claudia, mentioned by St Paul, was Caractacus's daughter, that she turned Christian, and was afterwards married to Pudens, a Roman senator, whose marriage is celebrated by Martial, in his noted epigrams." It is certain that Claudia Ruffina was a Briton, who is so much commended by Martial for her wit and beauty.

Clemens Romanus, A D. 96, (the intimate friend and fellow labourer of St Paul) and other early writers are sometimes quoted in support of the theory that St Paul visited Britain, but though this cannot be absolutely proved, there are circumstances which strengthen the supposition that it was by the agency, if not the preaching of the great Apostle, that Christianity was first made known in this country.

If therefore St Paul did visit Britain, and we are strongly impressed with the probabilities of the fact that he did, Caerleon is likely to have been one of the principal scenes of his zealous labours, as he would naturally visit the city where the Roman legions were stationed. It is quite possible, too, that at Caerleon, he may have met those with whom he had previously held Christian converse in the city of Rome.

Falling back upon the authority of the Triads, and the Silurian copies of Achau y Saint, we find it there asserted that Christianity was first introduced into Britain, by Bran, the father of Caractacus, who being detained at Rome seven years as a hostage for his son, embraced the Christian faith during this period. Upon his return to Britain he brought with him four Christian teachers named Ilid, Cyndaf, Arwystli Hen, and Mawan, and through their instrumentality the gospel was here made known. A presumption against the correctness of this story however arises from the fact that Tacitus makes no allusion whatever of Bran, although he mentions and describes the appearance of the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus. At the same time it must be remembered that Tacitus mentions the relatives of Caractacus in connection with the captives at the public exhibition, while Bran is is said to have been detained as a hostage and not a captive.

Alford says, Claudius sent Caractacus home again, and that after many years he died in peace, a friend to the Romans. Tacitus does not notice this, and the circumstances of the period render it improbable.

Some historians believe in the tradition of Joseph of Arimathea visiting Britain, in A.D. 63, and the author of the "Memoirs of Monmouthshire" favours the idea that he preached at Caerleon, where the Roman legions lay. Stillingfleet rejects this story, but maintains, from good and sufficient evidence, that a Christian Church was planted in Britain during the Apostles' time, and considers that it was founded by St Paul.

It seems conclusive, from subsequent circumstances, that a knowledge of the Apostolic mission must have been very early made known in Britain, not only among the Roman forces, but also among the native inhabitants, as Tertullian says the gospel had access to those parts of Britain whither the Romans had none. It is also known that means were soon taken to establish the form of Episcopal Government which had been generally adopted in other countries. Archbishop Usher quotes a statement from the Greek martyrology, to the effect that St. Aristobulus, whose "household" is mentioned Rom. xvi., 10, was ordained by St. Paul, and appointed the first bishop of the Britons. Cressy, in his Church history, also mentions the same circumstance. Remembering the fact that by the general rule of the Church the ecclesiastical government follows the civil, there seems little reason to question but that Caerleon, while one of the principal stations of the Roman military, became also one of the principal, if not the first, of British ecclesiastical sees.

Passing onward to the second century, it is recorded that Lucius, a Silurian prince, but called King of Britain, with all the chiefs of the British people, received baptism in consequence of a legation sent by the Roman Emperors and the Pope. The following account is given in Liber Llandavensis (book of Llandaff) :—"In the year of our Lord, 156, King Lucius sent Elfan and Medwy to Eleutherius, the twelfth Bishop of Rome, imploring that he might be made a Christian through his instructions, upon which he gave God thanks that such a heathen nation did so much desire Christianity, and then by the advice of the presbyters of the city of Rome, they first baptised these ambassadors; and being well instructed, they ordained them, making Elfan, a Bishop, and Medwy a teacher; and so they returned to King Lucius, who, with the chief of the Britons, was baptized; and then according to the instructions of Eleutherius he settled the ecclesiastical order, caused Bishops to be ordained, and the Christian religion to be taught."

The account of this circumstance given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, if not more correct, is certainly more fanciful. He says :—Lucius sent letters to Pope Eleutherius, desiring to be instructed by him in the Christian religion. That Pope sent to him two most religious doctors, Faganus and Duvanus, who, after they had preached concerning the incarnation of the Word of God, administered baptism to him, and made him a proselyte to the Christian faith. Immediately upon this, people from all countries assembled together, followed the King's example, and being washed in the same holy water, were made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. The holy doctors, after they had almost extinguished paganism over the whole island, dedicated the temples that had been founded in honor of many gods to the one only God and his saints, and filled them with congregations of Christians. There were then in Britain eight-and-twenty flamens, as also three archflamens, to whose jurisdiction other judges and enthusiasts were subject. These also, according to the apostolic command, they delivered from idolatry, and where they were flamens, were made bishops, and where archflamens, archbishops. The seats of the archflamens were at the three noblest cities, viz., London, York, and the city of Legions (Caerleon) which its old walls and buildings show to have been situated upon the river Usk in Morganwg.

According to the Welsh Triads, the name of the prince to whom the above circumstances apply was Llewrwg, the grandson of Cyllin. He is said to have been called Llewfer Mawr, or the Great Luminary, an epithet bestowed upon him at a later period in consequence of his having promoted the cause of Christianity. He was a Silurian chieftain, his patrimonial territory comprehending what was afterwards known by the joint names of Gwent and Morganwg, and was permitted by the Romans to exercise the authority of a British regulus in his own dominions. If the Welsh computation be correct, he must have flourished about the middle of the second century,

in the reign of one of the two Antonines, whose edicts in favour of the Christians gave him the opportunity of promoting the new religion. One triad states that he was the person who erected the first church at Llandaff, which was the first in the Isle of Britain. Another triad, speaking of the three Archbishoprics of Britain, says, "The earliest was Llandaff, of the foundation of Llewrwg ab Coel ab Cyllin, who gave lands and civil privileges to such as first embraced the religion of Christianity." Other accounts, varying slightly, are given by several writers.

Enderbie refers to an earlier writer than himself who states that at Caerleon, Lucius built a church in the place of a temple to Minerva, which was previously razed to the ground, and adds that it seems clear that Lucius, upon his conversion, provided for the establishment of that religion whereof he was become at the self-same time both a professor and practiser; that the worshipping of idols was forbidden, the seats of the Archflamens at London, York, and Caerleon changed into Sees of three Archbishops, and that thus the temples vowed by idolatrous priests to profane gods were consecrated to the service of the only true God.

Lucius was buried at Caerleon according to the statements of some writers, while others say that the interment took place at Gloucester. The dates, however, differ, and it has been suggested that the body may have been first buried in one place and subsequently re-interred in the other, or a portion of the body may have been buried in each place to gratify a great devotion for relics existing in early times. A French writer says that Lucius died at Gloucester, and was buried at Caerleon, in the year 196 A.D. With regard to the other names mentioned in this chapter very little is known. Faganus or Fagan is preserved in the village and church which still bear that name near Llandaff, and Medwy is supposed to have given the title to the church and parish of Llanvedw, on the river Rhymney.

THE DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION.

From the death of Lucius to the time of Diocletian, a period of about 100 years elapsed, during which very little of the history of the British Church can be traced. There is testimony, however, that it remained firm in the faith, and continued to flourish.

In the long and bloody persecution which Christians throughout the Roman Empire were subjected to during the reign of Diocletian, the Church in this neighbourhood sustained its full share of suffering. Though the cruel treatment of early Christians at this period may be familiar to many readers, as a matter of general interest, its particular connection with Caerleon has not been fully recognised in this locality. It nevertheless remains a fact, that all the martyrs whose names have been preserved as having suffered in Britain during this persecution, have a direct or indirect connection with the ancient city, and the incidents gleaned from the old authorities will be found not the least interesting in the course of this history.

There is a considerable divergence of opinion among writers as to the date when the persecution raged, some placing it as early as A.D. 284, while others defer it until the commencement of the fourth century. The course of the persecution and its effects will therefore be better comprehended by attention to the sequence of events than by any reference to dates calculated to create confusion.

The persecution seems to have commenced by the publication of an edict for pulling down churches and burning the holy Scriptures, and the way in which the edict was enforced is said to have been as violent as widespread. The period of 100 years which elapsed between the time of King Lucius and the Diocletian persecution would afford ample time for the growth of numerous Christian congregations, and the erection of many new buildings; or, in accordance with a practice which was frequent, the conversion of existing Pagan

temples, to meet the requirements of Christian worship. The edict therefore, when published at Caerleon, is likely to have produced the greatest consternation. Whether the churches were few or many, cannot be ascertained. Enderbie mentions the cathedral church, and this with other religious structures such as they were, were speedily burned or otherwise destroyed.

The worshippers themselves did not remain unmolested. Many of them were seized and imprisoned, simply to await a yet more dreadful fate, while others, on the publication of the edict, fled from the fury of their persecutors, and says Gildas, retired to woods and deserts, and hid themselves in caves in the neighbouring mountains, where they continued till God was pleased to revenge their usage upon their enemies and afford better times to the Church. Among the most prominent teachers or leaders of the Christians, were two, whose names are universally linked together, namely Julius and Aaron. They are described as having been natives of Caerleon, but their names would imply that they were rather of Roman parentage, than descendants of native Britons. These men, nothing daunted by the danger of their position, or the fear of earthly punishment, continued their ministrations in the service of Christ crucified, as circumstances offered them an opportunity. But only a brief period elapsed ere their work was terminated. While addressing an assembly of trembling friends of both sexes, the Roman soldiers burst into their midst, and one and all were made captives and conveyed to prison. Their confinement was not of long duration, and their condemnation speedy. On a fixed day, we are told, Julius and Aaron were brought from their prison-house, and, in the presence of a multitude of people assembled to witness the scene, dispatched with diversity of torture, and torn limb from limb in a most barbarous and cruel manner.

Such is the account which Gildas gives of the event. Geoffrey, of Monmouth, closes his narra-

tive of the occurrence with the observation that they received the crown of martyrdom and were elevated up to the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The Book of Llandaff states that with Julius and Aaron suffered a "multitude of martyrs," but from such a vague statement it is difficult to judge with anything like precision of the number of persons who were put to death in the city of Caerleon at this time; but that a very large number of Christians thus suffered martyrdom is extremely probable. The terrible fate of these constant Christians induced many who sought not the crown of martyrdom, to effect their escape from the city. Among others who succeeded, we read of the venerable and learned Amphibalus. This old man, according to Enderbie, was born, bred, instructed in learning in Caerleon, and for some time occupied there the position of principal of the college. It may be supposed that such a prominent and well-known character would have been among the first of the unfortunate Christians to come within the grasp of the imperial myrmidons, but veneration for his learning, age, and saintly character may have induced a connivance at his escape. After a time we find him timorously seeking shelter from the fierce blast of persecution under the roof of one of his former pupils, St Alban, at Verulam, but friendship was unable to secure continued safety. The doom which Amphibalus had seen befal his his friends Julius and Aaron, and their followers at Caerleon, speedily overtook the saintly Alban. Intelligence reached Caerleon that he, too, had been put to death, and under his suffering had deported himself with the utmost firmness and resolution. Amphibalus soon succumbed to a similar fate, and so also did Stephanus and Socrates, two noble British Christians, who were also his pupils. Upon the facts as here stated it may be contended that St Alban, in point of time, was not, as generally supposed, the first martyr who suffered in Britain, but that Julius and Aaron were the two proto-martyrs; and in dignity

only second to St Alban and St Amphibalus. Enderbie, holding this view says: "Here then at Caerleon lie the two noble proto-martyrs of Great Britain, and there crowned with martyrdom. This title to be the first martyrs of Britain in the most terrible persecution, and with such exceeding magnanimity and Christian constancy as hath been related, in enduring torments, till then never heard of, without any example going before them, but giving themselves the first example thereof, with wonderful patience, love of Christ, and heroical true fortitude to so many thousands, which by their singular example with invincible courage imitated them therein, is the greatest honor we can yield to such blessed saints on earth."

O famed Caerleon! the poets have spent their fancies in pourtraying the fabled acts of Arthur, but left unsung the memorable deeds perpetrated within thy walls, and which add to thy imperishable glory and renown.

These two proto-martyrs Julius and Aaron, were wonderfully commended in our old histories. Gildas saith of them that they stood out in the army of Christ with greatest magnanimity. Giraldus Cambrensis also evidences how they were honored of the holy Catholic Christians of that time, with churches dedicated to them; pilgrimages to the places of their martyrdom, and that both there and in other places were honored, invocated and prayed unto, immediately upon the ceasing of the persecution. The old chronicles relate that the body of St. Amphibalus was afterwards found with the bodies of some other martyrs at Redburn, near Verulam. In the skull of Amphibalus was a large knife, and another in his breast, confirming the account handed down from more ancient times in the book of his martyrdom, which states that he was first embowelled, then pierced with lances and knives, and finally stoned to death, from which cause none of his bones were found entire, though in the corpses of all his companions not a bone was broken. The date of the discovery of the body is given by Roger de Wendover as the 25th June, 1177, being

the 886th year after his martyrdom. In keeping with the circumstances here related, many miracles are said to have taken place—even the dead restored to life in the presence of the relics of the holy saint.

The persecution is supposed to have been continued in Britain for about two years, though in other parts of the Roman Empire it was persisted in for ten years, as previously stated. There exists some difference of opinion as to the precise period of the persecution, but it is clear that it ceased in 313, when Constantine was, by the legionaries in Britain, proclaimed Emperor of Rome. His first act was to restrain the persecution, and "secure full liberty to the Christians." He subsequently became a Christian himself.

The Churches then which had been erected in the time of Lucius and destroyed in the persecution were rebuilt, and from that period may be dated the flourishing condition of the British Church.

If we may believe the accuracy of a statement in one of the Iolo MS.S., Constantine must be credited with the building or probably rebuilding of the Church, at Caerleon.

It has been already intimated that the usual form of episcopal government was introduced into this district at a very early period of the Christian era; but it would seem from the accounts preserved that almost before any archbishop could be said to have been distinctly or legally established, a dispute arose regarding the superiority or precedence of Caerleon and Llandaff. Caerleon, being the principal Roman city in the province of Britannia Secunda, the bishop thereof, in virtue of the general custom, laid claim to metropolitical authority, but the rival claim, on the part of Llandaff, was based upon the fact that Llandaff was the residence of Lucius, the royal founder of the bishopric, the place where the first church in the island was erected, and that from which the whole diocese took its name. The partizans of each continued for a length of time uncompromising in their pretensions. The claims of Llandaff seem to

have been more exclusively asserted by the clergy of that particular district, while the general voice of the church and nation was in favor of Caerleon. This being the principal station of the civil rulers during and after the Roman dominion, would naturally bias the people in its favor; and it seems clear that the preference was conceded to Caerleon, for as early as A.D. 314, the Archbishop of Caerleon, with the other bishops of London and York, sat as representatives of the British Church at the Synod of Arles, convened by Constantine, from all the Western Churches, while Llandaff is not mentioned.

This event, coupled with the facts that during the same century at Nice, 325, Sardica, 347, and Armenia, 359, British bishops were present, has been often quoted as a proof of the existence, independence and recognition of the British Church as a part of the Christian community before the arrival of St Augustine.

As a question has been raised respecting the doubtful reading of the passage referring to the presence of the Archbishop of Caerleon, at the early Council of Arles, it may be well to give the authority upon which it rests. Usher and Spelman, quoting from the earliest authorities the names of the British bishops present at the Council, give them as follow :—

Eborius Episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi; Provincia Britanniâ.

Restitutus Episcopus, de civitate Londinensi; Provincia superscriptâ.

Adelfius Episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium; exinde Sacerdos, Presbyter; Arminius, Diaconus.

As to the first two, York and London, there can be no doubt; but the learned writers have been obliged to make conjectures as to the third, there being no place in Britain known as Colonia Londinensium. It could not be London, the bishop of that place having been already mentioned, and London, moreover, not being generally recognised as a colony. Usher, Selden, and Spelman, suggest

that Colchester was intended, that place being called Colonia, by Antoninus. But Stillingfleet gives a more probable rendering of the sentence, having in mind the manner in which Bishops were summoned to such Councils. He believes, from authorities he refers to, that no more than one Bishop was summoned from a province, with probably one or two presbyters. Now in Britain, there were three provinces, therefore, since the other two Bishops, about whom there is no doubt, were out of the other two provinces, Maxima Cæsariensis and Britannia Prima, the third Bishop, was certain to be from the other province, Britannia Secunda, wherein were two colonies—Chester and Civitas Legionis ad Yscham (Caerleon-on-Usk.) Therefore, this Bishop Adelfius came out of the city or colony of the Second Legion, which the ignorant transcribers might have easily turned into the sentence given above. That the Archbishop of Caerleon should not have been overlooked, is in agreement with all that we find as regards the position of Caerleon in old writers. Geoffrey of Monmouth says the three Archbishops were in London, York, and Caerleon, and the province of the latter was Wales, and he had superiority over the other two. Enderbie, in quoting from Giraldus, Sir John Price, and Matthew Parker, says:—"It being ordered to constitute Primates where Pagans had their Archflamens, Caerleon, Canterbury, London, York, and St Andrews were designed Sees of such Primates," and further remarks, "observe, in the Latin, Caerlegion urbs Legionum is put in the first place!" No further information can be gleaned respecting Sacerdos and Arminius, who appear to have accompanied Adelfius, the Bishop, but they attended probably as representatives of the different orders of the priesthood.

No correct list of the early Archbishops of Caerleon is extant, nor can the names or the order of succession of any of them be depended upon prior to that of Dubritius. Among these are St Faganus, St Angulus, St. Gudwal, Adelfius, and Tremonus.

All that we can ascertain of the first-named is, that he was sent over to Britain, from Rome, by Pope Eleutherius, at the request of King Lucius, about A.D. 177, and the fact that a church (St Fagan's, near Cardiff), is dedicated to a saint of this name, is now the only evidence of his existence. St. Angulus is said by some writers to have been a martyr, but it is not precisely known where or when, the fact being that the oldest authorities simply state that St Angulus was Bishop of Augusta, and this has led to some later writers claiming for him a connection with London, while others state that he was the Bishop or Archbishop of Isca Augusta—Caerleon. Adelfius, we have previously shown, represented the British Church at the early council of Arles, A.D. 314, and at a later period we find Tremonus, or Tramor, in a position of influence at the Court of Ambrosius, and advising that king to have recourse to Merlin, the Enchanter, for guidance in his difficulties. With respect to Dubritius, we must defer any notice until a later period when we have finally concluded our remarks concerning the Roman period.

LIFE IN THE CITY.

Some writers have affected to regard the local history of Caerleon during the Roman period as a complete blank, but from circumstances known to exist it is not difficult to imagine many enacted scenes which the records of the times have failed to hand down to us. Yet the records are not altogether silent, for the Iolo M.SS. states that in 338 the Cambro Britons made an attack upon the city and recovered its possession, in celebration of which they had a festival there—the triumphant rejoicing lasting for a period of forty days.

In the absence of authentic information, it is difficult to form a correct opinion of the condition of Caerleon during the Roman period, but very much may be inferred from the facts and circumstances already disclosed. Having touched upon the more material evidence furnished by the old

writers, we will endeavour to glance, before concluding, at the inner life of the inhabitants. From all that can be gathered it seems probable that among the inhabitants, the Roman element became predominant, for first, there must have been a large accession of Roman blood in the army, notwithstanding the fact that the legions called Roman were recruited from all the nations subject to Rome, and the practice of posting troops raised in one country in a far distant one. There were also the civil functionaries and their families, who, with the military officers and their families, would probably form the society of the place. Next there were the ecclesiastical officials, a most important body, and to these must be added the merchants, tradesmen, artists, and others of a like class, forming altogether a considerable ingredient in the Roman portion of the population. Besides these there was no doubt a large number of people dwelling in the city, purely British, though in all probability chiefly of the servile class.

Activity in the city must have been apparent at all times, but on particular occasions great movements stirred up the populace to more than usual excitement. Let us conjecture that intelligence has been received of a savage and unsuspected attack by the natives upon some of the outlying sentinels of the Roman camp. Orders are at once issued for preparations to chastise the offenders. Messengers gallop to and fro between the neighbouring stations of Caerwent, Burrium (Usk) and Tibia Amnis (Cardiff), and troops hasten to reinforce the companies already prepared for action at Caerleon. Gaily caparisoned officers on prancing steeds show themselves full of life, and proudly placing themselves in view of the mercenary soldiers eager for war or slaughter, order the shrill trumpet for the advance. Trembling now is every British heart remaining in the city, knowing they are utterly at the mercy of their exasperated conquerors, whose slaves they are in very deed and name. They grieve for the fate which they fear is imminent for their brave

and dauntless countrymen now pursued by the Roman troops. Eagerly the soldiers press forward, over the broad smooth roadway which they had themselves assisted in constructing. The morning air is bracing, and the bright sunshine throws a halo of beauty over the whole landscape. The mist has cleared away, and the rays of light show up with distinctness the thickly wooded vales, and every object on the mountain side which bounds the distant view. After proceeding some distance, the troops diverge to mount an adjacent hill, and then debouch into the valley below. Here and there, by the small stream trending its way through the valley a few British huts are visible, but though no human beings are within them, their condition show that they have been hastily deserted. Again the troops press forward until the summit of a second range of hills is reached, and the valley beneath scanned by the keen gaze of the warrior's eye; no enemy however, appears in sight. The whole district between the mountains and the waters of the distant estuary come within the ken of the observers, and nowhere, save in the recesses of the thick woods dotted about, could an enemy hide undetected. The commanding officer hesitates to scale the mountain height with no purpose in view, he therefore halts awhile sending scouts into the adjacent thickets with the hope of unmasking a human foe, but there no life is disturbed save that of the beasts and fowls in their wild habitation. The day now becoming far advanced, prudence dictates a retreat to the security of the camp. From experience acquired in previous expeditions the officers in charge well know that though no enemy is seen there are eyes on the mountain side watching every movement, and ready to take advantage of any position of danger in which the troops might be placed. For safety and protection, therefore, a return to Caerleon is directed, which the force reaches ere sunset, overtaking on the road a long line of heavily loaded waggons, creeping slowly along and conveying the collected

denarii from the outlying provinces to the colonial treasury at Isca Silurum.

THE AMPHITHEATRE.

With the Romans, as with other nations of both ancient and modern times, it was not "all work." However fiercely or gallantly the military of the provinces may have fought, when circumstances demanded their services, or however steadfastly civilians may have pursued industrial occupations, they still had their periods of recreation and disport. The form of amusement which in the days of the Empire seems to have been most popular, and adapted to the tastes of the people on great occasions, was that of gladiatorial sports. Such exhibitions had doubtlessly existed for many ages, but in the first centuries of the Christian era an effort was made in the direction of giving permanence to the institution, and the wooden structures, similar to the stand of a modern racecourse, gave place in important cities to buildings of stone, which were both spacious and costly in their erection. These buildings were termed amphitheatres, and had seats on all sides in rows and tiers, rising one above another, with a space termed the arena in the centre, where gladiatorial combats, fights with wild beasts, or other spectacles, were exhibited. The Colosseum, at Rome, begun by Vespasian, and finished by Titus, A.D. 80, was probably one of the largest of the kind ever erected, and, fortunately, is one of the best preserved. An accurate idea therefore can be formed of the size and style of architecture of such buildings, and the purposes to which they were applied. The taste for the excitement of the sports of the amphitheatre, which became popular at Rome, soon spread to the provinces, and amphitheatres of the most approved design quickly sprung up in many of the important Roman stations in Britain, such as Caerleon, Cirencester, Silchester, and Dorchester. The remains of that at Dorchester is the most perfect in England. It measured 218

feet by 163 feet, and was 80 feet deep, calculated to hold 13,000 persons. These facts enable us to estimate the extent of the amphitheatre at Caerleon, and we may reasonably imagine that as Dorchester was not so important a station as Caerleon, the amphitheatre at the latter place would not be less in magnitude than the structure at the former station. Unfortunately, however, the ravages of time and the destructive hand of man has left nothing visible at the present day but a circular hollow in a field, which indicates with certainty either the extent or even the site upon which stood the Roman amphitheatre at Caerleon. This spot is situate a short distance without the existing remains of the walls, to the left of the Broadway, and is now generally known as King Arthur's Round Table. There seems little reason to doubt, however, that it was during the Roman occupation an open amphitheatre, similar to that now remaining in an almost perfect state at Dorchester. Giraldus states that in his time, the walls were standing; and the author of the Secret Memoirs of Monmouthshire, states that in 1706 a prodigious foundation wall of freestone was found on the south side of the field. The field on the opposite side of the Broadway is called Bear House Field, and Mr Lee thinks it derived its name from being the place appropriated to the animals destined for the sports of the theatre. Mr. Lee also refers to a peculiarity in the remains of the Roman walls, which, he says, has not yet been explained. Immediately opposite to the amphitheatre are several straight upright lines indicating a kind of finish in the wall, and which seem to have no object. The courses of stones do not correspond on either side, and yet the wall is perfectly even in front. Within 12 yards there are three of these apparent breaks, and he suggests the possibility of their having some connexion with sally ports, or passages leading to the amphitheatre from the city.

Without any contention, however, on this curious point, let us suppose a day on which

sports on a grand scale have been arranged to take place. Announcements have been circulated throughout the district by show bills and posters, not unlike in character our modern play bills; and the rumour having obtained that a number of Britons recently taken prisoners are to be brought into the arena, more than the usual cruel amusement and excitement is anticipated. From early morn considerable commotion is observable within and without the city. As the day advances music floats in the air, and sounds of boisterous mirth freely greet the ear. The streets are crowded with both military and civilians gaily attired, including many strangers from neighbouring towns and stations. The hour now approaches for the commencement of the sport, and see, there proceeds the Praetor and his lady, followed by a gorgeous retinue of officers and attendants. How bedizened they are with decorations of gold. The lady seems covered all over with emeralds and pearls in alternate rows; over all her head, her hair, ears, neck and fingers, some of them are priceless gems, never purchased by her, or for her; they are the spoils of provinces where the Roman army proved victorious. On all sides there is evidence of a gala day; both high and low seem joyous of heart, and wend their way in one and the same direction. It is through the Broadway, towards the spacious amphitheatre, and there we may imagine the completed preparations for a series of gladiatorial combats. An immense concourse of people is assembled, so that the vast area of the amphitheatre, capable of holding 10,000 persons, is far too limited to enable all to witness the spectacle. The Praetor, his deputies from distant stations, high and noble Romans, with their wives, lavishly bedecked with jewels, officers and men of the occupying army, including men of many nations, serving as mere mercenaries, under Roman command, each and all attired in their best and most showy costumes. The sudden blast of trumpets and the deafening clamour of the assembly are the prelude to the introduction into

the well-sanded arena of the first pair of gladiators. They are both Britons, men of large limbs and great physical strength, nearly nude, and armed with short swords. They fence, but their listlessness shows they have no desire to injure each other, or shed blood for the amusement of their hated conquerors. In a short period one is removed, and his place supplied by a trained gladiator from Rome, sworn to fight to the death. The combat immediately becomes and continues intensely exciting. The ringing steel tells how fast fall the heavy blows, which sound above the involuntary outcries of the throng of spectators. Wound after wound is inflicted by each of the combatants in turn, and from their bodies streams of blood flow to the ground on which they tread. But there is no more than a momentary cessation of the conflict. The greater strength and impetuosity of the Briton seem a match for the superior skill of his antagonist, whose chief object has been to defend himself against fierce and incessant onslaughts. At length the Roman skill and training prevail. In a moment of unguardedness the Briton is disarmed by a swift and skilful stroke, and lies stretched on the ground in his own gore at the mercy of his foe. With upraised sword the victor stands over him, and turns his eyes to the spot where sits the Prætor and other civic and military dignitaries. He looks for a signal, and in an instant the whole assembly with an unhesitating motion raise their hands, the thumb being turned downwards. The victor comprehends the signal, realises his desire, and gloatingly sacrifices the life of his brave victim, receiving immediately afterwards a palm branch as a reward of his inhuman butchery.

Such were the sports, varied occasionally by conflicts with wild beasts, that in the second and third centuries took place in the amphitheatre of the Roman capital of Britannia Secunda—Caerleon.

A ROMAN CEMETERY.

The subject of death leads us by a natural sequence of thought to that of burial and burial places. The Romans, it is well known, practised extra-mural interments, the sanitary advantages of which were disregarded in later ages, and has only recently been again recognised. The chief burying place, or cemetery, in connection with the city would appear to have been a short distance without the walls, on the road running in the direction of Caerwent. It is now a field on the slope of a steep hill. There day by day the ashes of the cremated dead, preserved in cinerary urns were deposited in the soil, and there may have been read on inscribed stones, even as in the cemeteries of the present day, the names of the departed, and of the loving remembrance and affection of the surviving relatives.

It is a common and seemingly natural thing on entering a graveyard to note the brief facts commemorated on the erected monuments. The record of an elderly person attracts our special notice; if the death was in the last century, we regard it with still more attention; if the date is of the 17th century, we think it somewhat remarkable; and if of older date we look upon the stone as a sepulchral curiosity. Monumental inscriptions of the 15th century are few and far between, and of an earlier date still more rare. But as the stream of death "goes on for ever," we are tempted to ask where are the records of all the generations that have gone before?

> "Where are they all? The beautiful, the brave,
> The statesman, the philosopher?
> All slumbering in the grave!"

Yes, the grave, that appears to have been "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung." The churches of Caerleon, St. Woolos, Llanhenog, and others in the immediate neighbourhood are probably among those of oldest date in the kingdom, and yet how seldom a tombstone records a date of more than a couple of centuries ago.

Who shall predict how many of those now existing will remain to sight when another two hundred years shall have passed away? The impossibility of recalling to memory from the silent stone tablets, the rude forefathers of the hamlet, who lived three centuries ago, makes the discovery of the Roman burying place, with the tombs of veterans, who, leaving the banks of the Tiber, and, after passing through Gaul, crossed the channel and settled and died, with wives and families in the station of Isca Silurum, all the more remarkable. There is now in the museum at Caerleon a stone, free to the inspection of visitors, which about 1,500 years ago was erected to the memory of Lady Cæsaria by her husband, and probably her three sons; another to Agrius Cimarius. A third records that Julia Veneria was mourned by her husband and son. A fourth commemorates a mother's affection for her departed daughter Other stones recall to memory the names of veterans belonging to the Legion, which at time the stones were erected occupied the city barracks. Of one veteran it is said "vixit annis centum." He lived 100 years. The stone was erected by his wife and son; while close by, another stone, erected by the same son, records the subsequent death of his mother at the age of 75 years. Even here among the tombs might the contemplative read, not only the fate of the victorious veterans of the Roman army, but also the doom of the empire in the words "Sic transit gloria mundi."

EFFECT OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

Having now exhausted the principal facts and traditions relating to the Roman occupation of the district, it seems desirable before concluding the remarks upon this period to offer a few general observations upon the changes which that occupation effected. The precise conditions and effect cannot be accurately determined, as various opinions are expressed by the most competent writers. It is said that a country was never considered conquered until it was not only overthrown

by Roman arms, but also bound down by Roman laws. While this was undoubtedly the condition of the greater part of Britain, exception must be taken as regards Siluria. Though Caerleon and its other towns were occupied by the Roman military force, the inhabitants kept in check, and the Roman law enforced, it is doubtful whether the Roman power was exerted or exercised to any extent continuously, in or beyond the mountainous district. After establishing their military supremacy and amply providing for their safety, the Romans probably desired and endeavoured to maintain peace, not only between themselves and the natives, but also between the many native princes and their followers; one of their first objects being to put an end to all leagues or combinations which might prove dangerous to their rule. The objects of the Romans, if briefly summarised, may be said to have been to encourage peace and keep the British princes in order, to enforce tribute, and make the natives pay the cost of their own conquest and continued subjection, the making of roads, camps, and fortresses: the support of the army, and the enriching of generals and procurators. The spoils of Britain, however, never greatly enriched the Roman Empire or many of its officers, and however justly or unjustly taxes and tribute may have been exacted, it is generally admitted that the expenses of administration absorbed all the revenue derived from the province.

The natives were no doubt disarmed, and so long as they paid the demanded tribute and refrained from tumult they were permitted to enjoy a considerable amount of liberty. It is asserted that the district was nominally restored to the successors of Caractacus, the inhabitants retaining their ancient rights and privileges. This inference is supported by a statement in the Iolo MSS., where it is averred that they exercised but little political or military power, except to aid their conquerors in the expulsion of different invading hordes.

The examples of industry and skill shown by the Roman legionaries naturally had great and beneficial influence upon the people. The soldiers were not mere fighting men, but employed for the greater part of their time in constructing roads, buildings, and other public works; and Rome was successful in the art of making her subjects emulate and copy her own civilization. While, therefore, in Caerleon and other places where the Roman element prevailed, Britons became Romanised in their manners and customs, buying and selling, and following industrial avocations; the natives in the country, while forbidden the possession of the sword, were encouraged to use the spade to bring waste lands into cultivation, and at Caerleon they would find a ready market for all their produce.

It is greatly to the credit of the Romans that whatever knowledge or learning they possessed, they were not slow to disseminate it through every province of the extensive Empire, and with that view they established and supported schools, in which youths were taught the Latin language, and sometimes the Greek and other branches of learning. The Emperor Gratian, A.D. 376, issued an edict directed to Gaul, and therefore extending to Britain, commanding the Prefects to establish schools in all the considerable towns, particularly in all the capitals of the provinces. What was done at Caerleon under this edict is not exactly to be ascertained. Schools were already in existence there, as we find it recorded that after the Diocletian persecution, and under the auspices of Antoninus, Caerleon became noted as a seat of learning and devotion. It is probable that some impetus was given to the existing institutions, as we find that not long after some of its students became renowned for their literary attainments.

One of the earliest effects of the Roman occupation was a change in the designation of many places, but in most instances the ancient word was retained with no more variation than necessary to adapt the terminations of the Latin language. Thus the British word Syllwr, or Esyllwr, was

termed Siluria; Caerwent became Venta Silurum; and Caerwysg, Isca Silurum. In the names of places, however, at present in use, there do not appear many remains of Roman etymology. The old British name Caerwent has been resumed, and for Isca, Caerleon has been substituted. In the name Ultra Pontem (Caerleon village) the Roman name seems still preserved.

Respecting the architectural structures of the Romans at Caerleon, much uncertainty exists. There is both positive and analagous evidence from which to judge; the first from the numerous ruins and fragments that have been found there, and the second from the style and character of the buildings which were prevalent in Italy and the colonies under Roman rule. Caerleon, like other capitals of provinces and similar military stations, was adorned with public edifices and private dwellings within the fortifications, while outside, villa residences were occasionally erected; an instance of the latter having been found at Pilbach, about midway between Caerleon and Newport. The extent and variety of Roman remains discovered at Caerleon will afford the student a far more accurate estimate of Roman architecture and Roman habits than the opinions of writers who reason from an imperfect knowledge of existing facts. At all events, the numerous remains discovered from time to time at Caerleon at once indicate the superiority of the city over all other places in the province, notwithstanding that they are deemed to have been Roman stations of more or less importance. At Cardiff, for instance, no vestige of Roman remains are at present discoverable in the town, though encampments are traceable in the vicinity. One Roman coin (of the reign of Trajan) was found about a century ago, and the remains of a hypocaust within the present castle, but we have no knowledge of any important remains having at any time been found. The fact therefore remains that of all Wales, Caerleon has afforded the greatest number and variety of Roman antiquities.

The late Dr. Nicholas says, we have only to dig

beneath the surface as the local antiquarians have done, to discover substantial proofs of what has been asserted : altars once smoking with sacrifices to the Roman deities have been disinterred ; fragments of columns and friezes, of tesselated pavement, of baths, and marble statuary, articles of personal ornament, and of domestic use, weapons of offence, and implements of handicraft, sepulchral memorials with the actual names of the dead, have all been discovered as witnesses, silent but elegant, to the people, the religion, the industry, the power, which Caerleon knew so many ages ago.

After the lapse of more than three centuries of Roman occupation, at a period when the greater part of Britain had become reconciled to their condition, the civil discord in the heart of the Empire led to the gradual withdrawal of the Roman troops, together with the flower of the British youth, for the defence of the central dominions. In the beginning of the fifth century, the legions were removed from the more distant stations to convenient places of embarkation, and about 408 or 409 A.D., they finally quitted the shores of Britain.

Caerleon and the district around was now in a very different condition from that in which the Romans first acquired it. The city then, though ancient and renowned, was probably little better than an aggregate of timber buildings or wattled huts, and the district around, the hunting ground of the half civilised natives. These no longer went naked with painted bodies, or clothed themselves with skins, but now assumed the Roman dress and imitated their conquerors in many other habits and customs. In the city, dwelling-houses, temples, and courts had been erected, adorned with porticoes, galleries, baths, and mosaic pavements, all of magnificent design and material, and furnished with appliances of luxury and tokens of power and wealth in which the Romans so much delighted. In the country, surrounding forests were thinned, the land drained, and agriculture pursued with some regularity. Municipal government, too, had been established; the people entrusted with

the franchise by Caracalla, commerce promoted, and the natives, much to their advantage, brought into contact by means of the legions with men of many nations. The dark mysteries of Druidism had melted away before the light of Christianity, and its crude teachings supplanted in established schools by all the improved knowledge which the Romans then possessed or valued. Emperors had visited the city, and left mementoes of their visit which still exist; Julius and Aaron had sealed their martyrdom, and set an example of Christian devotion which will last to the end of time.

In a word, Caerleon, during the course of three centuries, became the chief city of the Romans in Wales, the centre of gaiety, of architectural splendour, of fiscal administration, and of polite learning, though the fact may be difficult to realise by those who in modern days perambulate its quiet and almost desolate streets.

ROMAN REMAINS.

The discovery of Roman antiquities at Caerleon may be well regarded as an event of modern times, but instead of deferring particulars of such discoveries until a later chapter, it is thought advisable to gather up in the present place such notices as are to be found, and thus render the account of the Roman period more complete.

When it is remembered that at no time since the Roman occupation, has Caerleon ceased to be inhabited, it becomes a matter of surprise that so many interesting objects, indicative of that occupation should have remained in the earth undisturbed until the present century, while at the same time the thought arises of how much must have been disinterred during the lapse of so many centuries, of which no vestige is preserved, and which would now be looked upon as invaluable. Giraldus Cambrensis is one of the earliest writers who makes reference to the Roman remains at Caerleon. He visited the city in 1185, and the following passage is quoted from his account of it: "Many vestiges of its former splendour may yet

be seen; immense palaces formerly ornamented with gilded roofs in imitation of Roman magnificence, inasmuch as they were first raised by Roman princes and embellished with splendid buildings; a tower of prodigious size, remarkable hot baths, relics of temples and theatres all enclosed within fine walls, parts of which remain standing. You will find both within and without the circuit of the walls subterranean buildings, aqueducts, underground passages, and, what I think worthy of notice, stoves contrived with wonderful art to transmit the heat insensibly through narrow tubes passing up the side walls."

Leland, in making his itinerary in the reign of Henry VIII., visited the ancient city. He states that tradition then pointed to a spot where stood the old Roman church, and that in digging there "certain paintings on stones" were found. He also says that "certain painted incrustments" had been dug up hard by the castle.

Next we find Camden and his later editor Gough describing the city and its antiquities, and exercising their great learning in deciphering the various inscriptions upon stones which came under their observation.

Bishop Gibson, of Llandaff, was successful in collecting many valuable relics, among them being the inscribed stone indicating the rebuilding of the Temple to Diana, and the votive altar dedicated to the Emperor Severus and his sons Caracella and Geta.

Horsley, in "Britannia Romana," and Harris, in his account of "The Antiquities of Monmouthshire," give many interesting particulars respecting Caerleon; and Grose, in his Antiquities, gives a drawing of the remains of a tower on the bank of the river on the Ultra-Pontem side, and expresses his belief that it is of Roman construction.

Mr Wyndham was one of the first travellers whose narrative drew public attention to this district. He felt much interest in its Roman antiquities, and describes those which he saw and

heard of. At Caerwent, a very large beautiful tesselated pavement had been discovered in 1777, and Mr. Wyndham, thus describes it:—"The pavement is in length 21ft. 6in., and in breadth 18ft. A border edged with the Greek skull and fret surround the whole, but on the off side this border, being upwards of 3ft., is much broader than on the other side. This was designed in order to reduce the circles within a square. These circles are about 3ft. in diameter, and are encircled with a variety of elegant ornaments, and separated from each other by regular and equal distances. I think there are 13 of these circles. The pieces of which the pavement is composed are nearly square, the breadth of them being about the size of a narrow die. These are of various colours, blue, with yellow and red, the first two are of stone, and the last two terra cotta. By a judicious mixture of these colours the whole pattern is as strongly described as it would be in oil colours. The original level is perfectly preserved, and the whole composition is so elegant and well executed that I think it is not surpassed by any Mosaic pavement on this or even the other side of the Alps. It is equal to those beautiful pavements preserved in the palace of the King of Naples at Portice. I am inclined to think it is of the age of Agricola. It might possibly have been the floor of a temple, as one may reasonably consider it too costly an ornament for a private building."

Coxe probably gave a fuller account than any previous writer of the interesting Roman remains. At Caerleon he traced or made a survey of the walls. Their elevation, he says, was in no place more than 14 feet, which was considerably less than the original height; their greatest thickness was between 11 and 12 feet. He describes three capstones of a cornice which had been discovered and appeared to have been placed at an angle of a building. They were of freestone, and scarcely inferior in the elegance of workmanship to the angular cornices in the ruins of Palmyra. These fragments, he says, have been considered parts of

the ancient cathedral, but were most probably remains of a splendid Roman temple. He also states that in 1786 a figure of Diana, with her tresses and crescent moulded in alabaster, was found in the Round Table field.

He describes a stone, an inscription upon which had been interpreted by Dr McCaul to record the dedication of some building in A.D. 234, when Maximus, for the second time, and Urbanus were consuls, and another of the date September 23, 244, when Peregrinus and Æmilanus were consuls.

At Little Bulmoor in 1777 or 1778 was discovered the massive foundation of an immense building consisting of hewn stones from half a ton to a ton. Among these fragments was a large freestone six or seven feet high, four wide, on which an arched recess was excavated, containing the figure of a man in a sitting posture, the left hand resting on a globe, the right mutilated. It seemed to resemble the statue of an imperator.

About the beginning of the present century, Wales which had been regarded to a great extent as an unknown country, was visited by a succession of tourists, each one vieing with the other in their high praises of the beauty of the natural scenery and the many objects of architectural and antiquarian interest which the country contained. Caerleon becoming recognised as the Isca Silurum of the Romans, was a place of considerable attraction, and from that period we have many notices of antiquities from time to time having been discovered.

Of the fate of many of the interesting relics some idea may be formed from an account given by Mr Manby, who made a tour through Monmouthshire in 1802.

Mr. Manby writes as follows respecting certain inscribed stones. Being desirous of acquiring for the public any relic which might be interesting, I applied to the owner, and hearing they were of no value to him, only as suiting the uses of a mason, determined to rescue them from

such a disgrace, offered either to procure an equal quantity of stone suitable for the purpose required, or to pay him any fair determined price. Mr. Gethin consented, and assured me he would call on me the next time he came to Bristol. *Not fulfilling his word*, I revisited Caerleon, with the intention of concluding the bargain, when lo! I arrived just in time to see the remains of the last stone fixing for a window frame!"

Mr Barber, who made a tour through the district in 1803, describing Caerleon, says:—"An altar with a Roman inscription upon it had been dug up just before our arrival, and we were conducted by an obliging gentleman of the town to the garden in which it was found, where we saw the venerable monument of antiquity just finished slicing into half-a-dozen slabs for paving."

A year later a tourist named Donovan paid a visit to Caerwent and refers to two tesselated pavements, for which the village had a short time before become highly celebrated. One, which had been exposed in the open ground, was nearly demolished, and the other one was in a far worse state of mutilation, only a few dies or tesserae lying scattered about the grass.

Fortunately, in 1847, efforts were made to establish a society for the purpose of investigating the antiquities of the county, and of preserving any memorials of the past of which they could obtain possession. On the 28th October a meeting was held at the Priory, Caerleon, Lieut.-Col. Sir Digby Mackworth, Bart., presiding. The Caerleon Antiquarian Association was then founded, and Mr John Edward Lee, whose devotion to the Society for more than 30 years merits much honour, was appointed Secretary. The present museum was speedily erected, and successful efforts have since been made to fill its ample space with treasured memorials of the past.

For a detailed account of the many interesting discoveries made in the neighbourhood, the reader is referred to Mr. J. E. Lee's admirable book,

"Isca Silurum," where, as the result of much pains-taking zeal, most of the objects preserved are fully described and accurately illustrated. We purpose, however, to give a summary of those objects, indicating as far as possible the localities in which they were found.

Some of these objects unfortunately have been destroyed, or their present whereabouts not known. Of others still preserved, the exact spot in which they were discovered is not recorded. In designating the places where articles have been known to be found, the names given in Mr. Lee's *Isca Silurum* have been retained.

At the Castle Villa.—A centurial stone, 14in. by 5in., with an inscription interpreted to be "*Cohors quinta centuria Pœtini.*" The precise object of these stones does not seem to be known, although they are frequently brought to light wherever the Romans had a station or erected a fortification. Another stone, 28in. by 9in., with an inscription which may be read as under, "*Deae Fortunae . . . mus . . . Præfectus Castrorum,*" indicating that it was dedicated to Fortune, by the quarter-master or other important officer of the Legion. Part of a column, 3ft. 8½in. high, the diameter of shaft being 18 2-3in, and the capital 23in. in the widest part; it is conjectured to be part of an altar dedicated to Mithras, the inscription appearing to be ". . *ncto . . thrae . . s fustu nif (Sancto Mithræ)*;" A stone, 52in. by 40in., with a figure of the head of Medusa, entwined with snakes, sculptured in the centre; it belonged apparently to the pediment of a building. A number of stone facings, from 1ft. to 4ft. in length, for decorations; a patera or flat bowl, a round tile-part of a pillar of hypocaust, a cornice brick stamped with initials; a large number of flue and roof tiles, a variety of coloured glass, glass beads, enamel studs, and bronzes, jet ornaments, ivory carvings, bone needles, and tools, armulet made from horn, fibulæ and personal ornaments, articles for toilet, part of bronze necklace, bronze handles of iron keys, bronze nails,

pins, bell, shears, style, balance, keys, spoons, foot rule, portions of harness, mould for casting metal ornaments, etc, etc.

In the Castle Grounds.—Memorial inscription, 13in by 5in, "*Primus Tesera,*" supposed to be in memory of an officer of the Augustan Legion. A stone 23in by 12 in, with figure riding a dolphin; a quantity of red glazed ware, a cup of Roman form, jar or bottle with interior divisions; part of globular amphora, lamp mould, fibulæ and minor articles.

At the foot of Castle Mound.—A stone 36in by 29in, supposed to record the re-building of the barracks of the 7th cohort, by the Lieutenant of the Emperors Valerianus and Gallienus, A.D. 253 to 260. The inscription is one of the most perfect discovered at Caerleon. A stone 56in by 24in, with an inscription which reads as follows:—*Fortunæ et bono Evento, Cornelius Castus et Julius, Belisimnus conjuge (que) posuerunt,* supposed to be an altar dedicated to Fortuna. Above the inscription are two figures, the left of which is so defaced as to render it difficult to say whether it was intended for male or female. The right hand figure appears with a patera in his hand in the act of sacrificing. An altar and what is meant to represent fire, occupies the middle of the stone. An altar 20in by 17in by 12in; an altar 25in by 15in.

In the Churchyard.—Stone, 43in by 17in, referring to a building which had gone to decay, and which had been restored by Severus, and Geta, his son. Altar, 40in by 20in, inscribed, and erected by individuals whose names are mentioned on a votive tablet, dug up at Caerleon 200 years ago, and still preserved. Tesselated pavement of labyrinthine pattern. This was found at the close of the year 1865, when digging a grave at the north-east corner of the churchyard. It appeared the flooring of an apartment, 14ft. by 11ft. The centre portion contained the design of a Cretan labyrinth, 8ft. square, surrounded by a border of very light and elegant scroll work, which issues from the mouths of two

vases, one at each end of the room, the bases or feet of which rest on the borders of the labyrinth. The scrolls form a number of graceful coils, each terminating in a cordate leaf. The ground of the pattern is white, and formed with tesseræ of a white compact limestone, about 5-8ths of an inch square. The scrolls are made with a single line of black or dark grey tesseræ, also of limestone. The only colour introduced is in the vases, and these are enlivened by some bright red tesseræ of brick, probably intended to give the effect of flutes in the lower parts. The labyrinth is formed altogether of black and white tesseræ, and is surrounded by a border of black tesseræ, four in width, the ground of the labyrinth is white, the paths being three in breadth, and the dark lines which separate them only two. It is arranged in four squares, each of which must be fully traversed in succession before the centre is reached. The portion of pavement, which was in excellent preservation, was removed to the Museum, where it is now to be seen. Tesselated pavements with labyrinths are extremely rare, and no other specimen has been discovered in Britain.

In 1866, an old house adjoining the churchyard, and in which a former vicar lived, was pulled down, and several defaced fragments of stones were there found. Lump of coarse red pottery, scent bottle, &c.

In Backhall-street.—A tesselated pavement was discovered here during the progress of some drainage works, in the spring of 1877. It appeared to be the floor of a chamber 34 feet square. It had become much dilapidated, and as it extended into the garden adjacent to the road only a portion of it was recoverable. This was removed to the museum where it is now preserved.

At the same time were discovered numerous fragments of black and red pottery, bronze fibulæ and pins, bone pins and needles, a bronze figure of a game cock, with its comb, spurs and wattle, neatly finished; specimens of plate glass and a very perfect earthenware mortarium, 11 inches in diameter.

Near the Hanbury Arms.—Centurial stone 23 in. by 15 in. inscribed, "*Cohort secunda centuria Valerii Flavi.*"

In the Priory Gardens.—A pillar of moulded glass, bronze pliers, jar of red ware, half-full of burnt bones and ashes.

Field in Front of Priory.—Stone-facings ornamented.

Near the National School.—Handle of course pottery.

In and near Broadway.—A quantity of red glazed ware, a jar of dark coloured ware, carved figure of goat.

Round Table Field —Amphora of red ware, black ware fragments, alabaster with figure of Diana, foundation wall of freestone, &c.

Walk's Field.—Red glazed ware, fibulæ, &c.

River-side.—Lamp of red ware.

Near the Red Lion.—Two stones with scorings; bowl of red glazed ware.

Late Mrs. Pritchard's Garden.—Stone 22in. by 15in., sculptured; red glazed ware; part of bronze candelabrum.

Railway Excavations.—Sepulchral inscription, 31in. by 29in.; several stone coffins, vessels of glass, bronze lamp, large earthenware urn, glass basin, or drinking vessel.

In Caerleon (exact spot not known.)—Centurial stone 15in. by 6in., set up, it is imagined on account of some work done by order of a centurion in the sixth cohort of the Legion; sepulchral stone, 19in. by 14in., erected to the memory of a veteran in the Augustan Legion, by his wife.

Votive tablet, 23in. by 16in., erected for the health or safety of Severus and his two sons, by the same individuals who erected the altar found in the churchyard. This tablet was found more than 200 years ago, and preserved in the mansion of the Bishop of Llandaff, at Mathern. The words Geta Cæsaris seem to have been partly erased. Inscribed stone, 26in. by 16in., recording the rebuilding of the Temple of Diana, by Titus Flavius Postumius Varus, a veteran of the Second Legion.

Several stones with short or mutilated inscriptions, the purport of which cannot be satisfactorily determined; mouldings of two capitals, red glazed, castor, and Upchurch ware; pottery of various kinds, glass vessels, lamps, a stone of deep blue color, probably a lapis lazuli, with a representation engraved thereon of Hercules strangling the Nemean lion.

At Belmont.—Bronze key.

Kemys.—Inscribed stones.

Malpas.—Roman millstones, and iron and freestone sarcophagus.

Pilbach.—Sepulchral stone, 43in. by 33in. in memory of Tadia Vallaunius, who, it is supposed, died in some German expedition from Britain; two tesselated pavements; a portion of one, 54in. by 27in., is now in the museum.

Roadside between Caerleon and Bulmore.—Several sepulchral stones. The spot is supposed to have been a burying place for the lower class of citizens. At a farmhouse near, the sculptured figure of a Roman Emperor, described on page 76.

Balmore.—A series of eight sepulchral stones, the whole of which were discovered together in an orchard, on the left bank of the Usk; figure of dog's head and shoulder in bronze, glass bead of dark blue color.

Usk.—Coins, glass, ware, and enamels of various kinds, and traces of Roman causeways.

Caerwent.—Two tesselated pavements, described by Wyndham; tomb containing stone coffin, surrounded with small coal; glass and ware vessels, and numerous minor and common objects; and coins.

St. Julians.—Roman bricks, jasper tesseræ, and coins.

Penros.—Roman bricks, jasper tesseræ, and coins.

Tredunnock.—Near the foundation of the church a sepulchral stone, inscribed to the memory of Julius Julianus, a soldier of the 2nd Augustan Legion.

Innumerable bricks with the stamp LEG·II·AVG. have been found at Caerleon and the district around.

Roman Coins.

In the present chapter we conclude our notice of the Roman period with some particulars of ancient coins discovered in this district. The number is astonishing. Most of them are Roman, and belong the period during which Britain was occupied by the Roman forces. Although there may have been a native coinage in Britain prior to the Roman invasion, it seems certain that the people of Siluria did not coin money, as none have ever been found in the district occupied by them, and this tribe, it must be remembered, maintained its independence the latest of all.

The Rev C. W. King, M.A., with much zeal, prepared a few years ago a list of Roman coins found in the district, so far as he was able to ascertain. Many others, however, have been found of which no particulars have been recorded. The list of Mr King is a valuable record, which we can only give in a summarised form. The whole of the coins, it must be understood, were found at Caerleon, unless otherwise specified between parentheses.

Emperor Claudius.—1 bronze
Nero.—1 gold
Vespasian.—3 silver plated, 6 silver, 19 bronze
Titus.—3 bronze, 1 silver
Domitian.—1 silver, 6 bronze (1 bronze at Usk)
Nerva.—1 silver plated, 4 bronze
Trajan.—3 silver, 16 bronze
Hadrian.—1 gold, 2 silver, 10 bronze, 1 brass medallion (1 bronze at Caerwent)
Antoninus Pius.—1 gold, 5 silver, 24 bronze (1 bronze at Caerwent)
Faustina (mater).—1 silver
Aurelius Cæsar.—1 bronze
M. Antoninus.—1 silver, 1 bronze
Faustina filia.—1 silver, 1 bronze
Lucius Verus.—4 bronze
Lucilla.—2 bronze
Commodus.—2 silver, 2 bronze

Severus.—8 silver, 2 silver plated (1 silver at Caerwent)
Julia.—2 silver, 1 silver plated, 3 bronze
Antoninus Caracalla.—6 silver, 1 silver plated (1 large silver at Caerwent)
Geta.—1 silver, 7 bronze
Macrinus. - 1 silver
Elagabalus.—(1 silver at Caerwent)
Julia Mæsa.—1 silver plated (1 silver at Caerwent)
J. Mammaea.—1 silver plated (1 silver plated at Caerwent.
J. Soaemias.—1 silver
Alex. Severus.—2 silver, 2 bronze (2 silver at Caerwent)
Gordian.—1 silver, 2 bronze (3 silver at Caerwent)
Philippus (sen.)—1 bronze (4 silver at Caerwent)
Philippus (jun.)—(2 silver and 1 silver base at Caerwent)
Marcia Otacilia.—(2 silver at Caerwent)
Decius Trajanus.—(1 silver at Caerwent)
Hercunia Etruscilla.—(3 silver at Caerwent)
Gallus Trebonianus.—(1 silver at Caerwent)
Volusianus.—(2 silver at Caerwent)
Æmilianus.—(1 silver at Caerwent)
Valerianus, sen.—1 silver (3 silver at Caerwent)
Valerianus, jun.—(2 silver at Caerwent)
Gallienus.—1 silver and 3 bronze (2 silver and 9 bronze at Caerwent, 3 bronze at Usk)
Salonina.—1 silver, 1 silver base, 3 bronze (3 silver at Caerwent)
Postumus.—6 bronze, 1 billon (3 bronze at Caerwent)
Victorinus.—6 bronze
Tetricus, sen.—24 bronze (3 bronze at Caerwent)
Tetricus, jun.—12 bronze
Claudius Gothicus.—27 bronze (6 bronze at Caerwent)
Quintillus.—Billons
Probus.—6 bronze (1 bronze at Glen Usk)
Diocletian.—3 bronze

Maximianus.—2 bronze
Galerius—2 bronze
Carausius—1 silver, 3 bronze, plated with silver, 45 bronze (3 bronze at Caerwent
Allectus.—15 bronze (6 bronze at Caerwent)
Maximian.—3 bronze plated with silver, 2 bronze
Galerius.—3 bronze
Licinius.—9 bronze
Constantius.—2 bronze
Constantinus.—54 bronze (3 bronze at Caerwent)
Crispus.—3 bronze (3 bronze at Caerwent)
Helena.—3 bronze
Fausta.—3 bronze
Constantinus, junr.—12 bronze
Constans.—27 bronze, 14 bronze, at Caerwent
Constantius.—21 bronze (1 silver and 12 bronze at Caerwent; 2 bronze, at St Brides)
Magnentius.—22 bronze (2 bronze, at Caerwent)
Decentius.—7 bronze
Julianus.—1 silver, at Caerwent
Helena.—3 bronze, at Caerwent
Valentinianus, sen.—3 bronze (3 bronze, at Caerwent
Valens.—9 bronze (3 bronze, at Caerwent)
Gratianus.—1 silver, 3 bronze
Arcadius (?).—3 bronze
Honorius.—3 bronze, at Itton
Arcadius.—3 bronze
Constantinopolis.—3 bronze
Urbs Roma.—3 bronze

In addition to the above we may mention the find at Wentwood of between 1,300 and 1,400 billon denarii.

The first portion of this work is thus accomplished. We have gathered into a focus all the traditions of pre-historic times, and the recorded facts from the earliest period of British history relating to Caerleon. We have ascertained that the very earliest traditions of Britain refer to the shores of the Usk, and that the ancient trackway crossing the country from east to west passed through Caerleon and Newport. We have traced

the building of the City of Caerleon to an age long anterior to the Christian era, and learned that generation after generation of British Kings took up their residence, and found their last resting place within its walls. We have briefly related the circumstances attending the invasion of Britain by the Roman forces; the capture of Caractacus, the brave Prince of the Silures, whose captital city was Caerleon. We have also told of the Romans establishing themselves in the city, and constituting it the capital of their western province; of their erection of palaces, temples and dwelling places of magnificent design. We have pointed out the effect of the Roman occupation, recorded the withdrawal, after a lapse of more than three centuries, of the Roman troops, and described the remains of the enduring works they left behind them. Though we may not be satisfied with our labours, we trust they will tend to make the glorious and antiquated past of Caerleon better known than was previously the case. At the Roman period Caerleon had attained the highest point of her mundane glory. Henceforward the records tell almost exclusively of internecine strife, hostile invasions, general destruction of material prosperity, and gradual decay of British power. Still as matters of general or local interest the course of events is none the less worthy of being related, and to this task, as opportunity offers, we shall shortly apply our pen.



HISTORICAL
TRADITIONS AND FACTS

RELATING TO

NEWPORT AND CAERLEON,

BY

A MEMBER OF THE CAERLEON AND MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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HISTORICAL

TRADITIONS AND FACTS

RELATING TO

NEWPORT & CAERLEON.

PART II.

In part I. of this work we have dealt with pre-historic and the Roman Period, and now we proceed to treat of events which occurred subsequent to the departure of the Roman forces from Britain.

When the Britons were fairly conquered, they seem to have accepted the Roman yoke with equanamity, and the fact of so many villas and other buildings being erected, the ruins of which have been brought to light, testifies that the Romans lived here in security and peace. Still it is only within the natural course of things to suppose that the native Princes chafed under the impression that their country was degraded while suffering the military yoke of a foreign government. They were therefore ready to throw off the allegiance which they only tacitly acknowledged when opportunity occurred. In no part of the kingdom probably was this feeling more strongly entertained than in and around Caerleon, the capital of Siluria, the district which came last under Roman occupation, and was never wholly subject to Roman laws, but still retained its native Princes, though with only a semblance of their former privileges and powers. The absence of Constantine and his legions presented the opportunity which the Britons desired. The people with one accord rose in insurrection against the Roman power, deposed

the governors of provinces, and re-established government by native Princes in each of the chief cities which then existed throughout the country. For some time a state of complete anarchy prevailed. The native Princes, jealous of each other, engaged in frequent conflicts, and were unable to resist the invading Picts and Scots, who, tempted by the weakness of the Britons resulting from their dissensions, overran and wasted a great part of the country. Intelligence of these matters was conveyed to the Emperor Honorius (died 427), who, expressing neither sorrow nor anger, and feeling his utter helplessness to interfere or to provide a remedy, simply desired the several townships "to provide for their own defence." From this time we find the Romans made no efforts to recover the influence in Britain they had so suddenly lost. The prevailing misery of Britain was augmented by famine and pestilence, which swept the land, carrying off multitudes whom the sword had spared, and this calamitous state of things was further intensified in this district by a "great sea flood," through which it is stated all the marshes in Gwent and Glamorgan and the opposite side of the Bristol Channel were lost. As if to crown all these distressing events there is a further record which states that in A.D. 430, the city of Caerleon was burnt.

The conflicts among the numerous petty princes was not confined alone to this district, but extended through the whole kingdom—might became right—and the princes who by successful warfare obtained a predominance over his neighbours added the district to his own domain and converted what originally resembled a republic into a petty kingdom.

PROVINCE OF GWENT.

Siluria, although a Principality of no great extent even in its utmost limits, was speedily broken up into a number of small sovereignties, among which we subsequently read of Gwent, Morganwg, Glwyssig, Erging, Ewyas, Rhegid, Fferyllwg, Garth Mathrin, and others still more insignificant,

though all of them do not appear to have been separate kingdoms at the same time. Notwithstanding this division, the inhabitants of the several kingdoms seem to have recognised a common origin and interest. Of these kingdoms Gwent was undoubtedly the most important, and almost co-extensive with the province of Siluria. From a description of the principal territories in Great Britain prior to the Saxon invasion Gwent is represented as extending from Gloucester Bridge to Ystrad Towey, Carmarthen.

The district seems to have acquired its title from a very early period, but now it came into greater prominence, and its particular history is more defined. The people were designated Gwenwyson or Gwenwys, that is Gwentmen or Gwentians, and according to Triad XX. they were one of the three primary tribes of Wales. Their dialect was called Gwenwyseg, Gwentish, or the dialect of Gwent, being one of the three principal dialects of the Welsh, and in these instances the ancient name is still retained in its former extent. Gwent has been said to be derived from Gwen (feminine of Gwyn), fair and beautiful, and therefore of similar import with Syllwg—the British word from which the Roman Siluria is derived. Dr. Griffin supposes Gwent as well as Caer to be of Phœnecian origin, and that Caerwent signifies the fortified or enclosed city. Other derivations of Gwent have been given.

Mr. Wakeman suggested, with more probability that the earliest setlers, gave their own name to the country of which they took possession instead of naming the country first and then calling themselves after it, and that the first settlers were a tribe of Celtic Wends, from the most westerly part of the Continent of Europe over against Britain.

The earliest traditions and belief have always been that Wales was peopled by a migration of tribes from that westerly part of the Continent called Armorica, or as it has been rendered in Welsh, Ar-y-mor-ucha—or the upper sea.

The period, however, when the names, Eswyllt and Gwent, were first applied to this district is not to be ascertained by either record or tradition. Of this district of Gwent, Caerleon was the capital, as it formerly was of the province of Siluria.

In the fifth century, Morgan, King of Gwent, removed his court from Caerleon to the western part of his kingdom, and from that period this portion became gradually dissociated from Gwent, and was called after the name of the King, Morganwg. For a long time the appellations were apparently interchangeable, and to the present day the expression Gwent and Morganwg for many purposes is maintained. Gwent is, however, now regarded as a limited district nearly coterminous with Monmouthshire, which is bounded on the south by the Bristol Channel, on the east by the river Wye, and on the north by the river Monnow and a ridge of lofty hills, and on the west by the river Rumney. The Wye divided it from what has since been called Gloucestershire and England; the Monnow from what has been called Herefordshire, the hills above mentioned from what has since been constituted Breconshire; and the Rumney from that part of the country which was known by the name of Morganwg or Glamorgan.

This district of Gwent is separated into two unequal parts by the Usk, which flows through from N. to S. A high ridge of hills stretches across the eastern part from the valley of the Usk near Newport to Chepstow and the Wye. This ridge of hills is covered by an extensive forest now called Wentwood, and which was of such importance as to give names to the divisions of the country.

Gwent was anciently divided after the Welsh manner into three cantreds, which were subdivided into commotes. A cantred was supposed to contain a hundred trefs or villages, from which its name is considered to be derived. The three cantreds were Gwent Uchoed, that is Gwent above the Wood, sometimes called Gwent Ucha, or Upper Gwent, comprising generally the country north of

Wentwood. Gwent Isgoed, that is Gwent under the wood, called also Gwent Isha, or Nether Gwent, comprised a tract of country now known as the Level of Caldicott, and other lands on the banks of the Usk. Lastly, Gwent Llwg, that is the Lake or Loch of Gwent, being that region on the west bank of the Usk between that and the Rumney, the lower portion of which on the banks of the channel must, before the formation of the sea banks and walls, have been under water every high tide, and could only have been a large shallow lagoon or watery marsh, which seems to have given the name to this cantred in the same manner as the wood did to the other two. The upper portion of Wentllwch, being mountainous, was known by the name of Blaenau Gwent, or the hills of Gwent; and all these various names are retained to the present day.

A district in Glamorgan was known as Gorwenydd, which is interpreted to mean Utter Gwent, or the utmost part of Gwent.

The Kingdom of *Ewyas* or *Euas* was situated to the north of Gwent Uchoed and to the east of Brecon, and comprised part of the county of Monmouth, and part also of the county of Hereford. The black mountains are within it, and there the venerable walls of Llantony Abbey rear their height. The name Ewyas, or Gwias (British) a place of battle, describing in all probability the turbulent state of warfare in which the district was always plunged.

Adjacent to Ewyas was the kingdom designated *Ergyng*, or Archenfield, which comprehended the portion of Herefordshire south-west of the river Wye, of which the present ecclesiastical deanery of Archenfield or Irchenfield constitutes a part. In early history these two districts of Ergmg and Euas, although separate, are frequently coupled together like Gwent and Morganwg, the same chief being king or lord of both.

Eudas, or Eudaf, said to be the father of Helen, wife of Maximus, or Constantius, is stated to have been Earl of Ewyas, and in the unsettled times which followed the departure of the Romans seems

to have obtained more than a local influence, for Woodward states, though we do not know on what authority that Trahern, son of Constantine, was sent back from Rome to recover Britain from Eudaf (Earl of Erging and Euas), and he drove the usurper out.

Glywysig.—The name of Glywysig was given to the district between the Usk and the Rumney, *Fferyllwg* to the country between the Usk and the Wye, and *Rhegid* to that between the Taw and the Towey.

In the ancient writers considerable confusion has arisen from the application of the same term to different districts, and in some cases different names to the same district.

This renders it sometimes difficult to ascertain, with respect to recorded events, in which of the modern counties they occurred. As an instance, the commentators of Geoffrey of Monmouth state Caerleon to be in Glamorganshire, simply because the author uses the term Morganwg, which evidently embraced a wider district than the present county of Glamorgan. Another instance occurs where the destruction of Harold's house and other incidents at Portskewett are said to have taken place at Hereford, from the circumstance, we presume, of its then being in the diocese of Hereford. In the Domesday Book Caerleon is described in connection with both Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.

KINGS OF GWENT.

We have in preceding remarks set down the opinion of some writers that during the period of the Roman occupation the native princes were permitted to enjoy the ancient rights and privileges; but paid tribute to the Romans and exercised but little political or military power, except in aiding their conquerors to resist the invasions of neighbouring hordes. We will here present a list of the Kings of Gwent, the names of whom have been preserved, and whose period of reign must have followed the capture of Caractacus, terminated soon after the final departure of the Roman forces,

and prior to the reign of the great Arthur. We continue and complete the list here in order to avoid unnecessary breaks in the continuity of the subsequent narrative. Williams gives the list of Kings from the time of Caractacus as under :—

XVIII.—Cyllin, the son of Caradog, or Caractacus.

XIX.—Owain, son of Cyllin, who was permitted to hold his court at Ystrad Owain, 20 miles from Caerleon.

XX.—Merchion Vawd Vilwr, son of Owain.

XXI.—Gorwg, his son.

XXII.—Gorthwfn, his son.

XXIII.—Gorthyl, his son.

XXIV.—Einyth, his son.

XXV.—Arthvael, his son.

XXVI.—Gwrgan-vrych (freckled).

Here some competition and confusion take place, for a descendant of Gorwg XXI, appears under the same number XXV. with Arthvael, and he is called Meirchion, son of Rhun, son of Kynwallon, son of Einyth, son of Gorthwsn, son of Garwg; and Meurig, son of Merichion, appears under XXV. Crair, son of Meirchion XXVII., is called the Dragon, or Hero of Gwent, for in one of the general efforts to resist the Roman oppression, he commanded the British forces and burned London. He was succeeded by his son Crair.

XXIX.—Casnor, son of Ennyfed.

XXX.—Edric ,, ,,

XXXI.—Erbyn ,, ,,

XXXII.— } Erb, son of Erbyn, and

XXXII.— } Bran, son of Edric.

XXXIII.—Nynniau, son of Erbin

XXXIV.—Teithvalch, son of Nynniau

XXXV.—Tewdric, his son

XXXVI.—Meyrig, his son

XXXVII.—Arthwy, or the Great Arthur.

In the Welsh pedigrees other personages are mentioned as having been Kings of Gwent, whose names do not appear in the foregoing list. They may have been Kings or exercised power over some minor district *in* Gwent.

ELECTION OF VORTIGERN.

The continued dissensions and wars of the native princes already referred to, led about 426 A.D., to the establishment of a federal monarchy of which Vortigern became the chief ruler. Some writers assert that he obtained the position by intrigue or force, or that both formed elements in the accomplishment of the event, but there is no evidence to this effect; and Vortigern is generally credited with having been chosen king by the several dominant tribes of Britain.

There seem to have been special reasons too, why Vortigern should be chosen. The Silurian dynasty was always considered the most unalloyed of all the British royal houses; and when the Britons were about choosing from among themselves a permanent king, probably for the first time since the departure of the Romans, the direct representative of this royal house was assiduously sought after. The several tribes fixed upon Vortigern as most strictly fulfilling their requirements. He was a descendant of Eudaf, said to be son of Caractacus, lord or king of Erging and Euyas.

Vortigern was not long without a rival in the Roman interest. Aurelius Ambrosius, who, according to Nennius, was the son of a Roman consul, opposed Vortigern, and obtained many supporters. Numerous battles were fought between the adherents of each, which taught Vortigern that he could not well solely rely upon the native militia for the defence of his throne.

About 449 A.D., he summoned a general council of his chiefs, and under the notion of repelling the Picts and Scots, who at this period seriously harassed the country, they sanctioned the enrolment of a standing mercenary army. With the same view, Vortigern subsequently entered into an

alliance with Hengist and Horsa, two leaders of sea-marauding Saxons, the result of which, so interestingly narrated in general history caused the Britons to lose confidence in their king, and they ultimately deposed him. Vortigern at once retired to his domains in Erging, situate, as we have described, in the northern part of Gwent; and here, by the advice of his friends, and for his own protection, he resolved to build a strong castle. The exact spot at which the castle was erected cannot now be determined, although the locality is pretty clearly defined by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who says it was at the town of Genoreu, upon the river Gania, and in the mountain called Cloarius. In another ancient account, the castle is called Erging on the Wye. Now the Gania or Gavenny is a stream which runs into the Usk, at Abergavenny, and Goronwy is the designation of a district a few miles to the north of that town. In Norman times we read of the Vale of Gronwy, in which Fitzgilbert was murdered; and there is still a place in the neighbourhood called Llangruny. It appears clear therefore, that the castle was situated near Abergavenny, and being in the district of Gwent it comes within our province to notice. The castle too, introduces an incident which brings us more closely into contact with the limited district around Newport and Caerleon, to which we desire more particularly to confine our remarks, and therefore we could not well omit reference to it.

The circumstances attending the first attempts to build the castle are said to have been so peculiar, and the facts are so woven with fiction, that we fear we should detract from their interest if we presented them in any other form than the simple translation of the old chrouicler Nennius. He says:—"When attempts were made to build the castle, the foundations could not be laid. Wise men were consulted, who declared they must sprinkle

the stones with the blood of a child who had no father. The king therefore sent messengers throughout Britain in search of such a child. After having inquired in all the provinces they came to the Field of Allecti, in the district of Glevesing, where a party of boys were playing at ball, and two of them quarrelling, one said to the other, "O, boy without a father, no good will ever happen to you," or as an old poet has phrased it —

"Tho sede one to another *Merlin* wot is thee
Thou faderlesse screwe, my misdoustow me,
For icham of Kinges icome, and thou nart worth a fille,
For thou naddest never nanne fader, therefore hold thee stille."

—Upon this the messengers diligently enquired of the mother and the other boys whether he had had a father, which his mother denied, saying, "In what manner he was conceived I know not, for I have never had intercourse with any man," and then she solemnly affirmed that

"He was not the son
Of mortal sire, or other living wight,
But wondrously begotten and begun
By false allusion of some guileful sprite."

In the Chronicles of the Kings of Britain the mother is represented to have been an inmate of a nunnery, and to have told her story to her interrogaters thus: "One night as I was sleeping between my sisters, I, in a dream, saw a young man, who embraced me, but when I awoke there was no one but my sisters and myself. After this I became pregnant, and this boy was born." The messengers secured the prize for which they were in search, and next day took the boy before the King. Arrangements were made to put him to death, but before they were carried into effect, the boy said to the King, "Why have your servants brought me hither?" "That you may be put to death," said the King, "and

that the ground on which my citadel is to stand may be sprinkled with your blood, without which I shall be unable to build it." "And who," said the boy, "instructed you to do this?" "My wise men," answered the King. "Order them hither," returned the boy. This being complied with, he took the wise men severely to task, and explained to the King, that in the place where he had attempted to lay the foundation of the castle was a pool of water, at the bottom of which was a stone chest containing two dragons. These creatures caused all the commotion. One, a red dragon represented Britain, and the other, a white dragon the Saxons. The tale is fully told in Nennius, and in Geoffrey, also in Ellis's "Metrical Romances," and it need not, therefore, be set forth here at length. The youthful hero of the adventure proved to be Merlin, known as the Enchanter, and in the manner described was first introduced to the world, on the stage of which he afterwards, it is said, played so conspicuous a part. His name is still preserved from oblivion by the weekly publication of the old-established and well-known newspaper bearing that title.

It is said that seven cities claimed the honor of being the birth place of Homer, and about the same number of places has been stated to be the place where Merlin first saw the light. We shall not undertake the task of refuting all that are in error, but maintain that the rural, picturesque, and now almost obscure village of Bassalleg is entitled to the honor—if honor it be—of being the place where the veritable Merlin, the prophet, was first discovered. In confirmation of such a circumstance we rely upon the most ancient authorities as being the most trustworthy, and contend that errors have arisen through incorrect translations of the old chronicles, and a want of knowledge of the localities referred to. Nennius, the oldest of our chroniclers, makes a statement which can lead to no other con-

clusion than that Bassalleg was the place where the boy was found. His words are : "Venerunt ad Captum Alecti qui est regione quæ vocatur Glevising:" And when they came to the Field of Allectus in the region called Glwysyg.

Glwysyg, as before stated, was a division of Gwent, lying between the rivers Usk and Rhymney, and governed by its own kings. In this district Bassalleg is situated. Now at first sight there does not appear much resemblance between Captum Alecti, the locality said to be in the region of Glwysyg, and the word Bassalleg. But let us see. Bassalleg is a modern and corrupt form of the name of the village, the ancient and Welsh name being Maes-aleg, meaning the Field of Aleg. Assuming, and we think, without reason for doubt, that Aleg represents the Latin form of the word Allectus, we have in Maes-aleg an exact equivalent to Captum Alecti, the expression used by Nennius.

The supposition is further confirmed by a statement in the Iolo M.SS., where one of the three primitive baptismal bards is designated Merddin Emrys, of Maesaleg, in Glwysyg.

This circumstance concerning Bassalleg has not been generally recognised, and Roberts, we believe, was the first to identify the locality referred to and call attention to it. Several reasons may be assigned for its having been overlooked. The study of Welsh history has been much neglected; the existence of such a kingdom as Glwysyg is, excepting to few, unknown entirely, even to those who now inhabit the district comprised within its borders; and again, the modern Anglicised names, corrupted from the Welsh, bear little or no resemblance to their ancient form, and still less to the Latin, in which language many of the old chronicles were composed.

Why the name Maesaleg was applied to the locality is a matter for conjecture. It is generally assumed to have been so named in consequence of a battle fought there, and if we could ascertain that Allectus had ever encountered the Britons in this locality, the assumed derivation would be satisfactory. This we fear cannot be done. The particulars to be gleaned concerning Allectus are few. He was the Prime Minister or Lieutenant of Carausius, who 287 A.D., became ruler in Britain, and for about seven years enjoyed the government undisturbed. He was made Cæsar, but in A.D. 293, he was assassinated by Allectus, who thereupon assumed the title of Emperor. Three years later, Allectus was himself killed by Asclepiodotus, a general of Constantius, who likewise assumed the imperial dignity. Some coins of Allectus have been found in Monmouthshire, and also at the Roman station in Lydney Park. It is possible that he may have fought a battle at Bassalleg, and hence the name.

There seems some contention among Welshmen as to the definition of the word Basselleg. Contrary to the rendering of the word by Nennius, it is contended that the proper form is Bassalleg. and that the village takes its name from St. Basil, to whom undoubtedly the Church is now dedicated. But as the practice of dedicating churches to saints of the Roman Calendar scarcely obtained in England in the early days of which Nennius wrote, it is most probable that the ancient rendering is the correct one. In the middle ages, when the practice of dedicating churches to Romish saints became common, the present form of the word was doubtless introduced.

After this digression we now revert to Vortigern. Ambrosius, with a view to revenge, marched with his army to the castle which Vortigern had built for a safe refuge, and there set their engines to work to beat down the walls. All

their attempts, however, having failed, they had recourse to fire, which, says the old chronicler, "meeting with proper fuel, ceased not to rage till it had burnt down the tower, and Vortigern in it." This was about 485, A.D.

Of Vortigern's descendants, the Welsh genealogies mention three sons, Edeyrn, Aerdeyrn, and Elldeyrn, all of whom are named as having obtained a reputation for sanctity. The former, however, is said to have been a member of the congregation or college of St. Cadoc, and to have subsequently established a religious community of 300 members at a place called after him—Llanedeyrn. It is situated on the river Rumney, not far from St. Mellons. Nennius mentions a son named Faustus, and relates that he built a large place on the bank of the river Renis, which still remained at the time in which he wrote. The locality is not defined, but as the river Rumney passes by Llanedeyrn, or as it is now spelt Llanedarne, it has been conjectured that Faustus and Edeyrn was the same person. In English general history the sons of Vortigern are given as Vortimer and Catigern, but whether the names indicate the persons alluded to above, we cannot determine, nor do their recorded actions in any way concern us.

After the death of Vortigern his former opponent, Ambrosius, was by a Cambrian Council elected King of the Britons. He was amenable to the influences of Christianity, if a statement by Roger de Wendover can be relied upon, that he exterminated the heathen temples and idols where he found them; used efforts to repair the churches which had been destroyed, and took an interest in matters concerning the church generally. The details of his life are not without local interest. Talhaiarn designated the bard of Caerleon on Usk, and who resided at that place, was chaplain to Ambrosius; and Tramor, who at this period was Archbishop of

Caerleon, appear to have possessed some influence over the King, for at his suggestion Ambrosius on several occasions of difficulty took counsel with Merlin, the prophet. Tramor, however, appears to have died early in the reign of Ambrosius, for the King is said to have been crowned by Dubritius, who had been appointed Archbishop of Caerleon in the place of Tramor.

SAINT DUBRITIUS.

Of the several Archbishops who held the See of Caerleon, in the early days of the Church, Dubritius is the first of whom we have any detailed or reliable information. Yet the particulars of his life are so interwoven with fiction that it is difficult to decide upon the truth concerning him. In the first place there are discrepancies respecting his parentage. The Book of Llandaff says he was the son of Eurdill, the daughter of a King of Erging, in Gwent, named Pebiau. Another account says Pebiau, the son of Erb, King of Erging, was the husband of Eurdill, who was the daughter of Cystennen, King of another district in Gwent: while in the list of British Saints, preserved in the Iolo M.SS., Dubritius is said to be the son of Brychan Brycheniog and Eurbrawst, daughter of Meurig, son of Tewdrig. But this latter statement seems to have been impossible, as according to the best computations, Dubritius would in that case have been born before his father. Such discrepancies are not uncommon in tracing Welsh history, but are perplexing when the necessity to ascertain the truth is important.

The particulars in the Book of Llandaff concerning this saintly Archbishop are contained in a composition headed in the Latin, "Readings from the Life of St. Dubritius," indicating that it was occasionally publicly read in the Churches. The circumstances attending his birth are thus related: "There was a certain King of the region of Ergyng

(Archenfield), of the name of Pebiau, called in the British language Claforawg, and in Latin Spumosus, who undertook an expedition against his enemies, and returning from thence he ordered his daughter, Eurdill, to wash his beard, which when she endeavoured to do he perceived from her enlarged form that she was pregnant. The King, therefore, being angry, ordered her to be put into a sack and cast headlong into the river, that she might suffer whatever might befall, which, however, happened contrary to what was expected, for as often as she was placed in the river so often was she, through the guidance of God, impelled to the bank. Her father, then being indignant because he could not drown her in the river, resolved to destroy her with fire. A funeral pile was therefore prepared into which his daughter was thrown alive. On the following morning the messengers, who had been sent by her father to ascertain whether any of the bones of his daughter remained, found her holding her son in her lap, at a spot where a stone is placed in testimony of the wonderful nativity of the boy; and the place is called Madle, because therein was born the holy man. The father, hearing this, ordered his daughter with her son to be brought to him, and when they came he embraced the infant with paternal affection, as is usual, and kissing him, from the restlessness of infancy, he touched with his hand the face and mouth of his grandfather, and that not without Divine appointment, for by the contact of the hands of the infant he was healed of the incurable disease wherewith he was affected, for he incessantly emitted foam from his mouth, which two persons who constantly attended him could scarcely wipe off with handkerchiefs.

Lewis, in his history of Great Britain, thus describes the monument of Pebiau, as existing in his time:—"In Herefordshire, in a parish (probably he means Madley), is the picture of a King,

with a man on each side of him, with napkins wiping the rheum and drivel from his mouth, that humour so abounding in him that he could get no cure for it, which King the country people called King Driveller."

Dubritius soon increased in growth and knowledge, and was sent to a seminary of learning. Although a child in age, he was soon a man in maturity, with great prudence, and eloquence in imparting knowledge. When he became a man in growth, age, and wisdom, and skilful in both modern and ancient law, his fame extended throughout all Britain, so that from all parts not only scholars, who were uninstructed, came, but also learned men and doctors flocked to him for the sake of study. He was made Bishop of Llandaff, and held that office when appointed by Ambrosius to the Archbishopric of Caerleon.

Bishop Godwin, following Bale, and probably Leland, says that Dubritius was made Bishop by Germanus, but Rees in his Essay points out that as Germanus died in 448, and Dubritius was living in 520, it is scarcely possible that he was appointed by Germanus. Usher supposes he was appointed Bishop of Llandaff about 472, and raised by Ambrosius to the Archbishopric of Caerleon in 490. Leland also says that when Dubritius was made Archbishop of Caerleon, Llandaff was made his cathedral church. The rival claims however of succeeding Bishops, and the frequent removal of residence between Caerleon, Llandaff, and Menevia, render the exact condition of things and the regular sequence of events very uncertain. It is to the enduring fame of Dubritius that he seems to have directed the chief efforts of his life to the promotion of education. He is said to have established an institution at Henllan on the river Wye, and to have had two thousand students, whom he brought up in human and divine literature. He subsequently founded another seminary at Mochros on the Wye ; but the most notable school which he established or fostered was that at Caerleon. This school or college (styled Cor

Dyfrig, or congregation of Dubritius) is placed by Dr Giles at the head of all the schools or colleges in Wales, and Geoffery of Monmouth testifies to there being 200 philosophers studying astronomy and other sciences within its walls.

If any dependence can be placed upon a statement in Taliesin Williams's collection of M.SS., Caerleon was a Bangor or Unversity, consisting of four colleges, called Cor Dyfrig, Cor Arthur, Cor Julius, and Cor Aaron. The authority was considered questionable by Mr Wakeman; but if true, the first was probably the only one with which Dubritius identified himself. The fact of a school having been established here by the Romans has been previously shown, and Dubritius finding this school still in existence, by giving it his personal superintendence, may have speedily raised it to a position of eminence and wide-spread influence. The eras of some of the learned men, too, hereafter to be mentioned, prove that the school or college must have existed before the time of Dubritius.

From a passage in the Iolo M.SS., it is to be inferred that all the distinguished knowledge and "exalted sciences" known in Rome were known also to the Romans, at Caerleon upon Usk. Stillingfleet, too, points out that so long as the Roman power continued in Britain, the natives had the same advantages for learning which they had in other provinces, and adds that when the Roman forces were withdrawn, and nothing but miseries and desolation followed, such schools as those of Dubritius were most seasonable for breeding up persons qualified for the service of the Church.

Harpsfield (History of the English Church), in speaking of the remarkable and learned men of the time, names Dubritius first, and states that he not only placed the British crown upon the head of Ambrosius, but also upon the renowned King Arthur.

In 512, Dubritius resigned the See of Llandaff, but continued Archbishop of Caerleon until 522,

when worn down with years and longing for retirement he resigned this also, and retired to the Isle of Bardsey, where he died, according to some writers, at the advanced age of 146 years. The date of his death is uncertain. The Book of Llandaff says, "On Sunday, the 14th day of November, in the year of our Lord 562, St Dubritius, Bishop of the Church at Llandaff, migrated to the Lord." Mr Wakeman placed it about the year 560, calculating that he was then 85 years of age. and had been a bishop 55 years. Bishop Goodwin says 522; while one of the Cottonian, M.SS., in the British Museum gives it as 512 A.D. That it was not so early as the last named date seems certain, as Dubritius was present at the famous battle of Badon, which occurred in 520, and where he encouraged the soldiers to fight manfully against the Pagans and enemies of the Christian faith.

Dubritius was canonised by Pope Calixtus II. His remains by which many miracles were alleged to have been performed were removed from the Isle of Bardsey, in 1120, to his Cathedral Church of Llandaff, with much ceremony, a full account of which is given in the Book of Llandaff. A remarkable feature in the history of the proceeding is the fact that the bones of the saint were discovered with great difficulty. Inquiry was made into the monuments of the past, and the oldest writings were searched in order to ascertain where his body had been deposited; by whom, how, and at what time he was buried. From this admission, the inference may be drawn that in whatever esteem the Britons may have held holy men, they could not have worshipped relics, as the body of the renowned archbishop whose reputation for sanctity was unexcelled, lay unenshrined for six centuries.

LEARNED MEN OF CAERLEON.

In previous chapters reference has been made to certain members or students of the College of Caerleon, who, by their great learning, acquired ome degree of celebrity in the world of literature.

The present chapter will complete the information available concerning them. The list of names is short, and being disfigured by Latin terminations and corrupt orthography, it is difficult to identify some of the persons with any known Welsh authors.

The earliest scholar of repute, in point of date, appears to have been Bachiarius, described as "by nation a Briton and disciple of St Patrick." He is said to have set himself to the study of literature at Caerleon, and became noted both as a divine and a mathematician. He was author of several works, one of which "A Defence of his Pilgrimage to Rome," was dedicated to Pope Leo I. He was a contemporary of Vortigern, and died in A.D. 460. This early date favours the idea that the school of Caerleon flourished earlier than the days of Dubritius. It is difficult to conjecture, says Mr Wakeman, under what Welsh name Bachiarius is disguised. He is so mentioned in the works of Capgrave, Fox, Cressy, and Lewis, but by Bale he is called Machen Vates. Professor Rees considers the name of the saint to have been Machraith, but of his parentage nothing is known. Capgrave enumerates the titles of the following works composed by Bachiarius :—"De Judiciis Nativitatem," "De Fide Perseverante," "Epistolæ Januario de recipiendis lapsio," as being still extant in Bibliotheca Patrum.

The works of Bachiarius were considered of sufficient importance to be enumerated by the centuriators, of Magdeburg, who, in the 16th century, by the exercise of great learning and judgment, endeavoured to demonstrate identity of the the Protestant doctrines (then being widely promulgated) with those of the primitive church.

Next we have Gwyndaf Hen, who was Principal of the College of Caerleon some time after the death or resignation of Dubritius. He was son of Emyr Llydaw, an Armorican prince, and held some office in the college or monastery of St. Illtyd in Glamorganshire, prior to his appointment at Caerleon. He married a daughter of Meurig ap Tewdrig, a King of Gwent, named Gwenonwy, and had a son

named Meugan or Meigant. Gwyndaf and his wife are said to have founded the church at Undy, and, according to Mr Wakeman, it was dedicated to both of these personages.

Meugan, Meigant, or Megantius, as he was sometimes termed, was also noted as a philosopher and mathematician connected with Caerleon. He was son to Gwyndaf Hen above-mentioned, and like him a member of the College of St. Illtyd, before he joined himself to Caerleon. Two poems composed by him are published in the Myvyrian Archaiology, a collection of all the most celebrated works in Welsh literature from 500 A.D., to 1400 A.D.

Another learned student of Caerleon was Melchinus, Melkin, or Maelgwyn, who is said by Leland to have written a short history of Britain, interspersed with "prophecies after the manner of his country." According to Asser, the students of Oxford claimed him as one of those who had formed rules and regulations for the government of their university. Whether this were so or not, it shows that he was held in some estimation as a learned man in the time of King Alfred, to whose Court Asser was called. None of his works are extant.

The connection of Maelgwn with Caerleon is referred to in a triad, naming the three tribe thrones of the Isle of Britain. It describes the first as Caerleon-upon-Usk, where Arthur is chief of right, and Dewi Sant ab Cunedda Wledig is chief bishop, and Maelgwn Gwynedd is chief elder, &c. Maelgwn was tutor to the bard Talhairan, and is said to have died about the middle of the 6th century.

From a statement in the Iolo M.SS. it would appear that many of the most celebrated bards were connected with Caerleon; thus it is set forth that the three primitive baptismal bards of the Cambro-Britons were Madog, the son of Morvyrn, of Caerleon-upon-Usk. Taliesin, the son of St Henog, and Merddin Emrys, of Maesaleg, Glywysig. After these came St Talhairan, the father of Tangwn; Merddin, the son of Madog Morvyrn, and Meugant Hen, of Caerleon-on-Usk. These were suc-

ceeded by Balchnoe, the bard of Teilo, at Llandaff; St Cattwg, and Cynddylan, the bard. These nine were called the impulsive stocks of the baptismal bards of Britain; Taliesin being their chair president, or as another account says, the president of the bardic chair of the Round Table, for this reason was designated chief bard of the West. He is said to have been invited by Arthur to his Court, at Caerleon, and here he became highly celebrated for poetic genius and useful meretorious sciences.

The name of Taliesin is now a household word to all Welshmen, and he is regarded not only as the earliest, but the chief of all the Bards. The life of this famous but probably over-rated genius is like many of his contemporaries, enveloped in fiction; but in fulfilment of the purpose we have in view, our duty is to shew how he is said to have been connected with Caerleon, leaving to other times or persons the demonstration of the truth or otherwise of the statements we find recorded.

Henog, the father of Taliesin, was a bard of the College of St. Cadoc, and the grandson of Ffiwch Lawdrum, of Caerleon. Henog, who was afterwards termed St. Henog, went to Rome on a mission to Constantine the Blessed, requesting that he would send St. Germanus and Lupus to Britain to strengthen the faith, and renew baptism. On his death, Taliesin erected a church to the memory of his father, whose name, in the form Llanhenog, is still preserved in connection with the church and village immediately adjacent to Caerleon. Of Merddin Emrys, of Maesaleg, mentioned above, some particulars have already been given. He is generally known by the name "Merlin." Nennius says he was "discovered at Bassalleg by the messengers of King Vortigern, who were sent to search the country in order to find 'a boy without a father.'" The boy was taken to the Court of Vortigern; and afterwards he is found to be an attendant at the Court of Ambrosius, his successor. Six poems are attributed to him, but their authenticity is doubted.

As a prophet he attained considerable celebrity, and his predictions are, in the present day, still referred to. His death is not recorded, but in the Triads it is said, "he was sent to sea in a vessel of glass with nine other bards, and was never heard of again."

Talhairan, described as the bard of Caerleon-on-Usk, and also as the father of poetry, was the son of Garthwys, and a saint of the congregation or College of St. Cattwg. His residence was originally at Caerleon, where he was chaplain to Emrys Wledig or Ambrosius, King of Britain. Talhairan is worthy of being remembered as the author of a prayer which has always been the formula used at the Gorsedd, or bardic gatherings of Morganwg. It is as follows .—

Grant, O God! Thy refuge;
And in refuge, strength;
And in strength, understanding;
And in understanding, knowledge;
And in knowledge, a perception of rectitude;
And in the perception of rectitude, the love of it;
And in that love, the love of all existences;
And in the love of all existences, the love of God,
God and all goodness.

After the days of Talhairan, we find nothing more of the "learned men of Caerleon," and the reason may be shortly explained. At this period the eastern and southern parts of Britain were overrun by barbarous Saxon hordes, and so dangerously near to the city of Caerleon did they push their incursions, that Morgan, King of Gwent, deemed it advisable to remove his Court from Caerleon to the western part of the district, now called Glamorganshire. In a short time the Archbishop of Caerleon, following the example of the King, removed his See to Menevia, the district in which his early days had been passed. These two events having been accomplished, the removal of the college, with its members, students, and teachers, became almost a matter of necessity. The institution is supposed never to have been resuscitated, and thus faded away one of the glories of Caerleon.

While upon the subject of learned men and colleges, we may here state that a school or college was founded at Caerwent, in the latter part of the 5th century. Its founder is said to have been Ynyr Gwent, a King of the district, who married Madrun, a daughter of Vortimer.

The era of the institution of colleges, though not precisely known, is generally admitted to have been in the latter part of the 5th century, and thus this district would seem to be among the earliest in the kingdom to enjoy their educational advantages.

It may seem superfluous after the statements already made to adduce further evidence in reference to the extent, position, or opulence of Caerleon, but in order to dispose of a stray memorandum referring to this period, we may state that in one of the Triads there is a comparison worth reproducing. Alluding to the inundation of Cantred Gwaloed (Cardigan Bay) in the fifth century, it says, "Before that time there were found in it sixteen fortified towns, superior to all the towns in Wales except Caerleon on the Usk," showing that at this later period Caerleon was still the most important city in Wales.

Having exhausted the available information concerning this district during the pre-historic and Roman periods, and given and insight into the condition of things which immediately succeeded, we are in a position to enter upon the next great era of history—the Saxon period.

THE SAXON PERIOD—KING ARTHUR.

Relating to the Saxon period (extending over five centuries) we have a mass of material to deal with, and feel the difficulty of treating successfully the many subjects which arise therefrom. We shall endeavour, however, to unravel the tangled web as we proceed, and extract some valuable information, and many interesting episodes concerning this immediate district.

The success which accompanied the invasion of Britain by Hengist and Horsa, stimulated Ella

(477 A.D.), Cerdic (495 A.D.), and other Saxon chiefs to enter the country. These chiefs, with their followers in large numbers, in course of time pushed their conquests north and west, until they had overrun a large extent of country, exterminated many of the natives, and driven the remainder within the confines of Cornwall and Wales.

In the latter district the natives in their resistance to the unceasing aggressions of the Saxons displayed a persevering courage worthy of success, but there was a want of unanimity among the many petty princes, and though they could not prevent the country from being more than once overrun they succeeded in maintaining their independance long after other districts had submitted to their Saxon conquerors.

Of the whole line of British Princes who endeavoured to stem the tide of Saxon devastation there is one whose name overshadows the most illustrious of all others; whose exploits and character have been a theme for innumerable poets and historians in all countries, through succeeding ages, namely, that of Arthur, the Prince of the Silures, and the elective King of the British nation. His name and fame are inseparably linked with the City of Caerleon, and therefore it becomes necessary to make a passing reference to the chief events recorded of him.

If prolixity of narrative, and the results of close criticism, were a criterion of authenticity, there should be no uncertainty as to the events of Arthur's life, but unfortunately, not only has every recorded act and expression attributed to this celebrated prince been questioned, but his very existence unhesitatingly doubted.

Gibbon says: "The Romance of Arthur, transcribed in the Latin of Geoffery of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy of the 12th century. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur and the Knights of

the Round Table. At length the light of science and reason was re-kindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural though unjust reverse of public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the existence of Arthur." William of Malmesbury, however, says, "Arthur was a man worthy to be celebrated not by idle fiction but by authentic history." And so great an authority as Lord Bacon says, "There is truth enough to make him famous besides that which is fabulous." Stillingfleet, too, says, "Those are to blame who tell incredible tales of him, such as are utterly inconsistent with the circumstance of British affairs at that time; and those who deny that there was any such person of any considerable power among the Britons."

Of the more modern writers, Coxe says "the numerous authors of talent who have written in favour of Arthur, only agree in supporting his existence. The incredible accounts of the British hero given by Geoffrey of Monmouth have cast an air of fable over his real exploits, and rendered even his existence doubtful."

Another writer, Mr Whittaker, who enters minutely into the history of Arthnr, makes a contrary inference, and is convinced that these exaggerated tales are not without foundation.

Sharon Turner says, that there was a Prince of that name, who often led the Britons successfully to battle against the Saxons in the commencement of the sixth century, there ought not to be any doubt, for he is mentioned by contemporary writers whose works are still extant, viz, Llywarch Hen, Meizin, and Taliesin, and he is often recorded in the Triads, but neither in the poets or in the Triads is he in any respect exalted to that rank in which the world now beholds his name, or extolled above other princes who held similar stations in the oountry.

These remarks of so able a writer become still more convincing when it is remembered that Taliesin was not only a contemporary, but lived

in the same city of Caerleon, was a dweller at his Court, and probably a frequent observer of his very actions.

Many of our best writers have devoted much attention to the history of Arthur, and in producing a literature peculiar to the age in which he lived, have rendered immortal the fame of his alleged exploits. To those authors reference must be made by those of our readers who desire to enjoy the poetry and romance of the Arthurian period.

Arthur is said to have been the son of Uther Pendragon, King of England, who, according to the old writers, conceived a passion for Igerna, wife of Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall. He was changed by Merlin into the likness of Gorlois, and the birth of Arthur was the result. When Uther Pendragon died, Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that the nobility from the several provinces of the kingdom, assembled and proposed to Dubritius, the Archbishop of Caerleon, that he should consecrate Uthur's son to be King. Dubritius, therefore, in conjunction with the other Bishops, set the Crown upon the head of Arthur, he being then 15 years old. Arthur is celebrated for his connection with the Knights of the Round Table, and it is almost unanimously admitted by writers who have studied the question, that Caerleon was the city where Arthur chiefly resided, and that here he established his renowned Order of Knights. It was the custom of these knights to assemble at a round table for the purpose of promoting social intercourse, and superceding the distinctions of state. Enderbie says, " Their object was to advance the reputation of honour, to deliver prisoners, to ransom captives, to revenge all the complaints made at the Court of their mighty King, of perjury or oppression, to protect widows and maids, to avenge the injuries or dishonour offered to ladies, gentlewomen, widows, or maids, and to inform young princes, lords, and gentlemen, in the order and exercises of arms, for the purpose of avoiding

idleness, and increasing the honour of knighthood or monarchy.

The number of knights is uncertain, and is variously given by different authors. Dryden, in the fable of the flower and the leaf, says ;—

"Who bear the bow were knights in Arthur's reign ;
Twelve they, and twelve the knights of Charlemagne."

The ballad of the noble acts of King Arthur says—

"Then unto Britain straight he came
Where fifty good and able
Knights then repaired unto him
Which were of the Round Table."

Afterwards, it is said—

"Who has in prison sixty knights,
And four that he had wound,
Knights of King Arthur's Court they be,
And of his Table Round."

Boisseau gives the names of the first 24, mentions 120 more, and gives a formal blazon of their arms.

The popular belief is that Arthur lived in splendid state, surrounded by hundreds of knights and beautiful ladies, who served as patterns of valour, breeding, and grace, to all the world. Enderbie, quoting from Sir William Segar, on the order and institution of the Round Table, says :—"Whether the number of these knights was many or few, I do not read, but it seemeth imparted to a great many, all persons of high dignity and prowess ; for unto King Arthur, at Caerleon, resorted at one time ten kings and thirteen earls, besides many barons and other knights of meaner quality.

Geoffrey, of Monmouth, records that in the course of his reign, Arthur added to his government, Ireland, Iceland, Gothland and the Orkneys, subdued Norway, Acquitaine and Gaul, in all 30 kingdoms. To demonstrate his joy after such triumphant success, Arthur, upon the approach of the feast of Pentecost, resolved to hold a magnificent court, to place the crown upon his head, and to invite the kings and dukes under his subjection to the solemnity. When he had communicated his design to his familiar friends he pitched upon

the City of Legions (Caerleon) as a proper place for his purpose, for besides its great wealth above the other cities, its situation, which was in Morganwg, upon the river Uske, near the Severn sea, was most pleasant and fit for so great a solemnity. For on one side it was washed up by that noble river, so that the kings and princes from the countries beyond the seas might have the convenience of sailing up to it. On the other side, the beauty of meadows and groves, and magnificence of the royal palaces with lofty gilded roofs that adorned it, made it even rival the grandeur of Rome. Besides, there was a college of two hundred philosophers who, being learned in astronomy and the other arts, were diligent in observing the courses of the stars, and gave Arthur the predictions of the events that would happen at that time. In this place, therefore, which afforded such delights, were preparations made for the ensuing festival. Ambassadors were then sent into several kingdoms to invite to court the princes, both of Gaul and all the adjacent islands. Accordingly there came Angusel, King of Albania, now Scotland; Urian, King of Murief; Cadwallo Lewich, King of the Venedotians, now called the North Wales men; Sater, King of the Dimetians, or South Wales men; Cador, King of Cornwall; also the Archbishops of the three Metropolitan Sees, London, York, and Dubritius, of the City of Legions. This prelate, who was primate of Britain, and legate of the apostolical see, was so eminent for his piety, that he could cure any sick person by his prayers. There came also the Consuls of the principal cities, and worthies of no less dignity, too tedious to enumerate. From the adjacent island Guillamarius, King of Ireland; Malvasius, King of Iceland; Doldavius, King of Gothland; Gunfusius, King of the Orkneys; Lot, King of Norway; Ascluliaus, King of the Dacians. From the parts beyond the sea came Holdin, King of Ruteni; Leodaganus, Consul of Bolonia; Bedver, the butler, Duke of Normandy; Borellus, of Cenomania; Caius, the sewer, Duke of Andegavia;

Guitard, of Pictavia; also the twelve peers of Gaul, whom Guerinus Carnotensis brought along with him; Hoel, Duke of the Armorican Britons, and his nobility, who came with such a train of mules, horses, and rich furniture, as it is difficult to describe. Besides these, there remained no Prince of any consideration on this side of Spain, who came not upon this invitation. And no wonder, when Arthur's munificence, which was celebrated over the whole world, made him beloved by all people.

When all were assembled together in the city, upon the day of the solemnity, the Archbishops were conducted to the palace, in order to place the crown upon the King's head. Therefore, Dubritius, inasmuch as the court was kept in his diocese, made himself ready to celebrate the office, and undertook the ordering of whatever related to it. As soon as the King was invested with his royal habiliments, he was conducted in great pomp to the metropolitan church, supported on each side by two Archbishops, and having four Kings, viz, of Albania, Cornwall, Dimetia, and Venedotia, whose right it was, bearing four golden swords before him. He was also attended with a concert of all kinds of music, which made most excellent harmony. In another part was the Queen dressed out in her richest ornaments, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Temple of Virgins, and the four Queens also of the Kings last mentioned, bearing before her four white doves according to ancient custom, and, after her there followed a retinue of women, making all imaginable demonstrations of joy. When the whole procession was ended, so transporting was the harmony of the musical instruments and voices, whereof there was a vast variety in both churches, that the Knights who attended were in doubt which to prefer, and therefore crowded from one to the other by turns, and were far from being tired with the solemnity, though the whole day had been spent in it. At last, when Divine service was over at both churches, the King and Queen put off their Crowns, putting on their lighter ornaments, went

to the banquet, he to one palace with the men, and she to another with the women, for the Britons still observed the ancient custom of Troy by which men and women used to celebrate their festivals apart. When they had all taken their seats according to precedence, Caius, the sewer, in rich robes of ermine, with one thousand young noblemen, all in like manner clothed in ermine, served up the dishes. From another part Bedver, the butler, was followed by the same number of attendants in various habits, who waited with all kinds of cups and drinking vessels. In the Queen's palace were innumerable waiters, dressed with a variety of ornaments, all performing their respective offices, which, if I should describe particularly, I should draw out a history of tedious length, for at that time Britain had arrived at such a pitch of grandeur that in abundance of riches, luxury, ornaments, and politeness of inhabitants it far surpassed all other kingdoms. The Knights in it that were famous for feats of chivalry wore clothes all of the same colour and fashion, and the women also, no less celebrated for their wit, wore all the same kind of apparel, and esteemed none worthy of their love but such as had given proof of their valour in three several battles. Thus was the valour of the men an encouragement for the women's chastity, and the love of the women a spur to the soldiers' bravery. As soon as the banquets were over they went into the fields, without the city, to divert themselves with various sports. The military men composed a kind of diversion, in imitation of the fight on horseback, and the ladies, placed on the top of the wall as spectators in the sports, turned their amorous glances at the courtiers the more to encourage them. Others spent the remainder of the day in other diversions, such as shooting with bows and arrows, tossing the pike, casting heavy stones and rocks, playing at dice, and the like, and all these inoffensively and without quarrelling, whoever gained. The victors in any of these sports was awarded with a rich prize by Arthur. In this manner were the first three

days spent. On the fourth, all who, upon account of their titles bore any kind of office at this solemnity, were called together to receive preferment in reward for their services, and to fill up vacancies in the government of cities and castles, archbishops, bishops, abbeys and posts of honour.

The contests with the Saxons in which Arthur engaged were many. Twelve battles are specially recorded as having occurred at different times and places, and they are further reputed to have been twelve victories. Notwithstanding these victories, Arthur must have been closely pressed, for the ninth battle is said to have taken place at Caerleon, his capital city. The increasing pressure of the Saxons is so well established by the records of general history, that bearing this fact in mind it is difficult to place any reliance upon the statements of Arthur's conquests abroad; as evidently he had his time and talents fully occupied in maintaining his position and independence at home, for in spite of all Arthur's reputed victories over the Saxons, they maintained the ground they had acquired, and here and there set up several kingdoms. Thus in the midst of Arthur's alleged greatness, the kingdom of the West Saxons, South Saxons, and East Saxons were established; Cerdic had gained the Isle of Wight, and many Saxons were in other parts not yet gathered into kingdoms. Still we cannot find that there were any Saxons settled at this period round about Caerleon. It is most probable, therefore, that in the district of which Caerleon is the centre, that Arthur reigned supreme, and performed those acts which have by old chroniclers been so magnified.

At length, according to the story, and in spite of Arthur's independence, and the erection of Saxon kingdoms, King Lucius of Rome sent to demand tribute from Arthur, on account of Julius Cæsar's conquest. Arthur refused, and having made ample preparations, left his kingdom to conquer Rome. In a battle he defeated the Romans, killed Lucius their king, and sent his body to the Senate.

During his absence Arthur had placed Modred, his nephew, in charge of the kingdom, but on his return he found that Modred had not only seduced his Queen, but had invited over a still larger number of Saxons. In the effort which Arthur made to regain his kingdom he was mortally wounded, and being carried to the Isle of Avallon to be cured of his wounds, he gave up the crown of Britain to his kinsman Constantine, the son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall, in the 542nd year of our Lord's incarnation, and after a reign of 25 years.

It is almost useless to speculate as to what Arthur did for the city with which his name has ever been so closely identified. It may reasonably be supposed that he converted the heathen temples of the Romans into edifices of public worship for the Christian faith, or overthrowing them, erected others for the like purpose. He would also probably have built a palace suitable to his dignity here, and have strengthened the fortifications of the place; but little more it is easy to conceive was effected by him or his successors towards the improvement of the city. To the fortifications, most likely as a warrior, he would pay due regard, since, nothwithstanding all his victories over the Saxons, he was continually harassed by them.

After the death of her husband, Queen Gwenhevere, to do penance for some crime committed (some affirm she was too familiar with Modred), fled from York, and received the habit of religion in a monastery (one of the two which were in Caerleon) dedicated to St Julius, the martyr, and is yet called St Julian's. The building was subsequently the mansion house of the Right Hon. Edward Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, and the site is now occupied by the residence of Mr H. J. Parnall.

The bards predicted that Arthur was not dead, but with his warriors lay asleep in a cave under Craig y Dinas, waiting for a day when the Briton and the Saxon shall go to war, when the noise of the struggle will awaken them, and they

will re-conquer the island, reduce London to ashes, and re-establish their King, at Caerleon.

Lydgate, a poet of the 15th century, thus alludes to this prediction :—

"He is a King crowned in Faerie
With scepter and sword, and with his regalty
Shall resort our Lord and Sovereigne
Out of Faerie and reign in Britaine ;
And repaire again the round table
By prophecy Merlin set the date
Among Princes king incomparable
Her seat again Caerleon to translate."

KINGDOM OF GLEWYSSIG.

Having given some details of the Kingdom of Gwent down to the time of the celebrated Arthur, an opportunity is afforded for stating a few particulars relating to that sub-division of Gwent previously mentioned under the name of Glewyssig. It is supposed to have received its title from Glewys, who lived in the 5th century, and is said to have been the first king of the district when the Britons regained their liberty, after the departure of the Romans. In the *Liber Llandavensis*, mention is made of Glewyssig ; and Einon, its king, is spoken of as being contemporary with Oudoceus, Bishop of Llandaff, who died about 560 A.D. Golyddan, a bard of the 7th century, in his patriotic song, "Arymes Prydyn Vawr," says :

Thrice happy the Cymry when they shall relate
How the Trinity delivered them from past calamity ;
Let not Dyved or Glywysyg be alarmed,
The deputies of the King shall acquire no glory,
Nor the leaders of the Saxons obtain forage.

Allusion is also made to Glewyssig by Asser, in the 10th century.

The kingdom seems to have comprised a considerable portion of the present counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, and Caerleon is mentioned as the seat of its government, and the residence of its kings in the early period of its existence.

Speaking of Glewyssig, Williams, in his History of Monmouthshire, remarks that the domsins of its Prince or Lord were not of sufficient consider-

ation to tempt the rapacity of armies who could scarcely be supported in the devastations of accessible and more fertile regions. The Romans, who mingled policy with oppression, seem to have left this district to its ancient inhabitants, and to have encouraged its industry by affording it a market. For though it bordered on the immediate territory of the Roman Isca, or Caerleon, and contained mineral riches of incalculable value, there are no traces of its having been visited by the Romans, who pursued the great and retreating chieftains, and established their stations in the valleys. The Saxons and Normans observed nearly the same conduct, either from necessity or choice, and the inhabitants of Glewyssig have therefore preserved the customs and manners of ancient Britain more unmingled than any other region of Cambria.

In the Iolo collection of M.SS is one said to have been in the possession of Watkin Giles, of Llangan, which gives a list of the Kings of Glewyssig for a long and uninterrupted period. It states that the account was prepared by Caradoc, the well-known monk of Llancarvan. It is an important historical document, and has not hitherto received that attention which apparently it deserves.

To attempt anything like an accurate list and the order of their succession would be a perplexing task ; and it is necessary that it should be clearly understood that the so-called kings, although exercising sovereign power in their several districts, were simply reguli and sub-reguli subject to the Kings of England or Wales, as the case might happen to be. Fathers, sons, and grandsons were kings at the same time, a fact which increases the difficulty of assigning to each the limits of their districts, or the correct period of their reign.

This confusing state of things is further explained, thus :—While the paternal princes governed the general State in hereditary descent, it was usual for his heir, on becoming of age, to assume the rule of some constituent district, and

even a second or third son had another included territory similarly attached to him. At the decease of the parent his plenary authority does not always appear to have devolved on the heir, who from want of energy or some other cause, still continued in his first settlement, among the reguli of which his bard had duly enrolled his name; while a more popular relation or more powerful chieftain seized the hereditary sceptre, and became recorded by his historian as the consecutive prince. But in case of restoration (and in general, legitimacy prevailed ultimately) the bard of the rightful heir, from a laudable sense of justice, recorded his prince in *immediate succession* after the father; and thus we find two different persons named as sovereigns of the same country at the same time.

KINGS OF GLEWYSSIG.

Glewys, after whom the kingdom was first named, is recorded as the son of Tegid, the son of Cadell, who is supposed to have been a chieftain or prince in some part of Gwent. The precise date of Glewys's life is uncertain, but mention is made of him as being contemporary with Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, the date of whose death is variously given between 512 and 560. It is recorded of him, further, that he held his Court at Caerleon, and founded a church at Machen. According to John, of Teignmouth, he had seven sons, of which the eldest was named Gwynlliw. Merchwyn, another son, was king in the district of Gower. Gwynlliw succeeded his father in the government of the kingdom of Glewyssig, but in accordance with the custom of gavelkind, the territory of the father was divided between the seven brothers, the six younger paying homage to Gwynlliw as the elder. In many respects Gwynlliw was a remarkable personage, and the records of his career deserve more than a passing notice. It is in connection with his name that the immediate locality of Newport is first mentioned in history. He was the founder of St Woolos Church. Pillgwenlly is named after him, and some writers also assert that Wentllwg, the appellation of the

hundred in which Newport is situate, was also derived from him. By the Latin writers of the middle ages Gwynlliw is twisted into Gundleus and Gunleius, and this re-translated into Welsh becomes Cynlais. How the word eventually became contorted into Woollos, Woolops, or Woolos, which latter seems at present to be the established form, we fail to trace. Like many other princes in those early times he was frequently engaged in conflicts with his neighbours, and in these conflicts his bravery, skill, and daring were such that he was never beaten. For this reason the epithet "Filwr" (warrior) was applied to him, and he became known as Gwynlliw Filwr, or Gwynlliw the Warrior. According to the testimony of his friends, he was pacific and just in his mode of government, and much esteemed by his subjects, who were loyal and obedient to his rule. Although Glewys, his father, resided at Caerleon, Gwynlliw appears to have removed from that city, as he is stated to have held his Court at a place called in Welsh Caerfule, and in Latin, Castrum Buleum. It is spoken of as being contiguous to the church, and hence it has been conjectured that Courtybella, or the Gaer, was the residence of the King. In the absence of anything more satisfactory than mere conjecture, we beg to differ from the conclusion just stated, and to suggest a spot which, while it might be correctly termed contiguous to the church, also more closely approaches the sound and signification of the words used to designate the place where Gwynlliw resided. The Gaer, which is more than a mile distant, was no doubt pitched upon as bearing a name resembling the primal syllable of Caerfule, but this must have been done, we imagine, by an inquirer ignorant of the locality of Caerau (the plural form of Gaer) which is so much closer to the church. We, therefore, discard further consideration of the Gaer. Finding then, that the name Courtybella is derived from the earlier British word Caerfule, we are driven back to a consideration of its meaning. Of the first part of the word,

there can be no doubt that it indicates a fortified place, for which the position of Caerau on the crest of Stow-hill was in early days admirably adapted. With respect to the word fule, bule, or buleum, we cannot, either from Welsh or Latin, extract any satisfactory meaning. We believe, however, that it must have been derived from the Celtic root Bu, which is said to have a bovine signification. In this there seems to be a singular appropriateness, as we find from the Life of Gwynlliw, that when he first took possession of the spot where he built his church, he found there a white ox. We conclude, therefore, that the court of Gwynlliw, being contiguous to the church, was held at Caerau ; and possibly on the spot where, in commemoration, might afterwards have been erected the well-known hostelry of the "Bull"—the Bull at Caerau=Caerbule. This public-house was a few years since demolished, to make place for the present residence of W. D. Evans, Esq, the esteemed clerk to the Newport Board of Guardians. Here, then, at Caerau, Gwynlliw may be supposed to have maintained his Court, after the fashion of the times, in right royal style. His family and retinue are said to have been so large that tents were usually fixed in the fields to accommodate them. If the truth must be told, Gwynlliw was probably one of those illustrious kings or princes respecting whom there is a very great divergence of opinion, a divergence very well illustrated by the following anecdote, related by Judge Falconer to a number of archæologists who had assembled at Usk Castle. Said the learned Judge : A number of ladies were once inspecting the ruins when, on being informed of the date of its erection, one of them exclaimed, "Dear me. I thought it was built by one of the Welsh chiefs." A friend said, "Oh no ! not at all," and added, "Chiefs ! They were only cattle stealers and filibusters." Whereupon the first lady, with great dignity, retorted, "Cattle stealers and filibusters ; I tell you they were patriots."

The contrast of Gwynlliw's character between the early and later period of his life is very striking and each may be equally true as the other, both affording interesting evidence of the social condition of the people at that early time. At present, however, we refer only to Gwynlliw as king or regulus, reserving other particulars for another chapter.

A daring marauder and successful withal, he was not unlikely to attract a large number of followers. One account states that Gwynlliw had 300 soldiers whom he frequently instigated to robbery and plunder. On one occasion a stolen cow was traced to his palace, which, on the discovery being made, he was induced to restore to the owner. Personally he was given up to carnal allurements, and lived altogether contrary to what was just and right. He seems to have been attracted by the beauty of a damsel named Gwladys, the daughter of a neighbouring king, who sternly refused his consent to her betrothal. At this refusal Gwynlliw raged with anger, and arming his slaves, went and seized her by force. He married her, and had a son named Cadog, who became devoted to religion and influenced his parents to relinquish attention to worldly matters and follow his example, which they ultimately did. Gwynlliw selected what was then a secluded spot on Stow-hill, and erected a church and monastery, where he spent the remainder of his days.

In a future chapter will be furnished a full account of the life of St Gwynlliw, extracted from the Lives of the Saints. This will be found, in many respects, of considerable interest.

According to the Welsh genealogies, Gwynlliw had a family of at least eight sons and one daughter, the following names being preserved, viz, Cattwg, Cammarch, Glwys Cerniu, Hywgu, Cynfyw, Gwyddloiu, Cyfleur, Cammab, and Maches. Cattwg—the name being frequently spelt Cadog or Cadoc—is a character well known in veritable history, as having founded a religious institution

for learning and study, at Llancarvan. Beyond this fact, very few of the details of his life have been preserved. We get a glimpse of him in the Triads, but his character is there surrounded with the halo of Arthurian romance. He is represented as one of the three continent knights of Arthur's court, and also as one of the three who obtained the Greal.

Cammarch is regarded as the founder of the Church of Llangammarch, in Breconshire.

Glewys Cerniw founded a church at Coed Cerniw, four miles from Newport.

Hywgu, called sometimes Bugi, is known as the father of St Beino. He spent the latter part of his life in his brother's college at Llancarvan, for the endowment of which he gave up all his lands.

Cyfyw, Cynfyw, or Cynyw was also connected with St Cadoc's College. He is supposed to have been the patron saint or founder of the church at Llangyfiew (Llangyview), near Caerleon.

Gwyddloiu, Cyflewyr, and Cammab, the remaining sons, are mentioned as saints of the family of Gwynlliw, but nothing more seems to be known of them.

Maches, the daughter, is looked upon not only as a saint, but a martyr. Tradition represents her as being filled with Christian charity and in the habit of dispensing alms to all who sought for relief. On one occasion a "Pagan Saxon," appearing before her as a mendicant, stabbed her with a knife, and death was immediately the result. The place where she thus suffered martyrdom was called after her Merthyr Maches, and is now known as Llanvaches, about nine miles from Newport.

When Gwynlliw retired from his sovereignty he very probably induced his sons to follow his example and abstain from all worldly affairs, and notwithstanding the existence of the custom of gavelkind and the practice of carving out petty kingdoms for the several sons, none of Gwynlliw's children are mentioned as kings; but nearly all are renowned for acts of piety and benevolence.

Cadoc, it is said, refused to accept the throne resigned by his father, choosing rather to lead the life of a recluse in the church or monastery he had founded at Llancarvan.

Gwynlliw is stated to have transferred his powers and rights as a ruler to his friend and kinsman, Morgan; but it is a puzzling circumstance to find just at this period, another King of Glewyssig, named Eineon, of whose ancestors, relatives, or successors, no information is given. He is named in *Liber Llandavensis*, but the reference is limited to the incidents of his hunting among the rocks and woods of the river Wye.

Possibly the matter may be explained by imagining that after Gwynlliw's resignation a short interregnum occurred, Eineon, by force or strategy, setting himself up as King, before Morgan had the opportunity of establishing himself in the position which Gwynlliw designed for him.

Morgan was already King of Gwent, and it may be he only received from Gwynlliw the kingdom which by paramount right he claimed on Gwynlliw's resignation. Morgan's father is said by some writers to have been the celebrated Arthur, and his grandfather Meurig, son of Tewdrig. One account calls Morgan a cousin of Arthur, and states also that he was an equestrian of Arthur's Court, and of the Round Table. He is also termed in the Triads one of Arthur's royal knights; a blood stained warrior; and a bandlet wearing Prince. What is more clear is that his seat of Government, whether as King of Gwent or Glewyssig, was at the ancient city of Caerleon. His residence, however, at Caerleon, was not of long duration, and a variety of reasons are assigned why he removed his Court. Thus a M.SS. quoted by Williams, in his History of Monmouthshire, says that he removed further west in consequence of not having been elected to the chief command of the British armies upon his father's death, while another account states, he was compelled to desert Caerleon owing to the frequent incursions of the Saxons. He seems to have set up a palace

at Rhadyr Brigan, and at Margam, and is said to have resided at these places alternately. The removal of the Court from Caerleon, gave rise to the establishment of the well known kingdom of Glamorgan. The district had hitherto been comprehended within the kingdom of Gwent, but now it came to be called Gwlad Forgan (the country of Morgan), and from this appellation the word Glamorgan has been derived. At all events, if the statement be not absolutely true, there is in its favour that there is no evidence of the earlier use of the word. The title Glamorgan was limited to the western district, the eastern portion still retaining the ancient name of Gwent.

It is related of Morgan that through the instigation of the devil he murdered his uncle Ffrioc, but instead of resigning his kingdom and passing the rest of his life in pilgrimage, as was the understanding he should do, he was permitted to redeem his pilgrimage and his crimes by means of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, on account of the destitute state of the kingdom, that it might not be left without the protection of its natural Lord. The result is recorded in *Liber Llandavensis*, which contains particulars of several grants of land which Morgan made to the church.

The following particulars, extracted from the genealogy of the Kings of Glamorgan, published in the Iolo M.SS., gives to Morgan, in the opinion of the learned editor of those papers, a valid claim to be considered the founder of "Trial by Jury," though the appointment seems to have rather resembled a judicial one than the setting up of a jury system. "He established," says the authority we have referred to, "good and just laws and institutes for the welfare of his dominions, but his special praise was that he enjoined the appointment of twelve wise, erudite, pious and merciful men to determine all claims, the King being their superior councillor. This act was called the Apostolical law because it is by this that Christ and his apostles judge the world, consequently, so should a king and his twelve wise men judge the

country in mercy and mildness, so that in this manner judgment, justice, and mercy should be demonstrated according to the equity of the claim." This prince also made an ordinance disqualifying as a witness in every cause, any one who should have ever conducted himself in an impiously haughty, ferocious, and cruel manner to any friend or foe, neighbour or stranger, until a year and a day after he had publicly, by wood, field and mountain, manifested his penitence by repairing the evil he had done.

In after life Morgan acquired the epithet of Mwynfawr (the Gentle or Courteous). The date and duration of his reign is uncertain, but as he is frequently alluded to in the Book of Llandaff, in connection with the episcopate of Bishops Oudocious and his successor, Berthgwyn, it would probably be right to fix his reign during the latter part of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century. Morgan is said to have founded at Margam, a bishopric, which, after lasting five generations, was then united to the See of Llandaff.

Morgan was succeeded by his son Ithael, whose sons were—Arthfael, Meurig, Rhodri, Rhys, Iddon, and Ffernwael.

Rhodri is set down as being the fifth King of Glewyssig.

The sixth King was Meurig, who is named in *Liber Llandavensis* as the son of Ithael, but in other accounts he is stated to have been the son of Rhodri. To Meurig is attributed the founding of a castle on the Usk, at Caerleon, and another on the banks of the river Rhymney, at a place called Meigen al Ceincoed. His disposition to the Church was shown by his ordering all persons to settle the churches in his region more conformable to the law of God; yet, notwithstanding this redeeming feature in his conduct, he is reputed to have been a man of great cruelty, and was ultimately killed by the men of Glamorgan, who threw him headlong from a high cliff, into the sea, for an attempt to violate the daughter of a very worthy nobleman.

Meurig had two sons, namely Brochwail and Ffernwael, both of whom were termed kings. Concerning Brochwael it is recorded that he had a virgin daughter who became a nun, but "being deceived by diabolical advice" she was seduced, and died in childbirth. Brochwael is credited in the Iolo M.SS., with having been the first who built a castle at Cardiff. During his reign he had several disputes with the Bishop of Llandaff, Cyfeilawg, in one of which the families of each seem to have participated. What the subject of the dispute was we are not told, but that it was a serious matter may be inferred from the statement that the Bishop, deeming Brochwael and all his family odious to God on account of their wickedness and injurious conduct, convened a synod for the purpose of excommunicating him. The King, being terrified at the prospect, sought pardon and indulgence, upon which the synod adjudged to the Bishop the quantity of the length and breadth of his face in pure gold, with recompence to be made to his family worthy of his honour, and the nobility of his parentage. The sentence was one which Brochwael was unable to comply with, so redeemed the gold by giving to the Church the village of Trefperen, with six modii of land, which probably pleased the Bishop and his friends quite as well. The situation of Trefperen is supposed to be between Magor and Caerleon. Brochwael was subsequently induced to give the Bishop the village of Portskewett, with a quantity of land, and weirs for fisheries, in the Severn.

Ffernwael, his brother, is stated to have held his court "in the middle of Cemeis" (Kemys).

Brochwael and Ffernwael were Kings of Gwent, and as such sought aid of King Alfred against the sons of Rhodri Mawr. The details of this circumstance may be more appropriately introduced, however, in another place.

Rhys, the son of Rhodri, was the seventh King of Glewyssig. After a short reign, he one day suddenly disappeared, and no one knew of his

whereabouts. Three years elapsed and still no tidings of the King was ascertained. At the end of this period, in accordance with the laws then existing, as Rhys had left no son, the kingdom was given to, or assumed by his brother Ffernwael, who was consequently the eighth King of the district.

After Ffernwael had acted as King for a year or two, his brother Rhys returned, but he was generous enough not to resume the sovereign power which he formerly held. Rhys was probably happier without it, for it transpired that during his absence he had gone to Rome and there married a noble lady, who, it is said, was also related to him. By his marriage Rhys had a son named Howell, who, on Ffernwael's decease, succeeded to the throne, and became the ninth and last King of Glewyssig. Some particulars are recorded of him in the Book of Llandaff, which shows that he was not superior to the circumstances of the times in which he lived. A prince or sub-regulus, named Gwallon, the son of Cerdrych, had a desire to be independent of his lord, and made an effort to secure for himself by force and violence the land of Llantivei. When Howell made a stir to protect his interests, we find Bishop Cerenhir interposed to avoid bloodshed. Both parties proceeded to Llandaff with a large military retinue and met the bishop, and here, by his decision, they swore that there should be peace between them without fraud or treachery; but Howell, still having an embittered feeling, perjured himself and killed Gwallon, as it is said, treacherously. The bishop upon this showed his authority and power by excommunicating Howell, who retired to Rome and there died the same year, A.D. 894, of the excessive heat, at the extreme age of 124. At Howel's death Glewyssig became by right of paramount sovereignty merged in the kingdom of Gwent, as it had been before the time of Glewys.

From what has been written, and all the records we have been able to inspect, it is by no means clear under what conditions this kingdom of

Glewyssig existed, but it is evident that for about five centuries, viz, from the time of Glewys, in the 5th century until the death of Howel in the 9th century, this *imperium in imperio* flourished. The names of the kingdom and its founder have now become obsolete; but Gwynlliw, the saintly son of Glewys, is still commemorated by the venerable Church on the hill of Stow, and the now populous district of Pillgwenlly, which lies at its base.

OVERTHROW OF PAGAN TEMPLES—APPOINTMENT OF ST. DAVID TO THE SEE OF CAERLEON—REMOVAL OF THE SEE TO MENEVIA—THE COLLEGE OF DUBRITIUS REMOVED — THE DIOCESE OF ST DAVID — THE PELAGIAN HERESY — SYNOD AT CAERLEON—DEATH OF ST. DAVID—HIS SHRINE.

In tracing the establishment, continuance, and termination of the small kingdom of Glewyssig, rapid strides were necessarily made over a period of four or five centuries. It is now requisite that we skip back to our starting point, and strike out a line of progress in a different direction. From what has been already stated in reference to the changes in the civil government of the country, which followed upon the retirement of the Romans, it is easy to conjecture that ecclesiastical government and religion, suffered considerable disturbance as a natural consequence arising therefrom; and, indeed, as a rule it is found that the Pagan temples erected by the Romans during their stay in Britain, were on their departure converted to the purposes of Christianity, or were overthrown and replaced by structures more adapted to the simpler forms of primitive Christian worship.

Whether the former or the latter course was adopted at Caerleon cannot be ascertained, but it seems certain that on the spot where Christianity was preached in Apostolic days, where Julius and Aaron, the first Christian martyrs in Britain, offered up their lives, Christian Churches have been maintained through successive centuries, down to the present day.

Dubritius, as before stated, resigned the See of Llandaff in 512 A.D., but continued as Archbishop of Caerleon until 519 A.D. In the See of Llandaff he was succeeded by St. Teilo, and in the Primacy of Caerleon, by St David, or as he is called by the Welsh, Dewi Sant, the only acknowledged tutelary saint of the Principality.

According to Rees (Welsh Saints), whose statements seem more reliable than many authors, St David was son of Sandde ab Ceredig ab Cunedda, by Non, daughter of Gynyr of Gaergawch. It is supposed he was born in the western part of Pembrokeshire, and received his religious education in the school of Iltutus, probably at Llantwit Major, and afterwards at that of Paulinus, at Tygwyn ar Taf. He subsequently founded a monastery in the valley of Rosina, afterwards called Menevia. From his seclusion here he was roused by Dubritius and the Bishop of Bangor to attend the Synod of Brefi, and assist in the suppression of the Pelagian heresy. Soon after, he was called to assume the office of Archbishop of Caerleon, which Dubritius had resigned. He is said to have accepted it with reluctance, but after his entrance into public life he was distinguished for great activity. He took up his residence at Caerleon, and remained there for several years after his promotion, when it is said that he then obtained the consent of King Arthur to remove the See from Caerleon to Menevia, to which place he had become attached from early associations. The old chroniclers assign no reason for the change, but Bishop Goodwin suggests a cause. He says, "It seemeth St David misliked the frequency of people at Caerleon, as a means to withdraw him from contemplation, whereunto he might be more free, he made choice of Menevia for his See, rather than for any fitness of the same otherwise.

St. David not only transferred from Caerleon his episcopal seat, but unfortunately also the renowned school or college, established or superintended by Dubritius. It is scarcely possible to conceive that such an important step would have been taken without good and sufficient reasons, and as none are alleged in the old chronicles, we can only suggest that in all probability the irresistible approach of the destructive Saxon power was the real cause of the removal. We find this stated as the ground which induced King Morgan Mwynfawr to desert

Caerleon, and as the event occurred shortly after the change of locality made by St David, it is likely that the circumstances which actuated Morgan influenced the decision of St David also. The friends of Caerleon may well deplore the circumstance, for it seems to have been an epoch in the history of the ancient city, another marked advance in the decline of her opulent grandeur and position of importance. Her thoroughfares, once perambulated by the Roman legions, had attained a quiet aspect; the amphitheatre erst thronged by pleasure seeking thousands had grown silent; Arthur was dead, his renowned knights dispersed, and the gay festivities of the Round Table were heard no more; and now the chambers and halls of learning became deserted, leaving Caerleon an aggregate of vacant palaces and halls, but a fame which surviving the gorgeous structures which have long since crumbled into dust, have lasted through more than a dozen centuries.

The Diocese of St David as Archbishop seem to have extended from Pembrokeshire in the West to the Wye in the East, including in the North, parts of the counties of Radnor and Brecknock and the whole of the county of Monmouth excepting the district of Glewyssig, or what is now known as the Lordship of Wentloog, which was undoubtedly in in the Diocese of Llandaff. There is a peculiarity to be observed here with regard to Caerleon (Llanddewi Vach is also named with Caerleon) that although only ten or twelve miles from Llandaff and situate on the west side of the river Usk, which is said to have been the limit of the diocese, it was not included in it, but remained part and parcel of the district, over which the jurisdiction of St David extended. An explanation of this is attempted by the statement that St David might have weakened his authority as Archbishop of Menevia had he surrendered the place from which he originally derived his title of Metropolitan.

The removal of the Archbishop's seat from Caerleon to St David's, is said to have been foreshadowed in the prophecy of Merlin, which says,

"Menevia shall put on the pall of the City of Legions," but whether the event was anticipated or not, it does not seem to have given general satisfaction after its accomplishment. Hence the Cambrian clergy frequently afterwards denominated the primacy after the name of the more ancient see of Caerleon, and St David himself is styled by some writers Archbishop of Caerleon up to the time of his death.

There is one important event connecting the city with the Saint, which not being yet recorded we will now lead up to. During the latter years of the Roman occupation of Britain, the well-known heresy arose, of which Pelagius was the author. Pelagius is acknowledged to have been a native of Wales, and, according to Enderbie, was born at Usk. His real name is supposed to have been Morgan—meaning sea born, which is signified also by the Greek work *Pelagios*. Of the subtle doctrines taught by this celebrated heresiarch, respecting which so many volumes have been written and so many Councils held in early ages, it is not intended to say a word. In Britain, as well as in other Christian countries, the discussion on Pelagianism waxed warm, and the opponents of the doctrines being unable to stay its progress appealed to the Gallican Church for assistance. Thereupon it is said that Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, were, by a a full Synod, sent to Britain for the purpose of confuting the heretics. A meeting for public disputation was held at Vernlam (St Albans), when, according to Bede, the followers of the new doctrines were discomfitted. As the heresy was not, however, entirely suppressed, Germanus is said to have paid a second visit to Britain A.D. 447, the result of his efforts on this occasion being that the Pelagians were not only silenced but banished from the country. Whether the promulgators of the doctrine were driven into Wales is not stated, but it certainly would not have been the only occasion when the followers of Christianity driven from England had found a safe refuge in the mountain-

ous districts of Wales. At all events in later days we find Pelagianism to have become troublesome in the Diocese of the Archbishop of Caerleon, and one of its staunchest opponents was the good St David. His grace, eloquence, and ability in disputation were shown at a general synod of all the churches of Wales held at Brefi, in the County of Cardigan, and his success was so great that it is said his opponents were silenced and utterly vanquished. It is clear, however, that this was not so, as it is recorded that after St David had been appointed to the Archbishopric of Caerleon he convened another synod, which was held at Caerleon. Here his efforts met with merited reward, the heresy being entirely exterminated. From this circumstance the meeting has been called the "Synod of Victory."

St David, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, died in the monastery which he had founded at Menevia, and was there honourably buried, by order of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, who in earlier days was chief elder in the college at Caerleon. The event is recorded by Geoffrey as if it happened soon after the death of Arthur (542). According to the computations of Archbishop Usher he died two years later, aged 82 years, 65 of which he is said to have presided over his diocese.

After his death, so famous was his shrine, that it attracted votaries not only from all parts of Wales, but also from foreign countries; and even three of the Kings of England—William I, Henry II, and Edward I—are recorded to have undertaken the journey, which, when twice repeated, was deemed equal to one pilgrimage to Rome.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CAERLEON—ST TEILO THE LAST NAME PRESERVED—THE TITLE LOST—SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS—EFFECTS OF THEIR APPOINTMENT—ORIGIN OF PARISHES—ASSUMED ANTIQUITY OF ST WOOLOS CHURCH.

When St David "went over to the majority," Llandaff was again made a stepping stone to the Primacy of Caerleon. Dubritius, it may be remembered, when appointed to the Archbishopric of Caerleon, still retained the see of Llandaff, and hence it has been supposed by some that one appointment was not afterwards distinct from the other; but that the two offices were not merged together is evident from the fact that on the death of St Dubritius, St David succeeded him in the Archbishopric of Caerleon, and Teilo had the see of Llandaff conferred upon him. St Teilo now became the successor of St David as Archbishop of Caerleon, and Oudoceus was promoted to the Bishopric of Llandaff. The seat of episcopal government which St David had removed to Menevia, was brought to Llandaff, and there St Teilo continued to reside. The life of this Archbishop affords but scanty material to assist the progress of these records, but it must be mentioned that one great and useful work attributable to him was the appointment of Suffragan Bishops, an example which the church, even in the present advanced age, has lately extensively followed with much advantage. Up to this period, Caerleon and Llandaff were, in this district, the only seats of learning and residences of the clergy. But Teilo, having appointed these Suffragans, marked out districts or dioceses for each, and sent them into the country to suit the convenience of the clergy and the people. Eight names are preserved in the book of Llandaff, but Gwyddlon or Guodloiu is the only one to whom a district in this part is assigned. He is said to be son of Glewys Cerniw (who founded a church at Coedkernew), and grand

son of Gwynlliw, the founder of St Woollos; and it is conjectured that in this locality his episcopal duties were exercised.

There is another supposed Suffragan Bishop, but of whom very little is known. His name is given as Rhystud or Rhystud Hen Restitutus. He was grandson of Emyr Llydaw, and a relative of Megantius, particulars of whom have been given in former chapters. Rhystud is termed Bishop of Caerleon, but in all probability he was a suffragan, or the expression may simply mean that he was Abbot of the College or Monastery which so long flourished at Caerleon.

St. Teilo died about 563 or 566 A.D., and with him ends the list of archbishops of Caerleon, whose claim to the title has been universally admitted.

The partizans of the Church of Llandaff contended that Oudoceus succeeded to the position, while the clergy of Menevia claim that a long list of successors was transmitted from Ceneu, who presided over that diocese.

It is not to be understood, however, that the title of Archbishop of Caerleon ceased. That this was not the case is evident from the fact that forty years or more later, when St. Augustine had his celebrated interview with the British bishops, the Archbishop of Caerleon was apparently unanimously recognised by them as the chief ecclesiastical authority; the spokesman, on behalf of the Bishops, informing the Romish delegate that they were "under the authority of the Bishop of Caerleon, to keep them in the spiritual way;" and again two centuries later, there appears to have been no less than three claimants for the Archiepiscopal honours, a claim having been set up by the Bishop of Bangor.

From all this it appears certain that the migratory character which the Primacy had assumed by its tranference from Caerleon to Menevia, and thence to Llandaff, weakened its stability, and the dignity sunk between contending parties.

While other cities were growing in wealth, dignity, and influence, these qualities were, as regards

Caerleon, dwindling away, and even the title—Archbishop of Caerleon—a title so intimately connected with the early history of the Christian Church in Britain—a title borne by men whose usefulness, learning, and sanctity, are still regarded with esteem and reverence—was ultimately lost, though the causes cannot be accurately defined, nor the exact period named.

During the early period of the British Church it is questionable whether Bishops had any limited or defined districts in which their functions were exercised. The Archbishop of Caerleon was no doubt somewhat different. His importance arose, and was maintained, probably, on account of the position which Caerleon occupied as the seat of civil government, and the limits of his jurisdiction would be co-extensive with the province of Britannia Secunda. By the appointment of a number of Suffragan Bishops their districts gradually came to be limited and defined to prevent the intrusion of one into the district of another or the infringement of each others rights.

In the same way, too, it is likely parishes were formed, as we soon find the respective Bishops despatching itinerant ministers about the district preaching the Gospel, and not forgetting to collect from their hearers, offerings for the common support of the society of which they were members—which offerings they brought back to the Bishops on their return. After a time the visits of the clergy to the outlying districts were prolonged, and at length they permanently established themselves at certain places and there erected churches for their respective congregations. Such was the origin of parishes, which Dugdale says took place about 636 A.D. At all events there are no parish churches which can be traced to a period much earlier than this.

The idea that parishes were established originally by Act of Parliament can never be maintained says Rees. They existed in the times of Welsh independency, when no Acts of the English Parliament could affect them, and no ordinance for their arrangement is found in the Welsh annals. The

state of the country, divided as it was between contending rulers, rendered such an arrangement impossible. Their establishment was gradual and their limits determined by the territory of the person who endowed each church with tithes. A chieftain might divide his lands between his sons, and this might form some criterion for the division of the original endowment of a church into a number of parochial chapelries, but he could make no partition of the tithes, for, as they had already been given away, they were no longer in his power, and it rested with the Bishop or minister of the Mother Church to make his own arrangements with the ministers or curates of the chapelries.

Some degree of importance has been attached to parochial divisions for the reason that they determine the comparative antiquity of the churches to which they belong. The origin of our parish churches, it must be admitted, is of much interest, and although involved in some obscurity, something like the truth can be arrived at by a process of induction.

Thus it is shown by Professor Rees that the churches presumed to have been founded by the Welsh or British saints whose names they bear, are more ancient than those dedicated to the apostles, and the saints of the Romish calendar; that they were founded at a time when the British Church was not in communion with Rome, and before the practice of dedicating to saints, according to the usual mode had become customary.

The statement that St Woolos Church at Newport, was founded between 1,300 and 1,400 years ago may be considered doubtful by some, yet it seems certain that it was so. We do not speak of the church as the architectural edifice now existing; that will come under notice hereafter, but the establishment and setting apart of a structure for the worship of Almighty God. With regard to the antiquity of St Woolos, there is the fact that Gwynlliw, father of Cadoc and son of Glewys, lived in the 6th century, and in the details of his life we find a record of his having built a church.

It may be urged, we are aware, that these lives of saints were not written until probably the 12th and 13th century, but, admitting this, the story is more likely to have been then a tradition of truth preserved than a story invented, as many circumstances support the former theory.

Bede testifies that the mode of consecration practised by the primitive Christians of the island was peculiar. He says wherever a church was intended to be erected, a person of reputed sanctity was chosen to reside on the spot, where he continued forty days in the performance of prayer, fasting, and other religious exercises; at the expiration of that time the ground was held sacred, and a church was erected accordingly.

Professor Rees remarks upon this quotation :— It would naturally follow that the church should be called after the name of the person by whom the ground was consecrated, and in this sense the word "founder" must be understood. It remained for subsequent generations to regard the founder in the character of patron saint. Subsequently it became the practice of the early British Christians to give to the churches in their respective districts a name composed of that of the patron saint with the Celtic word Llan prefixed to it—thus Llangadog, the church of St. Cadog (Caerléon).

The oldest churches in Wales are called after the names of certain holy persons who are reputed to have been their founders, and are not known to have been dedicated in the ordinary sense of the term to any other patron saint. The inference, therefore, is reasonably drawn that they must have been founded before formal dedications were customary. Such dedications were known to have flourished on the Continent as early as the sixth or even the fifth century, but just at that period the communication between Britain and the Continent was interrupted, and the superstitions or practices of the British Church were those of an earlier period, the British Church being reluctant to adopt the new ceremonies and ritual which the Roman Church on the Continent had invented

Again, the early churches (of the 4th and 5th centuries) were called "Martyria or Memoriæ Martyrum." They were necessarily confined to the spot where the saint was buried, in honour of whom, therefore, only one church of this description could be erected.

The chapelry of Bettws, until lately connected with St. Woolos, affords an additional argument for the antiquity of St. Woolos. Bettws is a designation applied to chapels in Wales subservient to other churches, and the attachment, therefore, of Bettws to St. Woolos, indicates that it was founded after the mother church. Now Bettws is one of the comparatively few churches in Wales dedicated to its tutelary saint David, and this peculiarity has been noticed with regard to the churches dedicated to St. David, that there is neither church nor chapel dedicated to him in the whole of North Wales; that there are but two in the original diocese of Llandaff; and that the rest are in the district of which as archbishop of Caerleon or Menevia, he was himself the diocesan. As St. David was not canonised until the early part of the 12th century, by Pope Calixtus, it might be inferred that churches were dedicated to his memory after that event, but it does not seem to have been the case. It is found that chapels dedicated to St. David are connected with or subordinate to churches only which are named after Welsh saints of contemporary or older date, and not the apostles or any of the Romish calendar saints, which would have been otherwise the case. While, therefore, establishing the antiquity of Bettws, proof is afforded of the still more ancient foundation of the venerable church of St. Woolos.

The same remarks and arguments are applicable to the churches of Caerleon, Llanhenog, Undy, and others in the district, founded by and dedicated to religious personages who were afterwards regarded as canonized saints.

That the Church was particularly active in this district during the 5th and several succeeding centuries, may be gathered from many

facts. A traveller in those days passing through Gwent would find the numerous military stations of the Romans deserted and their legions gone. Instead of garrisons of soldiers he would now see prosperous cloisters (abodes of prayer, study, and labour), churches, hospitals, and colonies for cultivating the soil—all these institutions being directed by men who made religion the profession and occupation of their lives. At Caerwent, he would find a house of prayer and a seminary founded by Ynyr, a King of Gwent. At Caerleon, three fine churches had been erected to commemorate the persecutions of former times, and the memories of Britain's proto-martyrs, Julius and Aaron. At Undy, Gwndaf and his wife had jointly founded a church, in which their memory has been still preserved. At Newport, the saintly Gwynlliw would be found in his small sacred edifice on the hill of Stow, weeping over the follies of his younger days; while at Bassalleg, his wife Gwladys might be heard of in connection with the church and hospital she had established, and the community of virgins consecrated to holy work, which she also superintended there. At Coedkernew, one of Gwynlliw's sons had established a church, where in another generation one of the early suffragan bishops was located. Journeying on to Llandaff, our supposed traveller would find there an active centre of religious effort and zeal, and hear of the occupation of the Flat Holmes and Barry Island by the "men of Christ," as they were called. Still further west at Llancarvan, St Cadoc, the son of the two hermits, Gwynlliw and Gwladys, whom he had seen at Newport and Bassalleg, was laying the foundation of his future fame by his labours in the midst of a numerous colony of disciples and saints.

With the vigorous action, which may be imagined from the above statements, the Church succeeded in acquiring an immense influence over the people. Outside the clergy there was little or no learning, and both prince and peasant were taught in the way best calculated to advance the temporal

interest of the ecclesiastical confraternity. The masses were ignorant, credulous, and superstitious, while the ruling authorities were trained to pay a servile and degrading deference to the commands of the Church as expressed by her bishops and their subordinate clergy. Whatever may have been the code of morals or religion which formed the primary object of the Church's teaching, there cannot be a doubt that every effort and device were used to add riches to her coffers, and bring under subjection to the clergy, the minds of all whom they could in any manner influence.

Hallam, in treating of this matter, says, "Among the first effects of the conversion of Constantine was to give not only a security but a legal sanction to the territorial acquisitions of the Church, and Constantine set an example by his own liberality which did not want imitators. Passing rapidly from a condition of distress and persecution, to the summit of prosperity, the Church degenerated as rapidly from her ancient purity. Covetousness, especially, became almost a characteristic vice. The priests failed not to inculcate upon the wealthy sinner that no atonement could be so acceptable to heaven as liberal presents to its earthly delegates." Although these remarks are applied to the Church in general, they are peculiarly applicable to the British Church in this district.

The records of the Book of Llandaff indicate what an amount of extortion was practised to this end, until a large proportion of the land was under the control and in the possession of the church authorities.

According to Godwin, so much riches had been bestowed upon the Church of Llandaff during the lives of the first three bishops, that if it had enjoyed a tenth part, it would have been one of the wealthiest in the kingdom.

The following are some of the particulars given in *Liber Llandavensis* respecting estates in the district of Gwent:—

Iddon, son of Ynyr, King of Gwent, who is said to have possessed a mansion at Llanarth, sacrificed it and all its territory to the Church of Llandaff, in exchange for an eternal country; and it is also recorded that he subsequently gave to the Church "that he might succeed to the joys of Paradise" some land in the parish of Llantilio Pertholey.

Cuchein, son of Glywys Cernio granted to God and to St. Dubritius and St Teilo, the village of the valley (Is-pant). Among the witnesses to the grant is Gwyddlon, Bishop, who probably was his brother.

In the Life of Oudoceus, the third Bishop of Llandaff, it is recorded that as Einion, King of Glewyssig, was one day hunting, he wondered greatly how and what course the stag was taking as it was pursued by the dogs, with the noise of horns and huntsmen, through the valleys. Divine protection, however, was extended and preserved it until it reached the cloak of St Oudoceus, where it received shelter. The huntsmen remained afar off with the dogs mute and stupefied, but ultimately the huntsmen joined Oudoceus, and with bended knees and hands lifted up to heaven, asked pardon of the Lord as if they had committed some crime. The King gave to Oudoceus quiet possession of the stag, and afterwards all the territory which the stag had gone round during the day. During the same episcopate it is recorded of King Meurig, son of Tewdrig, that he endowed the new See of Llandaff with divers territories, privileges and rents. And further, that having been excommunicated for the crime of murder alleged against him, he gave to the Church four villages as a penance for the redemption of his soul.

His son and successor, Athrwys, is reputed to have granted to the Church some land between Pwlmeyrick and Chepstow.

Ithel, the fourth King of Glewyssig, gave to Llandaff the village of Undy, a village called Bertus, and other lands now in Herefordshire.

Rodri, his successor, presented the estate of Cemeis, near Caerleon, to the Church, and a King named Ffernwael gave the church of Trelec and about 130 acres of land for the benefit of Llandaff.

Later on we find that Meurig, son of Ithel, was excommunicated for some crime, and thereupon as a penance he gave what is styled the smaller village of Gulible to the Church. From the boundaries described, the land is supposed to be part of the Manor of Preston, and St Julians, in the parish of Christchurch.

Hywell, too, the last King of Glewyssig, was excommunicated for murder, but obtained pardon on the usual terms, namely, by giving land to the Church.

In addition to lands given to the Church by the various kings named, there are entries of other proprietors parting with their land, either to gain spiritual advantages, or to make atonement for offences committed, thus :—

The mansion of Merthyr Tecmed and adjoining land, supposed to be Llandegvedd, three miles from Caerleon, was given to Bishop Trychan, by Brug, son of Gwyddbwys.

Erbig, son of Elffin also, "for inserting his name in the Book of Life," gave to the Church the village of Elcon or Dulais, and subsequently the village of Cathouen, the son of Findeg.

On the authority of Mr Wakeman, Elcon is set down as a place in the parish of Llantarnam, on the Dulais Brook, which rises in Twyn Barlwm, and joins the Avon Llwyd. Cathouen is the place now called Catsash, about a mile from Caerleon, and in the parish of Langstone. There is at this place a public-house distinguished by the sign of a cat in an ash tree. It might be supposed that this conceit of the landlord gave the name to the place, but it is certainly not so, as the name occurs in deeds and records of very ancient date, and no doubt suggested the sign from a misconception of the name, which is evidently that of a man.

Again, we have Cynog, son of Gynwyl, buying the village of Ellgnore, by another name, for two

horses, and giving it free to the Church, but for what benefits is not stated. The place is called also Breichan, and from this it is supposed to be located on the brook of that name in the parish of Llantarnam.

During the period Bishop Cerenhir held the See of Llandaff, Agwod, son of Jeuaf, was excommunicated on account of a quarrel between his family and that of the Bishop. Agwod sought pardon, and gave to God and the Bishops of Llandaff, the village of Pennon, with its Church of Llantylull and three modii (27 acres) of land, and three bushels of wheat, &c.

According to the late Mr Wakeman, the locality here indicated is that of St Dial's, Cwmbran, where the ruins of a chapel were removed some time since to repair the neighbouring farm buildings.

The succeeding Bishop, Nudd, had a difficulty with Gwlffert, Hewi, and Arwystyl, sons of Beli. Their family quarrelled and afterwards fought with the family of the Bishop, who at that time remained at Llanarth. An agreement was afterwards made between them, and as penance the offenders gave all the territory of the holy martyrs, Julius and Aaron, to the Church. This land was in the neighbourhood of Caerleon, and the boundary is thus described :—The head of the dike on the Usk, following along the dike to the source of the brook Merthyr, that is Amir, from its source to the hollow, upwards to the source of the brook Lechou ; following Lechou downwards, to the gorge of the hollow on the right side ; along the hollow upwards to the head of the dike, and along it towards the west to the slope of the hill to the source of the brook of Bedd yr Alltudion (grave of the strangers) along the brook to the Usk, along Usk with its weirs to the head of the dike where it began.

The Lechou is a small rivulet which rises in the Caer Wood, on the Maendy Farm, and the brook Bedd yr Alltudion must be that which has its source a quarter of a mile east of the former, and falls into the Usk near St Julian's house.

In still later days, we have the statement that Brochwael, son of Meurig, gave for his soul the Church of St. Mary, and about 27 acres of land, supposed to be in the parish of Llanwern; and the village of Trefperin and 54 acres of land at Rogiett, near Chepstow.

In the time of Gulfrid, bishop, one Llywarch, son of Cadwgan, is said to have plundered Abergwenffrwd, but the powerful Bishop brought the offender to book, and Llwyarch bending himself to the ground, and in order to obtain pardon, gave to the Bishops of Llandaff for ever, the viliage of Treficarn Pont, and 27 acres of land.

Tref y carn is now known as Chapel Farm, near Abercarn, in the parish of Mynyddislwyn. The chapel is converted into a small farm house and barn. A bridge over the Ebbw, just below is called Pont y Mynachlawg, and in the neighbouring parish of Henllis, is a place called Craig Llywarch, probably from the donor above recorded.

It may be interesting in connection with, and before we conclude, this article, to give a few illustrations of the value of land at the time of the incidents recorded. Thus Ithael, King of Glewyssig sold or exchanged the village of Gwennonnoe, for 22 untamed horses; and also sold the village of Procluui for two horses of the value of eight cows, and a trumpet of the value of 24 cows and a cloak given to the Queen, of the value of six ounces, with a horse of the value of four ounces. About the same period, an uncia (108 acres) of land was bought by one Rhiadda for 24 cows, a Saxon woman, a valuable sword, and a powerful horse. We will give one more instance, where a priest named Cynfwr bought of King Ffernwael a church and an uncia and a half (166 acres) of land near Monmouth, for a very good horse of the value of 12 cows; a hawk of the value of 12 cows, and a useful dog that killed birds with the hawk, of the value of three cows; and another horse of the value of three cows.

Although we have already devoted considerable space to the affairs of the Church for the first half-

dozen centuries of its existence, it seems necessary to give some additional details before leaving for a time this branch of our local history.

During the 5th and 6th centuries, the Saxon invaders made rapid progress in reducing to subjection the greater portion of the people of England, but barbarous and uncultivated as the invaders were, their immediate object seemed not so much to conquer the people, as to destroy and plunder. Wherever they went towns and villages were consigned to the flames, and the inhabitants slaughtered. To the religion of the British people the Saxons had a particular aversion, and they systematically destroyed all the places of worship, wherever found. Bede says that for a hundred years this work of devastation was carried on, until the aspect of Britain became entirely changed. Many Christian priests were murdered at their respective altars, the monasteries were destroyed, and the blood stained sacrifices of the imaginary Saxon deities superseded the sacred rites of the Christian religion, of which for many years scarcely a vestige was to be traced in the conquered dominions. We have the same authority for stating that many Christian priests with their followers escaped from the cruelties of the Saxon intruders and found refuge in the mountain fortresses of Wales. Matthew, of Westminster particularly mentions that about 586, A.D., Theonus and Thadiocus, the metropolitans of London and York, together with many of their clergy, withdrew into Wales after their churches had been destroyed by the Saxons. The expression "into Wales" may be regarded as vague, but a little consideration will lead one to the conclusion that it was to the district of Gwent and Morganwg, in which Caerleon and Llandaff were situated, the learned dignitaries named fled for shelter and protection. Of the cities in Wales, Caerleon still remained of the first importance. The prestige of being the Roman capital of Britannia Secunda and the subsequent Court of the renowned Arthur, could not have been much lessened, and the fact that there was an Archbishop of Caerleon,

whose title was older and whose fame was greater than the ecclesiastical dignitaries of either London or York ; and whose See, moreover, was free from the troubles from which the clergy of those places sought temporary protection, would be sufficient to account for their visit to this district. The activity of the Church here has been already set forth, and whether we regard the state of things described as likely to have attracted Christians from other parts of the kingdom, or as the result of their continued influx, the fact remains. We think there cannot be a doubt that for a long period prior to the commencement of the seventh century, when the Saxons themselves received Christianity, there was a continued accession to this district of persons from other parts whose Christianity made them prominent among their countrymen—a circumstance which must have afforded to the district for the time many and great advantages.

A gleam of light at length dawned upon the dark and desolate condition into which England had lapsed. Pope Gregory, whose commiseration for the benighted state of the English people had been excited while he yet filled a private station, no sooner found himself seated in the papal chair than he determined to send over missionaries to attempt their conversion. St Augustine, the leader of the chosen band, arrived in England some time in the year 597, and began his labours under favourable auspices. After the lapse of six years St Augustine was so far successful in England that he sought to carry out a desire he had formed of influencing the Bishops of the British Church in Wales. He had heard, we are told, on his arrival in London, "that there was an archiepiscopal church at Caerleon, which had seven Bishops subject to it, with monasteries and convents, where God and the saints were worshipped;" and he must have regarded his mission as altogether incomplete, while so large a proportion of the British hierarchy remained aloof. St Augustine proposed a conference, and the British Bishops, acceding to the

request, arrangements were made accordingly. Bede says it was held in the year A.D. 603, at a place called by him Augustine's Ac, or Augustine's Oak, which has been recognised by Carte and other learned antiquaries as Aust, on the Gloucestershire side of the Old Passage, across the Severn. The chief object of St Augustine appears to have been the reconciliation of differences of custom, ritual, and ecclesiastical government, which had grown up between the British and the Roman Church, for it seems that when the conference took place no difference of doctrine was mentioned.

A curious confirmation of this difference is afforded by an epistle of Aldhelm, a priest, afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, who was deputed at a general synod of the Saxons to write a treatise against the paschal cycle, and the form of tonsure adhered to by the Britons. The following extracts are given according to the translators of Cressy :—

"But besides these enormities (the tonsure and paschal cycle) there is another thing wherein they do notoriously swerve from the Catholic faith and evangelical tradition, which is, that the priests of the Demetiæ, or south-west Wales, inhabiting beyond the bay of Severn, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity do exceedingly abhor communion with us, inasmuch as they will neither join in prayers with us in the church, nor enter into society with us at the table, yea, moreover, the fragments which we leave after refection they will not touch, but cast them to be devoured by dogs and unclean swine," &c.

Although these remarks were written some years after the conference alluded to, there can be no doubt that much of the same feeling existed when the British bishops met Augustine and his brethren. It is easy to understand, therefore, that they were not readily disposed to submit themselves to his influence or the authority which he was prepared to exert over them.

The incidents of the interview between St. Augustine and the British bishops must be well

known, forming, as they do, a feature in general history; but the circumstance has such a local bearing that its narration in these pages may be well excused.

We have already intimated that the Archbishop of Caerleon at this period is said to have presided over seven Bishops, the names being given by Spelman, as Hereford, Llandaff, Llanbadarn-vawr, Bangor, Asaph, Worcester, and Margam. This statement is strengthened also by other accounts which say that the province of the Archbishop of Caerleon extended to the Severn, and so took in Chester, Hereford, and Worcester. Whether the whole or how many of the Bishops above named were present to meet St Augustine cannot be ascertained, but the only Bishop whose name is recorded is that of Dinawd, or Dinooth, the Bishop of Bangor. Preparatory to the interview the British bishops are reported to have held a consultation with an anchorite renowned for wisdom, who advised them that if St. Augustine were a man of God they were to follow him. The bishops desired to know how they were to ascertain this, when the anchorite replied: "The Lord hath said, 'Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' If Augustine be meek, it is to be expected that because he bears himself the yoke of Christ, he will offer it to be borne by you; but if he be proud he is not of God, and his speech is not to be regarded." The Bishops again said, "How shall we discover this also?" "Contrive," said the wise man, "that he come first to the place with his friends, and if he shall rise when you approach hearken to him, but if he shall despise you, and be not willing to rise in your presence, when you are more in number, then let him be despised by you. The Bishops determined to follow the advice of the anchorite, and proceeded to the place of meeting. When they approached St Augustine remained seated, at which the British Bishops were enraged, and resolved to oppose all that he might advance.

St Augustine's efforts were directed to the adoption by the bishops of the same ecclesiastical customs as himself, but they declared that they could not renounce the ancient customs without permission of their brethren, and in order to consult them they requested another meeting.

At this second meeting seven bishops are said to have been present, with a considerable number of the most learned men from the monastery of Bangor Iscoed. No detailed account of this meeting has been preserved, but Geoffry of Monmouth supplies a speech which Dinooth made in reply to St. Augustine. Spelman publishes a version in his Concilia. Dinooth evidently rejected the interference of the Roman emissary, remarking on behalf of himself and his brethren, that "we are under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk, who is superintendent under God over us to make us keep the spiritual way." The result of the conference was a disappointment to St Augustine, and on his departure he menaced the obdurate bishops with the threat that if they would not accept peace from their brethren, they must expect war from their enemies. In fulfilment of this threat it is alleged against St Augustine that he instigated Ethelfrid to attack the Britons, and that at a battle near Chester, 1,200 clergy were slain, and the British army overthrown.

Having endeavoured—though we fear with inadequate effect—to represent the state of this district—both from a political and religious point of view, down to the termination of the sixth century, we shall now venture to give such particulars as available records furnish, of the numerous, and we may say continued contests which were waged between the native inhabitants of Britain and the invading Saxons, by which the former were driven within the limits of the kingdom of Wales, and the latter succeeded in permanently establishing their rude forms of Government on its borders.

To trace the progress of the Saxons westward, from the first period of their landing in Britain, would be unnecessary. It is sufficient to indicate that having once obtained a permanent hold in the country, they extended their plundering incursions from time to time as circumstances enabled them.

Arthur, of immortal fame, rolled back the wave of conquest for a while, but they pressed him sorely right and left and fought one desperate battle with him at Caerwent, and another, even at the gates of Caerleon. At Arthur's death the military ardour which he sustained in his followers seem to have forsaken them, and the Saxons no longer encountered any effectual resistance. Before the close of the fifth century they established the kingdom of Wessex, which gradually extended its borders until it included nearly the whole of the country south of the Thames excepting Cornwall, which was still defended by the natives of the country. Ere the lapse of another century the kingdom of Mercia was recognised, and thus the Saxons held possession of the whole country which bordered Gwent on the English side.

There was now carried on between the Saxons and the unconquered Britons of Gwent a series of contests of the most unrelenting character, the

Saxons being described as having all the ferocity of barbarians. Deeds of the most savage and sanguinary description were frequently perpetrated, which probably engendered that intense feeling of hatred and revenge between the peoples which existed in after centuries and the remembrance of which has not even yet died away. The contests were seldom of a decisive character—the successes of one conflict being speedily reversed, and renewed efforts were only followed by similar results. Year after year and generation after generation thus passed away, leaving the Saxons unable to complete the subjugation of the undaunted people of Gwent, or to obtain full possession of their country; they, however, made repeated incursions, which were troublesome to the natives, and effective in their destructiveness. This may be gathered from an account preserved in the Book of Llandaff. It says, "Be it known that great tribulation and plundering happened in the time of Teithfallt and Ithael, Kings of Wales, which were committed by the most treacherous Saxon nation, and principally in the borders of Wales and England towards Hereford, so that all the border country of Wales was nearly destroyed and much beyond the borders in both England and Wales, and especially about the river Wye, on account of the frequent diurnal and nocturnal encounters which took place between both countries.

Teithfallt was one of the early kings of Glamorgan. The date of his reign is variously set down between 470 A.D. and 600 A.D., but we incline to the belief that the early part of the 6th century is the more correct.

After Teithfallt, we find Iddon, son of Ynir Gwent, was attacked by the Saxons, who did not fail to plunder the country which they over-ran. Iddon, with his army, pursued the enemy, and on the way (we quote from the Book of Llandaff) he went to St Teilo, Archbishop of Caerleon, who remained with his clergy at Llanarth, and strongly entreatsd him and his clergy that they would pray to God on behalf of him and his whole army.

St Teilo went with him to a mountain in the parish of Llanteilo Cressenny, where he stood and prayed to Almighty God that he would succour His plundered people; and his prayer was heard and a great victory was obtained, the enemy being put to flight and the plunder taken from them. In thankfulness to God for the victory, Iddon is said to have given to the Church a large extent of land.

About the same time as the event above recorded Tegwedd, the mother of Archbishop Teilo, was murdered by the Saxons, and in commemoration of her death the Church and village has been called by her name, viz., Llandegved.

The Saxons penetrated to the district of Ergyng, but here they were repulsed by Gwrfodw, the king of the district.

In the time of Bishop Oudoceus it is recorded that plundering and laying waste by the Saxons, with respect to Southern Britain, took place, and especially on the borders of his diocese, so far that by the violence of the invading nation of the Saxons, they plundered the diocese from Mochros on the Wye, in one part, as far as the river Dore in the other, and as far as Gurmwy (river Worm in Herefordshire), and to the mouth of Taratyr at the river Wye.

At the end of the sixth century another great inroad of the Saxons took place, of which some details have been presented. Meurig was King of Gwent at this period, having succeeded his father Tewdwr, or Theodore (the son of Teithfallt), who had retired to lead a hermitical life at Tintern. Ceolwulf had established himself in the kingdom of Wessex. Of Ceolwulf it is said that he reduced more of the land to the conditions of being either tributary to the Saxons or colonized by them after the native inhabitants were either exterminated or enslaved than any of his predecessors. Ceolwulf made repeated incursions into Welsh territory, and therefore proved very troublesome, as the native princes were weak and divided, and unable separately to cope with him. Meurig

had become reduced to the direst extremity, and was in danger of being altogether dispossessed of his territory, when he resolved by the advice of his friends, to make an appeal to his father in his retirement. Theodore said that while he possessed the kingdom he was never overcome, but was always victorious; so that when his face was seen in battle the enemy were immediately turned to flight. Theodore perceived the danger, and was persuaded that unless he individually would afford his assistance Meurig, his son, would be driven away by the foreigners.

The Book of Llandaff goes on to record that the angel of the Lord said to him on the preceding night, "Go to-morrow to assist the people of God against the enemies of the Church of Christ, and the enemy will then turn their face in flight, as far as Pwll Brochwael, and thou being armed stand in the battle, and seeing thy face and knowing it, they will as usual betake themselves to flight, and afterwards for the space of 30 years they will not dare in the time of thy son to invade the country, and the natives and other inhabitants will be in quiet peace; but thou wilt be wounded by a single stroke in the district of Rhyd Tintern, and in three days die in peace."

In the morning, Tewdrig mounted his horse, and went cheerfully to battle, where as soon as he was seen, the enemy took to flight, but one of them threw a lance, with which Tewdrig was wounded as had been foretold. Meurig proved victorious, and returned with the spoil which the Saxons had captured.

The event is commemorated by a mural tablet in Matherne Church. The inscription, supposed to have been written by Bishop Godwin, being as follows:—

"Here lyeth entombed the body of Theodore, King of Morganwch or Glamorgan, commonly called St Theodoric, and accounted a martyr because he was slain in battle against the Saxons, being then pagans, and in defence of the Christian religion. The battle was fought at Tynterne, where

he obtained a great victory. He died here, being on his way homeward, three days after the battle, having taken order with Maurice, his son who succeeded him in the kingdom, that in the same place where he should happen to decease, a church should be built, and his body buried in the same, which was accordingly performed in the year 600."

Bishop Godwin says that he saw the remains of Theodoric in a stone coffin, and in the skull, after the lapse of a thousand years, the wound of which he died was conspicuous.

We also find recorded that Maches (daughter of Gwynllyw, founder of Stow Church), who was noted for her benefactions to the poor, was basely slaughtered while rendering relief to a Saxon mendicant. The Cambrian Biography says, "She gave alms to all who asked, and a pagan Saxon who appeared before her as a mendicant stabbed her with a knife." The place of her martyrdom was called Merthyr Maches, but is now known as Llanvaches.

The prediction, which the Angel of the Lord is alleged to have made to Theodore, that the Saxons would not for a period of thirty years again molest the country does not appear to have been literally fulfilled, for we read that in a few years subsequent to the defeat recorded, the natives of Gwent were again molested, though this time from another quarter. Mercia, the last founded kingdom of the Saxons, proved as active and energetic as any of those that preceded it. When Penda became king, about 613 A.D., he was not slow to perceive that the divided condition of Wales presented to him an opportunity of advancing his interests, and we find him, therefore, alternately supporting and weakening the contending parties. His troops spread devastation on the borders of Gwent, and, according to the authority of Caradoc, it required all the popularity and prudence of Morgan Mwynfawr, King of Glewyssig and Gwent, to prevent their irruptions into the centre of his district. It has been already recorded that Morgan was compelled to desert Caerleon, and retire with his court to the lower parts of Glamorgan.

In the last chapter some details were given of the repeated efforts the Saxons made to obtain a conquest of Gwent, and the destruction and barbarities perpetrated by them in their ineffectual attempts. The catalogue of conflicts, however, is not complete. In point of time, we had come to the end of the sixth century, but for a couple of centuries after, down to the time of Egbert, the same state of things continued, though if one simply regards the entries in the old chronicles, important contests occurred at less frequent intervals. Penda, King of Mercia, who obtained the appellation of "the Strong," having failed to get the mastery over Gwent, turned his warlike attentions towards his own countrymen. In 633, in conjunction with Cadwalader, a British king, he defeated Edwin of Northumbria, and a few years afterwards he slew also Oswald, and his brother Oswy, who successively occupied the throne after Edwin. Penda then took the field against East Anglia, and once more he ravaged Northumbria. Here, however, fortune was against him, and with 28 of his chiefs he fell in the battle of Winwidfield, near Leeds. With quarrels and wars like these, the Saxon princes continued for a hundred years to oppose one another, the necessary consequence being that the individual power of each became much weakened, and continual changes were occurring in the political condition of the island. The Britons, while retaining the same undaunted spirit of their forefathers and possessing strength enough to preserve the independence of the territory within which they were now confined, were probably not sufficiently powerful to uproot the firm hold which the Saxons had acquired on their borders. There was, however, a slight turn in the state of affairs, and instead of continued inroads of Saxons among the Britons, we find that the latter, encouraged by the weak rulers who succeeded "Penda the Strong," made an inroad into Mercia.

In 715, Ethelbald succeeded to the throne of

Mercia. He was a brave and active prince, and one who did not long keep his sword in its sheath. In 720, according to the Welsh chronicle, the Saxons penetrated to Llandaff (a point further west than we have yet found them), and pillaged the churches of the diocese and killed Aidan, the bishop, and several of the clergy. Ethelbald's success gave a spur to his ambition, and in 728, we find him endeavouring to realise the desire he had formed of adding to his kingdom that part of Gwent lying between the Severn and the Wye. He entered the district with an army and proceeded in the usual Saxon style, to destroy everything around him. He was met speedily, however, by the forces of Gwent, and at Mount Carno, near Crickhowell, a bloody, but apparently indecisive, battle was fought. The Welsh chroniclers, however, claim the victory, though they admit the loss of a large number of men. The account adds that the Saxon foe were driven through the Usk, in which there was a flood, and great numbers of them were drowned. The incidents of this battle form a theme upon which the poets of the period exercised their tuneful powers.

Ethelbald then sought the assistance of the West Saxons, and renewing his efforts against the Britons proved victorious. The prestige of his victory, however, was not of long duration, for on the death of the West Saxon King, his successor, Cuthred, became the ally of the Britons, and defeated Ethelbald near Hereford, in 733. In the following year Cuthred joined with Ethelbald and the Britons were once more vanquished.

Nothwithstanding all these contests the brave Gwentians remained unconquered, and the Saxons could not be said to be in undisturbed possession of any portion of their little kingdom, though they held positions in the north-east which facilitated their frequent incursions.

We now come to the time of the celebrated Offa, 755, who, to strengthen his position and to protect his kingdom from the inroads of the active Britons, constructed the celebrated "Dyke," which bears

his name. Remains of the trench and rampart made by Offa, and which was continuous from the river Dee to the river Wye, are still extant. In this quarter then, for a time at least, there was a cessation of very serious hostilities, though petty strife, seems to have been the normal condition of the inhabitants.

Foiled, but by no means dismayed at the ultimate prospect of conquering Gwent, the Saxons turned their attention to other quarters, and adopted other means than those with which they had previously attempted to accomplish their set purpose. The Severn on the south-side was altogether in their possession, and having this advantage they took the opportunity of fitting out a number of ships, with a view of making an attack upon Gwent if they might find a weak point along the sea coast. Of the number of vessels or men engaged in the expedition, no details are preserved, but it is not difficult to imagine a long line of small vessels or boats (whether of the hardy Norseman type, with high bows and stern, or low galleys such as the great Alfred favoured, is not of much concern) creeping slowly along the shore, the commander seeking a favourable place to effect a landing. From the summit of Stow Hill, they might have been discerned passing the mouth of the Usk, and making their way towards the bluff headland of Penarth. Gradually, however, they hug the shore and are lost to the view of the spectator. It is discovered that they have entered the river Rhymney, and the warriors are attempting to land on its banks. The spot which they have selected is in the Kingdom of Glewyssig, and Rhys, the 7th king of the district, rules over it. He fears that the Saxons "would speedily ravage the country," and he therefore braces himself up to foil their intention. He has seen the immense number of the enemy's forces, but his valorous spirit is undismayed. He "draws his men together," throws up "strong entrenchments," and "with great spirit attacks the invaders." The struggle is said to have been long and severe, but Rhys slew

great numbers of the Saxons, and though they were as nine to every one of his men, he succeeded in driving the remainder back to their ships.

After this event there is a lapse of about three quarters of a century before we find another entry relating to this district. It is, as may be supposed, in reference to another incursion, and from the old enemy the Mercians. Between the district of Mercia and Gwent there seems to have existed a feeling of bitter and unrelenting enmity, which is not easily accounted for. In Mercia, which was the eighth and lastly formed of the Saxon kingdoms, a larger number of Britons was permitted to remain than in the other kingdoms, and they ultimately formed an integral part of the Mercian people. While the amalgamation of the people was in progress it may be imagined that a friendly feeling would be entertained between them, but history testifies to a result altogether the reverse. It was from Mercia that the Princes of Gwent chiefly apprehended molestation and danger, and in this direction they found their most constant foe.

In 831, another irruption of the Mercian Saxons into Gwent is chronicled, during which the monastery of Caerphilly was one night attacked and burnt to the ground. Caradog, who records the fact, does not say for what reason, hence it may be surmised that it was an act of wilful destruction, the Saxon commanders being indifferent as to the nature of the place so long as as there was a chance of booty.

At a still later date (we quote from an account of the Kings of Glewyssig, previously referred to) and in the reign of Howel, the last King of Glewyssig, all his children were treacherously murdered by the Saxons in ambush, and that at a time of profound peace, and of sworn amity between the two countries. The statement is rather laconic, but perhaps may be elucidated by facts obtained from other sources. In Powell's History it is stated, "In 846 Ithel, King of Gwent, or Wentland, for what occasion not known, fell foul upon the men of Brecknock, who were so resolute as to fight him,

and the event proved very unfortunate for Ithel, who was slain upon the spot." Woodward furnishes the additional circumstances that Ithel was marching to aid Rhodri, who was then King of Gwynedd, and that the men of Brecheniog were bribed by a thousaud head of cattle. Enderbie says that Ithel was killed previous to the death of Howell, his father. In the Brut Twysogion the entry referring to this matter is as follows:—A.D. 860. The battle of Feryllwch was fought, where Ithel, King of Gwent, fell, and the Saxons destroyed the abbey and churches of Gwent and Morganwg.

It will be observed that there is a discrepancy in the accounts as to the date, but doubtless they refer to one and the same king. We infer from the last sentence in the account from the Brut that the destruction of churches by the Saxons was not immediately connected with the death of Ithel, which in the other accounts is said to have taken place in a conflict with the men of Brecon.

In the year 849, Meurig, son of Howell and brother of Ithel, is said to have been slain by the Saxons.

COMPARISON OF THE ROMAN AND SAXON PERIODS—ROMAN BUILDINGS DESTROYED BY FIRE—ABSENCE OF SAXON STRUCTURES OF EARLY DATE—MOUNDS: SUGGESTIONS AS TO THEIR ORIGIN.

The middle of the ninth century is a point in history when a contrast might fairly be instituted between the then condition of the district and its condition at the time when the Roman occupation of it terminated. For nearly four hundred years the military power of the Romans was here dominant, and subsequently, for nearly a like duration of time, the Saxon influence had been felt. Comparing the results of each period, the difference could hardly be more striking. The Romans, though a military power, cultivated the arts of peace among the people regarded by them as conquered subjects. They established good government, provided education for the people, encouraged agriculture, promoted trade and commerce, erected convenient dwellings, and magnificent structures for worship and other purposes, as well as for the residences of the chief civil and military authorities. The effect resulting from the presence of the Saxons were altogether the reverse. They kept up perpetual warfare with the native Britons, and their path of conquest was marked by general destruction of property and the effacement of all indications of advanced civilization. Their incursions into this district, recorded in the Old Chronicles which we have already recounted, present a melancholy picture of crime and violence without a ray of light betokening the slightest intellectual or social improvement. By the continuous strife which existed, the people were rendered incapable of studying or practising the useful arts, and instead of witnessing their progressive melioration, they are found to have relapsed into a state of barbarism and wretchedness.

The Romans left at Caerleon many edifices of considerable extent and elaborate design, and it

may naturally be supposed that a people possessing any refinement of intellect would have rather protected than destroyed such works of art, but evidence tends to show that neither by the Britons or the Saxons were these buildings generally inhabited after their first possessors had left the country, but that temporary huts, sheds, and tents, within entrenchments, were the prevailing dwellings among the Saxons. Among the ruins of Roman residences found at Caerleon there is no trace of their having been lived in or used by later nations, but, on the contrary, all, or nearly all, show marks of having been ruined or destroyed, and that apparently by fire, during the time of their being occupied by persons using Roman implements, ornaments, and utensils which are abundantly found in them. Dig where you will at Caerleon, the searcher is almost sure to discover, a few feet below the surface, masses of building stone intermixed and covered with a layer of charcoal several inches in thickness. This fact greatly supports the testimony that when the Roman forces were withdrawn from Britain, the people generally throughout the country rose in insurrection and destroyed the Roman stations, and massacred the Roman people that remained in them.

Probably the most notable thing that remind one of, or that has been preserved from early Saxon times, is the artificial aggregations of earth known as Mounds. But although these productions are undoubtedly of a post Roman period, it is questionable whether their formation is rightly attributable to the Saxons or to the native inhabitants. Some of these mounds, says Mr. Octavius Morgan, exist in Wales, where neither Roman, Saxon, or Dane appear to have located, and can therefore only have been erected by the British people themselves. Their real use has not been satisfactorily explained, but very many of the castles, strongholds, and important dwellings of the native chieftains in the country appear to have been erected on them. There is a mound at Caerleon, one at Castletown, another on the hill behind Ruperra, and a fourth

at Cardiff. There is also one at Trelleck, between Chepstow and Monmouth, in this county. The mound at Caerleon is a remarkable one. That it did not exist while the city was in possession of the Romans may be concluded from the fact that portions of the remains of a Roman villa were found beneath its base on excavations being made at the spot. It is probable too, that the Romans would have included the mound within the walls which they erected, as it completely commands the city. If, therefore, the mound is of post Roman date, and was erected before the Saxons obtained a settlement here, it seems reasonable to assume that when the Imperial authority ceased, and the native princes resumed the government of the district, they preferred to built their fortresses and strongholds after the manner of their forefathers. Archdeacon Coxe concurred in the opinion that Caerleon mound was not raised until the Romans had departed, and he suggested that a sarcophagus was placed there. Having said so much as to the origin and connection of this curious work with the early Saxon period, we reserve further remarks upon it. We shall again have to refer to it, as it is supposed to be the site of a subsequent Norman keep or citadel.

ENGLAND UNITED UNDER EGBERT—WALES UNITED UNDER RHODRI MAWR—INDEPENDENCE OF GWENT —GWENTIAN KINGS SEEKS PROTECTION FROM ALFRED—REFUSAL OF MORGAN HEN TO PAY TRIBUTE—ALFRED'S FLEET ATTACKS CAERLEON.

From the standpoint at which we are now arrived, it is pleasing to notice many signs of improvement in the general condition of the kingdom of England. Saxon kings and people had generally embraced Christianity, and consequently the ferocity of their manners had become subdued. The more they came to regard England as their own country the less they pursued the destructive operations which had previously marked their career. At length, by a succession of events which it is needless here to relate, the dissensions and contests between the various kings were overcome, and the heptarchy or octarchy became a united kingdom under Egbert. This being accomplished, Egbert turned his attention to Wales, making a successful invasion, and exacting tribute. This invasion, however, does not appear to have in any way affected Gwent, except, perhaps, by occasioning an influx of fugitives driven by Egbert from the northern parts. Soon after Egbert's death, however, Bethred, tributary Prince of Mercia, stirred up the old feud between that country and the kingdom of Gwent, and hostilities were renewed.

It was about the time of Egbert's decease that Rhodri Mawr (Roderick the Great) became the first King of all Wales. From his father he inherited Powys (Central Wales) and the Isle of Man; from his mother, Gwynedd, North Wales, and South Wales was the dowry of Angharad, his wife. On the death of Rhodri, in 872, the kingdom was divided between his three sons, the title of King being reserved to Anarawd, the eldest, who held Gwynedd; Mervyn, the younger, governed Powis; and Cadell, South Wales, called also Deheubarth,

which included parts of the Dimetiæ, and parts also of the Siluria of the Romans, but Glewyssig and Gwent still remained independent kingdoms. Cadell's ambition stimulated him to exercise an influence beyond the limits of the territories left him by his father, and he began to assume an authority over the minor, but still independent kings or princes ruling Gwent, Cardigan, and Brecon. As regards Gwent, whose interests we are endeavouring to pourtray, the claim was at all times resented and firmly resisted.

The statement of the foregoing facts is not to be regarded as extraneous, but is considered necessary in order to show the anomalous, but yet thoroughly independent position which the kingdom of Gwent continued to occupy, and the difficult circumstances against which her kings had to contend.

We must again refer to England.

Passing over Ethelwulf and his three sons, who each in succession occupied the English throne for a few years after Egbert, we are brought to the time 871, when the great Alfred became King, one who ruled with such power, wisdom and benignity as not only to win the love of his own subjects, but the respect also of many of the princes who governed the districts throughout Wales.

At this period the important question was generally discussed, whether the contribution to the general security, which had been committed to the supreme King of Britain, and which circumstances had converted into a tribute, should be paid to the descendant of British Kings in Wales, or to Alfred, the King of England, who was a Saxon. In favour of the latter course there were many circumstances. It is alleged that in the days of St. David and St. Teilo that these Saints decreed that the King of Glamorgan should pay his tribute to the King of London and not to the King of North Wales, because the King of London had always been adjudged to be the Sovereign monarch of Britain ; for when a supreme monarchy was established in Britain it was ordained that all Kings

and Princes in the island should be tributary to the King of London, that he might be enabled to wage war against all enemies. Roderick had also ordained by his will that his eldest son, Anarawd, and his successors should continue the payment of the ancient tribute to the Crown of England, and that the other two sons, their heirs and successors should acknowledge the sovereignty of Anarawd. This question of tribute proved one of perplexity and trouble to the kings of Glamorgan and Gwent, for sometimes it would be claimed by the kings of North Wales; and at other times the kings of South Wales, rejecting the supremacy of the North, claimed in their own right sovereign powers over the territory of their neighbours.

Cadell sought to do this, and the whole district was again involved in the vortex of war. The weaker princes of Glewyssig, Gwent, and Brecknock, feeling themselves unable to cope with the superior forces of their foe, asked the assistance of the Saxon King Alfred. The statement preserved in Asser is that Ffernwael and Brochwael (sons of Meurig ap Ithel) Kings of Gwent; Tewdwr, King of Brecknock; and Howell, son of Rhys, King of Glewyssig, voluntarily placed themselves under Alfred's protection, did homage, and became tributary to him in order to obtain his aid against the oppression of the sons of Rhodri Mawr, and also against the force and tyranny of Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, who still remained the unrelenting enemy of the Gwentians. The desire sought by these Kings, namely, to enjoy Alfred's government and his protection against their enemies, was wisely granted, and we are told that "all these Kings gained the love and guardianship of the great King, and defence from every quarter, even as the King with his men could protect himself." It was not long before Alfred had occasion to exercise the authority and power which the Kings of this district, for their own advantage, tendered him. The arrangement which took effect upon the death of Rhodri Mawr was not lasting, and a great disruption speedily took place. Cadell, whose ambition

we have already referred to, and who could not conquer Gwent, took forcible possession of Powis, the portion of his brother Mervyn, and left this and South Wales to his son Howell, who, following the example of his father, united Gwynedd to his other possessions when Anarawd died, and thus Wales became once more a united kingdom, with Howell, subsequently known as Howell Dda (Howell the Good), as the reigning king.

We turn again to the kingdom of Gwent, and find that Morgan, subsequently known as Morgan Hen (Old Morgan) to be the reigning monarch. Morgan, according to some accounts, was the son of Howell, the last king of Glewyssig, whose death took place at Rome in 894. By Caradoc, he is said to have been the son of Owen, and that Howel was his grandfather. The latter, living to the advanced age of 124 years, probably survived his son, who might have governed for some time as Regent. Morgan married Elen, the daughter of Rhodri Mawr, so that from his connection it may be imagined he was more favourably disposed to the claims of his countrymen than to the demands of the Saxon King, when they were antagonistic to the former; and so we find that when the Welsh King, gaining strength and influence, renewed the claim for tribute from the King of Gwent, the pretension of right was admitted by Morgan with a readiness equalled only in degree by the disinclination to make payment of tribute to King Alfred. Alfred did not allow the matter to remain long in abeyance but speedily took measures to enfore a settlement. Caradoc says Alfred sent his fleet up the river Usk to subdue Caerleon, where Morgan Hen resided, but before any decisive action could be taken he was obliged to recall it on account of the inroads of the Danes in other parts. Morgan, however, engaged to pay tribute, and thus the dispute was ended for a time.

INVASIONS OF GWENT BY THE DANES.

It now becomes necessary to introduce into our narrative notice of another element which considerably increased the confusion and anarchy of the times. While the native princes of the district were opposing each other and contending for mastery, and King Alfred interposing with superior strength to make peace, the country was invaded, and, to a great extent, overrun by hordes of Danes, or Northmen, as they were termed. Caradoc calls them Black Pagans, and says they first came to Britain from Denmark, in 795. It was not till the latter part of the reign of Egbert, however, that their visits were of any importance. At first their depredations were confined to the eastern and southern coasts of England where they were frequently defeated by Egbert; but they became more and more daring, and caused Alfred much concern. Ultimately they possessed themselves of the greater part of the kingdom and drove Alfred into seclusion.

In the autumn of 877, the Danes, under Hubba (brother of Inguar and Halfdane, noted commanders) invaded South Wales, laying the country in flames, and ruthlessly slaughtering and spoiling the people. They had intended to remain during the winter, but, contrary to their expectation, they found the country so wild and inhospitable and the people so poor, that they remained no longer than they could help. They left in a number of ships and crossed the Channel, into Devonshire, where most of them were slain.

In 891, the Danes again appeared in the Bristol Channel, and this time broke new ground in Glamorganshire. They hoped to find the country not so impoverished as the western parts of South Wales which they had previously visited, and, at the same time, they fancied themselves beyond the reach of attack from the King's army. They accordingly, with

great daring, pursued their course of plunder and destruction, and Llantwit Major and Llancarvan were burnt, and then the army proceeded towards Gwent. Morgan Hen, the ruling monarch of the time, who was informed of their operations and intentions, prepared to encounter them, and his courageous action was not unrewarded. He attacked them below Caerleon, the result being that they were driven over the sea, and thence they went to Ireland. The reverse the Danes experienced only gave impulse to a desire for revenge, and in the following year they returned with a stronger force to the same parts, with an intention to "beard the lion in his den." They ravaged the whole country, and then, attacking the city of Caerleon, plundered it before retiring to other quarters. In a very short time, neither dispirited nor discouraged, the Danes again appeared, and this event is recorded in the Annales Cambriæ, and also in Brut Twysogion. In the former it is said to have taken place in the year 895, and in the latter in the year 894. It is termed "a terrible invasion of Northmen-Normanii—Danes," and they are described as having "swept across England, and spoiled Brecheiniog, Morganwg, Gwent, Builth, and Gwentllwg (Wentloog). It is probable that Caradoc alludes to the same event, though the date he gives is 896, when he states that "the Danes, defeated by Alfred, passed by land to Enadbridge, upon the Severn, and passing the Severn, spoiled the countries of Brecknock, Gwentland, and Gwentllwg."

The dates of these occurrences given in the several chronicles are extremely confusing, and it is not improbable that two or more accounts refer to one incident only.

King Alfred died in October, 901, and was succeeded by his son, Edward the Elder, who remained on the English throne until 925. During this period, viz., under date, 913, the following entry appears in the Old Chronicle of Ethelwerd: "After a year a fleet entered the mouth of the Severn, but no severe battles were fought there that year."

From this laconic statement it might be inferred that severe battles were not infrequent, and that the non-occurrence of them in any year was an exceptional circumstance worthy of being noted. The nearest date, however, at which we can find any warlike incidents recorded is 918. This date is an important one inasmuch as we have for the first time to introduce the mention of the town of Newport. For convenience, however, we will first give a narrative of a notable Danish invasion as found in the pages of Henry of Huntingdon. The statement is as follows:—"In the 11th year of King Edward a great fleet came from the south out of Lidwic (Britanny) under two earles—Ohter and Rahold, and they steered west about until they reached the Severn shore; and they pillaged the country in North Wales, whenever they could near the coast, and took prisoner Cameleac, the Bishop (of Llandaff), and carried him off to their ships. However King Edward ransomed him for forty pounds. Afterwards the army landed in a body, intending to pillage the neighbourhood of Archenfield, but they were met by the men of Caerleon, and Hereford, and other neighbouring burgs, who fought and defeated them with the loss of Earl Rahold, and Geolkel, the brother of Earl Ohter, and great part of the army, and they drove the rest into a certain fortified camp, where they besieged them till they gave hostages and solemnly swore to depart the King's territories. Then the King caused the shores of the Severn to be guarded from the south coast of Wales round to the Avon; so that the Danes durst nowhere attempt an irruption in that quarter. Twice, however, they contrived to land by stealth; once to the eastward of Watchet, the other time at Porlock, but on both occasions very few escaped destruction beside those who could swim to their ships. These took refuge in the Isle of Stepen (Steep and Flat Homes) in the greatest distress for the want of food which they were unable to procure, so that numbers died from hunger. Hence they retreated into Demet (Pembrokeshire), and from thence crossed over to Ireland."

In this account there is an apparent error in using the term North Wales, whereas the mention of Llandaff and Caerleon plainly indicate that the irruption was in the district now known as South Wales. The use of the term in old chronicles, however, is not infrequent, the whole of the country being designated North Wales to distinguish it from Cornwall and Devon which was called South Wales and West Wales.

Florence, of Worcester, has preserved an interesting account of this inroad of the Danes, and as it tends to elucidate the account we have already given we do not hesitate to quote it *in extenso*. He says under date 915 :— "The Pagan pirates, who nearly 19 years before had crossed over to France, returned to England from the province called Lycwicwm (Brittany) under two chiefs, Ohter and Hroald, and sailing round the coast of Wessex and Cornwall, at length entered the mouth of the river Severn, and without any loss of time fell upon the country of the Northern Britons, and carried off almost everything they could find on the banks of the river. Having laid hands on Cymeleac, a British Bishop, on a plain called Yrcenfeld, they dragged him with no little joy to their ships. King Edward shortly afterwards redeemed him for forty pounds of silver. Before long the whole army landed, and made for the plain before mentioned in search of plunder, but the men of Hereford and Gloucester, with numerous bands from the neighbouring towns, suddenly fell upon them, and a battle was fought in which Hroald, one of the chiefs of the enemy, and the brother of Ohter, the other chief, and a great part of the army were slain. The rest fled and were driven by the Christians into an enclosure where they were beset till they delivered hostages for their departure as quickly as possible from King Edward's dominions. The King, therefore, stationed several detachments of his army in suitable positions on the south side of the Severn from Cornwall to the mouth of the river Avon to prevent

the pirates from ravaging these districts, but leaving their ships on shore they prowled by night about the country, plundering it to the eastward of Waced (Watchet), and another time at a place called Porlock. However, on both occasions the King's troops slew all of them but those who made a disgraceful retreat to the ships. The latter, dispirited by their defeat, took refuge in an island called Reoric, where they harboured till many of them perished, and driven by necessity, the remainder sailed first to Deomed and afterwards, in the autumn, to Ireland."

Similar reports of the same occurrence appear in the Anglo-Saxon and other Chronicles, and in the main, the facts entirely agree. Henry of Huntingdon is the writer who by mentioning "the men of Caerleon" makes the event of special local interest. The accounts of other writers are entirely consistent with this, but by using the expression, "men of Gloucester and Hereford," the mind of the reader is naturally carried away to localities beyond the district, the history of which we are endeavouring in detail to relate. We have already explained that much confusion has been occasioned by translators and commentators having a very imperfect knowledge of the localities mentioned in the pages of early chroniclers. Events, which by a careful analysis of facts are proved to have occurred at Caerleon and other places in the immediate neighbourhood, are variously described by them as having taken place in Gwent, Morganwg, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire. We shall have other instances of this indefinite designation of places to notice as we proceed.

Unfortunately, we have no information indicating the particular places alluded to in the expression "neighbouring towns," which is used in both accounts quoted, but we apprehend that there is little doubt that a "numerous band" from the town of Newport participated in the fray, inasmuch as Newport is specially mentioned during the same year as being the scene of one more of the many battles between the Mercians and the people of Gwent.

DISCOVERY OF A DANISH VESSEL AT NEWPORT—ANOTHER INVASION OF GWENT BY MERCIANS—BATTLE AT NEWPORT—ATHELSTAN ENTERS GWENT AND FIXES TRIBUTE.

In connection with the repeated invasions of this district by hordes of Danes, particulars of which we have already set forth, so far as they can be extracted from the old chronicles, it will be well to state here, as an interesting fact, and in confirmation of the records we have previously quoted, a remarkable incident which transpired in April, 1878. In the course of that month a number of workmen were engaged in the necessary excavations for constructing the timber pond of the Alexandra Dock, Newport. The place is part of that extensive tract of alluvial soil which forms the northern shore of the Bristol Channel between the mouths of the River Usk and Rumney. This land would be overflowed by every high tide were it not protected by a well-constructed bank or sea wall. In digging about eight feet below the surface the workmen came upon the remains of an ancient vessel. It chiefly consisted of one side of the vessel, apparently retained in an upright position by sharpened rough oak stakes, driven into the soil, as if to form a dam or embankment. The discovery was not thought of much importance at the time, but several gentlemen interested in antiquarian studies inspected the remains *in situ*, and, by the desire of Mr Octavius Morgan, they were examined by Mr Williams, of Newport, an experienced ship builder, and also by Mr. William Parfitt, the dock master. These gentlemen made a report, the substance of which, together with all the facts of the case, were laid before a meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, by Mr. Octavius Morgan. In the opinion of the gentlemen who made the report the vessel was of foreign build, and appeared to be constructed of Dantzic oak. There were traces of timber or ribs in the inner side of the planking, which was evidently about 2½ inches

in width. They concluded that the vessel was built more for speed than strength, as she must have been only slightly put together. From the position of the different parts of the vessel, and the general appearance, they thought she was placed where found for the purpose of forming a dam, and that the vessel, probably captured from foreigners, was cut into pieces for the object named. Nothing was found to indicate the date of her being placed there, but that she had been there for several centuries was evident from the facts that eight feet of mud had been gradually deposited above her, and that the metal fastenings had been completely converted into oxide. The Dock Master, who from having been in the Baltic was well acquainted with the mode of shipbuilding there, was of opinion, from its clinker build, as well as the quality of the timber, that the vessel was most likely from that part of the world, as the same mode of shipbuilding is still carried on there. The ship may have been about 70ft long, and from 17ft to 20ft broad, and most probably had some sort of deck. In the timber were occasional large holes to receive trenails, a portion of one of which Mr Morgan exhibited with the nails. It had much shrunk in drying. Between the planks some of the caulking was found, and this appeared to be of dark coloured wool; probably strips of sheep's hide with the wool on were used for the purpose indicated. Nothing like pitch appears to have been observed. From the examination of the timber and piece of plank exhibited, judging from the grain there can be no doubt of its being Dantzic timber, for the grain of English oak is closer, harder, and more compact.

From all these circumstances, Mr Octavius Morgan concluded that it was most probably a vessel which formed part of one of the Danish fleets which invaded this part of the country at the early period of which we are writing. A ship built for speed, and not for strength, is just the sort of vessel that these Northern adventurers would build and use, to ensure a quick transport, and having but few stores and

little baggage, no great strength would be required; and a fleet of such vessels would convey and land on any coast a large body of adventuring invaders.

We have in the record of an old chronicler of the locality, says Mr Morgan, "a direct mention of an invasion and warfare with the Danes on the very spot where the remains of the ship were discovered, and I think it by no means therefore improbable that this Danish ship may be of that period. If that be so we get a date of about 900, when the ship was placed where the fragment was found. The spot is now more than half a mile distant from the river Ebbw, and considerably more than a mile from the Usk. From the time it was placed there eight feet of solid mud or silt must have been deposited above the top of it, and the beds and channels of the two rivers and the shores of the Severn Sea or Bristol Channel have varied accordingly. From this fact we can now form some idea of what changes have taken place in that alluvial district in 1000 years."

The Danes have left their names and marks in various places in the locality, and especially in the two islands in the Bristol Channel—the Steep Holmes and Flat Holmes.

When the Saxons had entirely subdued England, there arose the practice of intrusting the chief provinces of the kingdom to an earl, and a difference of laws, though probably slight, tended to keep up the separation. Alfred governed Mercia by Ethered, a nobleman who had married his daughter Ethelfleda. Ethered died about 912, and Ethelfleda continued the government of the province with what is described as masculine energy. She fought many battles, and was altogether warlike for a woman. In the sixth year of her reign she sent an army into Gwent, which having defeated the forces of that country, then stormed Brecknock. Owain, its king, fled for shelter to the Danes, in whose aid he had risen, but his wife and thirty-three of her attendants were captured and taken prisoners to Mercia. In the

same campaign "the battle of Castle Newydd (Newport) was fought between Edelfleda, Queen of the Mers, and Morgan, Prince of Morganwg. Edelfleda was killed." Such is the brief statement which first introduces into the annals of the county the name of the town which in modern days has attained such an important status in the world of commerce. Although the statement appears very explicit it does not altogether concur with other records. Powell, quoting from the Archaeology, states that "Edelfred, the King of the Mercians, came against Morgan, the Prince of Glamorgan, and a battle took place at Newport, Monmouthshire, in which Edelfred was slain and the English defeated." So far as regards the year, the place of battle, and the death of the invading commander both accounts agree, but why one should represent Edelfleda a Queen, and the other, Edelfred a King, to have been slain, the present writer is at a loss to decide. Neither Henry of Huntingdon nor Florence of Worcester mentions the circumstance. The former indeed says that Ethelfleda died at Tamworth, and was buried at Gloucester, but both of the chroniclers named, and also two MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle, give the date of her death as 918, when the battle at Newport is said to have been fought. Possibly our local antiquaries by a little research might be able to throw more light upon this point. One fact we may reasonably deduce from the statements made, viz, that Newport at this early period had an existence as a town, but of what degree of importance it seems impossible to ascertain.

We have previously seen that the oppressive conduct of the Mercians induced Ffernwael and Brochwael, Kings of Gwent, and Howel, King of Glewyssig, to seek the aid of Alfred; and now again their force and tyranny being so sorely felt, the Welsh Princes renewed their solicitations for protection to Edward; the Saxon Chronicle stating that in 922 Edward was chosen, for father and lord by the Danes and by the Princes of Wales, Howell Dda being one of them.

Athelstan, who succeeded Edward, endeavoured to consolidate the monarchy of which Alfred was the founder. He reduced the vassal sovereigns of East Anglia and Northumbria to the condition of mere subjects, and then tried the same process upon the princes of Wales. They, however, once more refused to pay the tribute, which they had promised to Alfred. Athelstan, therefore, following Alfred's example, marched into Wales (926), and defeated and put to flight Howel (probably Howel Dda), King of the West Britons, and Owen, King of the Gwenti. These princes subsequently sued for peace ; and at Hereford, ratified by their oaths a solemn treaty to pay tribute for the future. This Athelstan fixed to be henceforth 20lbs weight of gold, 300lbs of silver, 25,000 head of cattle, with hunting dogs, hawks, &c. In fact, Athelstan seems to have completed the feudal degradation of the Welsh princes, and little but the name of independence was now left to them. They still ruled, but with a glory which paled before the rising splendour of the English kings, and their functions dwindled into those of reguli instead of independent princes.

Athelstan died in 940. During the reign of his successors—Edmund the Elder, Edred, and Edwy —few incidents of importance are recorded concerning this district.

In 943 Cadell ab Arthvael, a Prince of Morganwg, who had distinguished himself by his conflicts with the Saxons, was killed by poison. The crime was charged to the "natural enemies" of the Kymry, and efforts were made to avenge his death. These, however, only increased the misfortunes of the sufferers, for the deaths of Idwal and his son, Elis, were added to that of Cadell.

In 955 a "wicked deed was perpetrated," the following particulars of which are gathered from *Liber Llandavensis*. In the days of King Nowi, son of Gwriad, and Bishop Pater, a deacon named Ili, son of Beli, was passing through a field of corn in the time of harvest, when a countryman, named Merchtyr, son of Iddig, met him, saying in opprobrious language, "What does such a coward as

thou do with weapons?" He then drew his sword and cut off one of the deacon's fingers. The deacon artfully asked his assailant to come back, and tie up the bleeding finger, which the man did. Whilst engaged in doing so, the deacon fatally stabbed him. The deacon sought safety in flight, but the friends of the deceased, hearing what had occurred, assembled together and made an attack upon the church where the deacon was sheltered. They were forbidden however to persist in the attack by the celebrated Blegwryd, who was Archdeacon of Llandaff, and brother of Morgan Hen, the King. Very soon after, however, six persons of the family of Nowi came and rushed into the church and killed the deacon, his blood being sprinkled on the altar and the walls of the church. When the Bishop heard of the affair he convened a synod, and Nowi, fearing that the malediction of the whole church would fall upon him, met the Bishop at Caerwent, and surrendered the six offenders, who were taken to the monastery of St Teilo, where they passed six months in iron fetters. They were then released, on each giving up to the church they had defiled all his land and substance, and the price of his life, that is, seven pounds of silver.

REIGN OF EDGAR—HIS VISIT TO CAERLEON—DISPUTE BETWEEN OWEN AP HOWELL DDA AND MORGAN HEN—FRESH TRIBUTE IMPOSED—RENEWED ATTACK OF OWEN—MORGAN HEN DISPOSSESSED OF CAERLEON—GWENT ATTACKED BY ALFERE EARL OF MERCIA—EDGAR'S FLEET AND ARMY SENT TO CAERLEON—WOLVES TO BE PROVIDED AS TRIBUTE.

The year 959 inaugurated the reign of Edgar, who became King of all Saxon England at the early age of sixteen. His reign, which lasted another sixteen years, has been described as one of the most glorious in British annals; but this seems to be due less to the character of Edgar than to the fortuitous circumstances of the time at which he lived. For the outward character of his people Edgar showed much anxiety; and he was deserving of credit for his endeavours to make more perfect the consolidation of the several States over which his rule extended, and the efficient measures he took to keep the turbulent in awe. He kept several hundred vessels continually afloat to prevent any hostile invasion, and during the summer months he made a circuit of the island. By land also he made progresses, holding courts of justice, and hearing appeals. The kings of Wales did him homage, and sought his aid to redress the injustice of their neighbours. An instance thus affecting Gwent happened soon after his accession.

For some time the right to govern the lands of Ystradyw, and Ewyas, in the upper part of Gwent, had been a matter of serious contention. Howel (son of Rhys), the last King of Glewyssig, claimed a sovereignty over it; so also did the King of Brecknock. The latter, however, transferred his right to Cadell (son of Rhodri Mawr), King of South Wales, and he, being the more powerful, caused Howel to yield. It was then agreed that the kingdom of the latter should extend no further than Crickhowel (Cerrig Howel), which place was so called from great stones which were set up there

for boundary marks, between Howel and Cadell. At Cadell's death, Morgan Hen, of Caerleon, who had by force considerably extended his kingdom, recovered his sovereign rights over the disputed territory of Ystradyw and Ewyas. Howell Dda (Cadell's son) in turn, sought to get possession of it, but Morgan held it with too tight a grip. The quarrel continued during the life time of Howell Dda, and his son Owen prolonged it. He invaded the country, and both Owen and Morgan Hen prepared for war. At this juncture it seems the Bishop of Llandaff reminded the ready combatants, of the laws of Morgan Mwynfawr, and they consented that the matter in dispute should be decided accordingly. Each king therefore chose six elders, but as neither king could preside over the assembly, it being their own case, they chose King Edgar to judge between them. It is said in the Iolo MSS., the good offices of Edgar were solicited by Blegwryd, before mentioned as the Archdeacon of Llandaff, and brother to Morgan Hen. Edgar thereupon, following the laws of Morgan Mwynfawr, selected twelve wise men from Morganwg, the country of Morgan, and twelve from Deheubarth (South Wales) the country of his opponent, presiding himself at their deliberations.

It may be well here to explain that some accounts represent Howell Dda to have been one of the appellants, while others state that it was Owen, his son. All records, however, admit that the court was held at Caerleon, and that King Edgar was judge. Now as Edgar's reign did not begin until 959, and Howell Dda died in 948, we assume that Owen and not Howell was the king, between whom and Morgan Hen, Edgar consented to adjudicate.

The constitution of the court, as already given, does not altogether accord with the account taken out of the *British Chronicles*. It there appears that Edgar assembled together the proprietary lords, earls, and bishops throughout the country of Wales and Mercia. Whereas in the other accounts

the selection of the members of the Court was limited to the districts of Morganwg and South Wales. It is clear, however, that some of the highest nobles and functionaries were summoned to meet the king on this great occasion.

The Court or Council was, as previously stated, held in Caerleon, and a right royal appearance, we have no doubt, the ancient city presented, notwithstanding its decadence from the days when a Roman emperor was welcomed within its walls. Edgar, having duly investigated the matter in dispute, found, by the judgment of the Court, that the lands of Ystradyw and Ewyas had always belonged to Morgan, and that Owen had acted wrongfully by invading the district. The account in the Book of Llandaff thus concludes : King Edgar granted to Owen, son of Morgan Hen, the two districts of Ystradyw and Ewyas, declared by name to be in the diocese of Llandaff, as his own proper inheritance, and he confirmed them and his heirs by charter, free from the claim of any person whatsoever. And it was effected by the common assent and testimony of all the Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots, Earls and Barons of all England and Wales, and that he should be cursed by God the Father, who should ever separate these two districts from the lordship of Glamorgan and the diocese of Llandaff, and also that he who should observe this act should be blessed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and by all Christian people from the present time and for ever. Amen. Be it moreover known to you that the charter which was executed that day, and written before King Edgar in full council, was deposited in the church at Llandaff. Farewell.

The exact date when this adjudication was made by Edgar is not given, although so many details of less importance are recorded. From other sources we know that Edgar was at Caerleon in 962, and this was no doubt the year when the dispute between Morgan Hen and Owen ap Howell Dda was for a time set at rest. The

chroniclers tell us that in 962 Edgar in one of his annual progresses visited Caerleon, but the particular object of his visit is not recorded. Some important matters seem to have been amicably arranged, beside probably the dispute to which we have referred. Firm peace we are told was established between Edgar and Morgan, the latter undertaking to pay annually as tribute 100 milch cows, and Edgar on his part engaging to support Morgan in his right to the kingdom of Morganwg. Owen ap Howell Dda also met Edgar on the same occasion, and the terms of tribute arranged with him were that he was to pay yearly to Edgar, according to the rate imposed upon the Prince of Dynevor in the laws of his father.

The state of repose from strife which followed was an abnormal one for the district, and did not last long. In 967, Owen ap Howell Dda renewed his attacks upon the territory of Morgan. This time he ravaged Gower, but Morgan appealing to King Edgar, that monarch marched an army to assist him. A strange and unaccountable result followed this intervention. Instead of condemning and punishing the invader, as he had done some years before. Edgar now dispossessed Morgan of at least some portion of his territory, and gave Caerleon to Owen! Contradictory as this appears it seems to have been the fact, and the descendants of Owen remained lords of Caerleon till the city in Norman times passed to the Marshals.

These last remarks we have quoted from the writings of Mr Wakeman, who is acknowledged to have been accurate and profound in antiquarian research. If the case was as represented by him, the result would, indeed, be strange and unaccountable, but an explanation of the apparent anomaly and injustice is, we think, to be obtained. Our authority is the *British Chronicles*, quoted in *Arch. Cambrensis* on page 404. It is there stated that in 967 "Einon ab Owain came a second time to the land of Gwyr under pretext of routing the infidels, and completely destroyed it. Then Owain ab Morgan marched against him and put him to

flight, and made all the men of Gwyr do homage unto himself. When Edgar, King of the Saxons, heard of it he came with a fleet as far as Caerleon-upon-Usk, and delivered the government over to Owain, son of Howell the Good, making him, however, subject to himself."

There is, too, in the Iolo M.SS., a statement showing that the two Owens were involved in war, and that Edgar marched an army against Owen ap Howell Dda, and compelled him to abide by his and the wise men's decision in favour of Morgan Hen. Owen ap Howell Dda was excommunicated, but having made restitution to his namesake, the son of Morgan Hen, he was absolved.

It seems, therefore, probable that Morgan Hen was dispossessed of Caerleon in consequence of the assumption of undue authority by Owen, his son, in the district of Gower. In considering this matter it should not be forgotten that although Morgan Hen was nominally King, he had occupied that position for above eighty years, and was doubtless in an enfeebled condition and well content that Owen, his son, should bear the burden of the Sovereignty in his own person.

From the circumstances already described, confirmed as they are by entries in the old chronicles, it may be implied that there existed in this district, from one cause or another, an unceasing state of warfare. The arrangement which Edgar, no doubt by the strength of his power, enforced, did not secure peace to the city of Caerleon for any lengthened time. In 970 it was attacked by a powerful fleet sent by Alfere, Earl of Mercia. The attack, however, was repulsed with great loss. The bare fact as recorded is all that is known with certainty. The object of the attack is mere conjecture. It has been suggested that the Mercian earl acted under the orders of the King (Edgar), his kinsman, and that the expedition was intended to enforce the payment of tribute, but this seems improbable, remembering that Caerleon was in possession of Owen ap Howell Dda by the gift of

the King; and the ingratitude of refusing to pay tribute under such circumstances is scarcely to be conceived. The attack may have originated in a private quarrel between Alfere and the King at Caerleon, or it may have resulted from an outbreak of that persistent ill-feeling which existed between the Mercians and the people of Gwent. Again, there is an alternative suggestion that Morgan Hen may have designed the attack with a view to the recovery of his capital, and induced the Mercian earl to aid him in the enterprise.

Matters continuing very unsettled, Edgar appears once more at Caerleon in 972, supported by a large army and a powerful fleet. Something had given offence to Edgar, but the particular cause of his visiting Caerleon is not recorded, The fleet, on its arrival, seems to have been inactive, or at all events retired without having effected any object. The army, on the contrary, is said to have plundered all the churches, abbeys, and houses in the district. One account says that Edgar, being excited with raging fury, set his army in motion on account of the disobedient men of Morganwg, and bringing it to the country violated the territories of the saints and their very temples, and left no village inviolate. Such a result may have had the effect of over-awing Edgar's rebellious and quarrelsome vassals, and prepared the way for an alteration in the terms of tribute paid. Edgar had succeeded in exterminating the wild beasts in England, and with a view to accomplish the same purpose as regards Wales, he required a tribute of 300 wolves per year instead of 100 milch cows, which he had fixed to be paid by Morgan Hen in 962. This Morgan Hen undertook to provide, and obtained liberty to kill them in all Wales. This much might be said in Edgar's favour, that the tribute he now sought to exact tended more to benefit the country than the Royal exchequer. William of Malmesbury, says the tribute ceased in the fourth year for want of wolves. In the Brut it is stated that the tribute was paid for 45 years, but this we

assume to be an error. The expression four or five being probably mistaken for the longer period of forty-five.

We have no desire to claim for Caerleon more honour or renown than the ancient city is fairly entitled to, but it may here be mentioned that in 973, during his voyage round Britain with his fleet, King Edgar held a Court at Chester, where eight kings, among whom was Howel, King of Gwent, did homage to him, and rowed him down the river. By some writers, this event is said to have taken place at Caerleon. The phrase, the "City of Legions"—one frequently applied to Caerleon—seems to have been used by the old writers, and, coupling this with the fact that Edgar held Courts at Caerleon on several different occasions, led no doubt to the supposition that Caerleon was the scene of this unusual display of kingly homage.

DEATH OF MORGAN HEN—HIS SONS, OWAIN, RHYDDERCH, ETC.—MORE DANISH INVASIONS—CAERLEON DESTROYED—REBELLION AGAINST OWAIN AP HOWELL DDA—HIS SON EINION KILLED.

When Morgan Hen died is uncertain, the date of his death being variously given. In Brut Twysogion it is stated as 974. Caradoc extends his life to the year 1001. In either case he must have merited the epithet of "old," his age greatly exceeding 100 years. He is said to have survived his wife (the daughter of Rhodri Mawr), a period of 50 years, and for a long time prior to his decease to have resigned his sovereignty to his sons and grandsons on account of his great age and decrepitude.

One account of him says that he was prince of all the territory between Gloucester Bridge and the river Towey. Another, that he reigned over the seven districts between the mouth of the Wye and the mouth of Towey, and also throughout the Kingdom of Howell Dda. All accounts agree that he was a valiant and a victorious prince, and well beloved of his subjects.

The Iolo MSS. contain several entries referring to incidents in his lifetime. He is accredited with being the first who built a castle at Cardiff, the site being that upon which formerly stood the Court of the Roman General Aulus Didius, and which was reduced to ruins by the Saxons in the time of Cadwalader the Blessed. Morgan is said also to have had a palace at Radyr, and another at Breigan, where he often held Courts and dwelt.

Morgan Hen, with the three sons of Rhodri Mawr and Elystan Glodrydd, are named as the five Royal tribes of Wales.

There is a somewhat curious account preserved in the Iolo MSS., entitled the Customs of the Princes of Wales, which to some extent indicates the honourable reputation which Morgan Hen had acquired among his fellow Princes. The account is as follows :—

It was the custom of the Welsh Princes when they met together at a Royal banquet to call each other by the names of dominions, such as Dinevor, Aberfraw, Morganwg, &c. One time at Llyswen (the White Court), upon the Wye, Morgan, the son of Ithel of Morganwg, being there without either army or retinue, some there were who disparaged him on that account, and supposed him to be poor, and they began to talk of their own armed retinues and how powerful each would be should he meet with an enemy in his progress, and every one was strong and well appointed in his own opinion. After conversing with one and the other, and seeing Morgan remain silent, Anarawd Gwynedd asked him, "What sayest thou, Morganwg?" Said Morganwg, "I can traverse my own country where I like without fearing an enemy. I can do so in your countries one and all; I can do so in Wales and England, and leave my friends every one in his own place and station without their being troubled or oppressed; and should I suffer wrong where I may be, scarcely would it be heard of by my countrymen than they would be seen armed, and troops proceeding towards the place where those might be who should have injured me, and avenge me on them. What need of a guard to a king of faithful subjects who love him?" "Enough," said Howel the Good; "take thou the precedence of me, and for the sake of God and all good, send to me to the White House on the Wave, no matter what twelve of the sages of Morganwg." And that was done, and Blegwryd his (Morgan's) brother was chief councillor to them; and great was his fame for wisdom, and from that time to the present, the motto of the bards of Glamorgan is "God and every good."

This reference leads us to the statement that before the time of Morgan there was no bardic chair for Wales, excepting that of Caerleon-upon-Usk, its motto being as above stated, or "Duw a pob daioni," translated "God and all goodness." Subsequently there appears to have been a separate

bardic chair for each of the districts of Deheubarth, Powys, and Gwynedd.

Morgan Hen had several sons. Owain, the eldest, is said to have been born when Morgan was 87 years, but this is doubtful. For several reasons Owain appears to have been unpopular, and did not succeed to his father's dignity and power. When twenty years of age he had an illegitimate child, and on that account (according to an ancient MSS. quoted by Williams), a benediction which had been pronounced on the family, ceased. It is also stated that it had been foretold by the inspiration of St Teilo that "it would be woe to him who violated the peace and good order that Edgar had made, and so it turned out, for Owain, the son of Morgan the Aged, was the first that paid the tribute to the king of North Wales, whereupon Alfred came to Glamorgan with an army, and it was thus once more agreed that the tribute should be paid according to the ancient usage, and this was for some time observed."

The precise meaning of this passage is not clear, seeing that the reign of King Alfred was at least a century prior to that of Edgar, but we give it as it stands translated from Welsh MSS. by Edward Williams, and quoted in the appendix to Williams's History of Monmouthshire. Probably it has some reference to an invasion of Alfere, Earl of Mercia, which was made about this time; but if this be so, the alleged agreement with regard to tribute is still unintelligible.

Rhydderch is named as second son of Morgan Hen. When only 15 years of age he assisted his grandfather, Rhodri Mawr, in repelling the attacks of the Saxons, and in a contest which took place in the Isle of Mona (Anglesea) both Rhydderch and his grandfather were killed.

The other sons of Morgan were Idwallon, Ithel, Howell, Cadell, and Cynfyn. Williams says:— Idwallon was a subordinate King of Gwent Iscoed, and assisted and relieved his father in the offices of Government. Some accounts state that he died

before Morgan, while according to others he survived his father a short time, and was succeeded by his brother Ithel. Howel, another son of Morgan, succeeded Ithel, and Gwrgan, Ithel's son, succeeded Howel. Gwrgan's son, Iestyn, next occupied the the throne, and is said to have been the last king of Glamorgan and Gwent.

The succession of kings here described is evidently incorrect. There is a confusion of names which writers have continued to perpetrate, and which Mr Wakeman did his best to correct. For the present however, we let it pass, merely intimating that we shall again call attention to its inaccuracy, and point out the source of the error.

The efforts of King Edgar were ultimately successful in producing a state of quietude throughout the district, but no sooner did his death occur, in 976, than the Danes once more appeared. Fifty-eight years had elapsed since that in which their previous incursion is recorded, but they had probably not forgotten how severely the men of Caerleon had beaten the invaders of that time. The present attack was of so devastating a character as seemed to indicate a desire on the part of the Danes to avenge the defeat which their ancestors had suffered. The whole of Gwent was again ravaged, and the city of Caerleon, which had stood so many assaults in the unceasing internecine strife, is said to have been now entirely destroyed.

Owain ap Howell Dda, to whom Edgar gave possession of Caerleon in 967, had a son named Einion, who is described as a wise prince, and as brave as wise. He is said to have driven the Danes out of South Wales, and when in 982 the country was invaded by the Earl of Mercia, he joined his forces with those of Howell, grandson of Morgan Hen, and gained a complete victory by the destruction of the Mercian army. The Danes and the Mercians being both disposed of, the people of Gwent broke into rebellion against the Government of Owain, which they deemed intolerable, and once more asserted their independence. Einion, who seemed to manage the affairs

of South Wales for his father Owain, fancied that he could influence the Gwentians by his eloquence, and without the aid of an army, but on his appearance among them they slew him without compunction, and bid defiance to his father Owain. In Powell's history the following account is given of the occurrence :

The inhabitants of Gwentland imagined themselves very strong and powerful, and therefore must needs endeavour to shake off allegiance to their own princes, and to set up one of their own making. Owain, to pacify the rebellious humour of these seditious and turbulent people sent his son Einion to persuade them to obedience. But a distracted multitude got loose is not to be worked upon by arguments, which Einion fatally experienced, being so far from persuading them in their allegiance by fair means that they presently set upon him, and thinking that they had the bird in the fist who was to succeed, put him to present death. And thus most ignobly fell this worthy prince, who in his father's time was the only support of his country, being a stout and valiant commander, and one famously experienced in the art and discipline of war. The battle is said to have taken place at Pencoed, Glamorganshire.

REBELLION IN GWENT—ELECTION OF KINGS OF GLAMORGAN—HOWELL, SON OF OWAIN AP MORGAN HEN—MEURIG AP HOWELL—CADWGAN, A KING TEMP. NORMAN INVASION.

The death of Einion ap Owain appears to have permitted the Gwentians to enjoy a temporary triumph. Einion had been for some years the mainstay of his father's power, and when he was removed, Owain probably found himself unable to take those active measures necessary to bring a strong and rebellious people once more into a state of subjection. In the same year in which Einion was killed, it is recorded that there was an "election of Kings of Glamorgan," and though neither the purpose of this election nor the circumstances under which it took place, accompany the record, it must be supposed that it had connection with or resulted from the ardent desire of the people of Gwent to have a Prince of their own; and which desire led to the outbreak against Owain's authority, and the premature death of his son Einion. No less than six names have been preserved, but whether they all ruled with sovereign powers over separate districts, or whether the choice fell upon only one of the number, we cannot declare. We are inclined to believe the former was the case, as every descendant of the ancient kings of Gwent seems to have inherited some portion of his ancestor's territory, over which he reigned in royal style. The names given in *Liber Llandavensis* are "Owain, Idwallon, Cadell, and Cynfyn, the sons of Morgan Hen; and Rhodri, and Gryffydd, the sons of Elised, King of Gwent." Of Elised and his sons we know nothing further than the bare statement here given, and we shall not cumber our narrative with any endeavour to trace their fortune or their fate. Of the sons of Morgan Hen, we must take some further notice, but we need only recall the first two named, viz., Owain and Idwallon. In a previous chapter we stated that

Owain, being unpopular, failed to occupy that position which he otherwise would have done, and that Idwallon assisted and relieved his father in the Government for some years before his death. The next descendant in this line appears to be Howell, said to be son of Owain. He is recorded as King of Glamorgan, but beside the statements in *Liber Llandavensis* very little seems to be known of him, although he is said to have lived to the advanced age of 110 years, and to have been the wisest and most beloved prince of the time.

Howel was succeeded by his son Meurig, who certainly did not inherit the virtues of his father. He is described as being violent, jealous, immoral, and cruel. He conceived a passion for the wife of one Seisyllt, a wealthy subject, and one of the household of the Bishop of Llandaff. Finding her at the door of the church at Llandaff, he seized her, in the presence of the Bishop, and took her by force. In the fray some of the Bishop's people were wounded. Meurig and Caradoc, sons of Rhiwallon, one of his nobles, who assisted in the enterprise, were, for the offence they had committed, both excommunicated, but obtained pardon on the usual terms of making grants to the church. Meurig gave two or three villages situated in Glamorganshire, and Caradoc presented Llanbedr, about three miles from Caerleon, the boundary of the property being described in the Book of Llandaff.

The occurrence above mentioned was not the only crime alleged against Meurig. On the same authority we find that he made an alliance with Edwyn, son of Gwriad, King of Gwent Iscoed, that they would hold together in paternal peace against the Breconians, and against all their enemies, that is, the English on one part and the Southern Britons beyond the mountains on the other. Meurig, however, broke the peace, seized Edwyn, put him in prison, deprived him of his kingdom, and also of his eyesight, so that he was blind to his death. For this transaction Meurig was again excommunicated, and again by granting

alms to the church he obtained pardon. His gifts were several villages in the neighbourhood of Caerphilly.

The Book of Llandaff contains some particulars relating to Edwyn which may be here inserted. He is said to be son of Gwriad, King of Gwent Iscoed (Netherwent). His family engaged in a feud with the family of Bledri, Bishop of Llandaff. The quarrel was pursued with great fury and shedding of blood on both sides. On one occasion the Bishop himself interposed between the combatants, and was wounded by some wicked fellow of the King's family. The powers of the Church were thereupon exercised, Edwyn and all his family excommunicated, and the kingdom of Gwent left under a curse. Edwyn subsequently sought pardon, and upon giving up the offenders to receive judgment, and, as a matter of course, presenting land to the Church, he obtained remission of sins, and resumed his kingly authority.

Meurig had two sons named Cadwgan and Rhys, and lived to have grandchildren and great grandchildren.

Cadwgan succeeded his father in the kingdom of Glamorgan, and was also styled King of Gwent.

It is related of him that he visited Llandaff on a Christmas Day, with his family, and, being elated with the excessive rejoicings of so great a festivity, they began to be riotous, and in the brawl which ensued they killed a physician named Berthutis, who was also a grandson of the Bishop. This was considered a terrible offence, and occasioned great consternation. The clergy were assembled from all parts of the diocese and a curse pronounced on the family of the King. They were deprived from all benefit of the orthodox faith in full synod, the crosses with the holy relics and inverted bells being placed on the ground; the door of the church was shut and guarded with thorns, and it thus remained several days and nights without divine service and a pastor. In the end the King sought pardon, and obtained it upon giving to the church

a quantity of land. Cadwgan remained King of Glamorgan when William the Norman conquered England.

We have thus traced a line of Princes—the descendants of Morgan Hen—down to a period beyond which we must not trespass until more important matters concerning the district are gathered up and concentrated to this point. Morgan Hen was himself a king of the first order. His territory was extensive, his power supreme, his virtues great, and his people were loyal; but from the day when the English King, by virtue of superior power, transferred the possession of the royal city of Caerleon to the descendants of Morgan's opponents, the brilliancy of Morgan's descendants was dimmed. Though they are still styled Kings of both Gwent and Glamorgan, the details of their lives are of minor importance, and chiefly relate to family matters and personal quarrels. It is difficult to say where they held their courts or over whom they ruled. The issues of their country it is evident were not in their keeping, but in the hands of others of whom we must now proceed to give some account. Let it be remembered, however, that from the middle of the 10th century down to the Norman Conquest, a period of over 100 years, there was a line of princes, or Kings of Glamorgan and Gwent, descending from Morgan Hen to Cadwgan, of whose exact status very little can be ascertained.

OWEN AP HOWELL DDA IS SUCCEEDED BY MEREDITH IN SOUTH WALES—IESTYN INHERITS CAERLEON—MEREDITH BECOMES KING OF ALL WALES—PAYS TRIBUTE TO THE DANES—IS ATTACKED BY EDWYN AP EINEON — REPRISALS — RENEWED DANISH ATTACKS — LLEWELLIN SUCCEEDS TO SOUTH WALES — RHYDDERCH AP IESTYN SUCCEEDS LLEWELLIN.

Owain ap Howell Dda, to whom possession of Caerleon had been given by King Edgar in 967, died in 987. He was, it will be remembered, King of South Wales, that is of the country in South Wales westward of Morganwg and Gwent, but what increased rule fell to his lot by the possession of Caerleon is not clear. We have already seen that his authority was repudiated and overthrown by the rebellion of the people of Gwentland in 982, when his son Eineon was killed, and it seems probable that beyond the occupation of the capital city of the district very little advantage accrued to him. After Owain's death there was a division of the territory over which he reigned, and with it consequently, a division of the power exercised by him as a ruler. In the kingdom of South Wales he was followed by Meredith, one of his six sons, while Iestyn, another son, who was Lord of Iestynston, in Pembrokeshire, succeeded to Caerleon.

We now enter upon a succession of events which constitute a historical maze. The rapidly changing incidents are tragic in their issues, but the effects are not always traceable to their real causes. The Principality from North to South and East to West, is brought before the mind's eye as the scenes of bloodshed and slaughter occasioned by repeated inroads and reprisals are depicted on the pages of the native chroniclers. Kings and almost innumerable claimants to be kings appear on the scene for a brief space of time like characters in the phantasmagoria, and then vanish into oblivion. Fortunately, our task does not require a detailed narrative

of the complications referred to, but we hope to be successful in gathering from them just those points which connect Caerleon and the district with circumstances possessing a wider and national importance. We will in the first place pursue the incidents of Meredith's reign in South Wales, and these by the sequence of events will lead us to trace the fortunes of Iestyn, of Caerleon, and his descendants.

Meredith's right to the throne of his father was not undisputed. He was the youngest son, and therefore, it was not unnatural that his nephew Edwin, the son of Einion, Meredith's elder brother, and who was killed by the rebellious Gwentians, should put forth a claim. Meredith, however, made himself master of the position, and Edwin went into exile. Not content with the success mentioned, Meredith attacked and conquered Powis, and also North Wales, thus making himself master of the Principality. Presently, however, Meredith had troubles to deal with which gave him more anxiety than the antagonism of his own countrymen. In 988 the Danes renewed their predatory attacks with considerable activity, and to no little purpose. They seem to have been under the command of Godfrid. Their depredations were widespread, and they seized upon Llewarch, the brother of Meredith, and cruelly put out his eyes. Meredith himself, who had had the boldness to attack and succeeded in conquering the whole of Wales, was now afraid to attack these "black Pagans," and his conduct with regard to them was marked by a spirit of cowardice, resulting in the establishment of a precedent which has remained attached to his name for nearly a thousand years. Unable even to check their devastations, and in order to get rid of them, he agreed to pay a tribute of one penny for every person in his dominions. Such at least is the statement in *Brut Tywysogion*, and that which is also generally received as true; but the *Annales Cambriæ* assert that the money was paid for the redemption of captives. While Meredith was thus temporising with the Danes, another storm was brewing for him in the

east. His nephew Edwin, who opposing his accession to the kingdom of South Wales was first thwarted, had not given up his designs upon the throne, but soon after, entering into an alliance with an English commander named Æthelsage they together ravaged the kingdom of Meredith as far as St. David's, obliging the principal lords to acknowledge Edwin's sovereignty. Meredith was now driven to his wit's end, and being as cowardly as indiscreet, struck upon the plan of employing his "friend the enemy." Accordingly, he sought the services of the Danes, to whom he had a year or two before paid tribute, and found a number willing to join him. With an army of mercenaries he speedily made reprisals by ravaging Morganwg and Gwent. The whole country rose against the invaders and a battle was fought at Cors Einon (Gorseinon), in Glamorganshire. The folly of this internecine warfare was perceived after the country had been desolated and a famine resulted. Meredith and Edwin were made friends, and the English on the one hand and the Danes on the other, were unexpectedly cashiered and sent home. The death of the only son of Meredith, which happened soon after, cemented more closely the union of these Princes.

In 997, South Wales was once more ravaged by the Danes. They had in the previous year overrun the South of England, almost without let or hindrance, and King Edward, with a view to get them out of the kingdom, followed the precedent set by Meredith, and agreed to give them something like sixteen thousand pounds. The Danish commanders thereupon retired to Southampton, and bound themselves by oath never to trouble the kingdom again. Olaus, one of them, kept his word, and returned home; Sweyn left the port, pretending to do the same, but instead of following Olaus, he sailed to the westward, rounded Land's End, and forthwith proceeded to plunder, burn, and slay, all along the coast of South Wales. The city of St David's was ravaged, the Bishop of the diocese slain, and the whole territory laid waste with fire and sword. Meredith, unable to

withstand these inroads, and being ashamed of his late timid and unavailing policy, sunk under the calamities of his country and died of grief. Meredith left an only daughter named Angharad, who married Llewellyn ap Seisyllt (a descendant of Rhodri Mawr), who by the right of his wife obtained the throne of her father. Llewellyn was a Prince who possessed no less wisdom than ambition. His ambition led him to re-conquer North Wales (1015), which had been wrenched from or had been deserted by Meredith, and his wisdom produced a state of national prosperity seldom equalled. Though so good a Prince Llewellyn did not escape the fate which so often befell the rulers of his country. After being successful in reducing several rebellions, Howell and Meredith, the sons of Edwin ap Einon, engaged in a conspiracy, and either by emissaries, or by their own hands, Llewellyn was assassinated (1021). He left behind him one son, the celebrated Griffith ap Llewellyn. The base act of Llewellyn's assassination naturally excited great odium, and the perpetrators failed to obtain the object which they sought, viz, possession of the throne of their great grandfather, Owain ap Howell Dda. On Llewellyn's death Iago, a lineal descendant of Rhodri Mawr, was made King of North Wales, and Rhydderch ap Iestyn, Prince of Caerleon and nephew of Meredith, succeeded by force of arms in obtaining the throne of South Wales.

We have thus traced the principal incidents in the life of Meredith and his successors, and are now brought back to the point from which we can proceed to describe the events centering round his brother Iestyn and his descendants, and make further progress in our narrative.

DEFEAT AND DEATH OF RHYDDERCH AP IESTYN.—CARADOC, HIS SON, SUCCEEDS TO CAERLEON.—GRYFFYDD AP RHYDDERCH BECOMES KING OF GWENT.—HOWEL AND MEREDITH JOINTLY RULE SOUTH WALES.—MEREDITH IS ASSASSINATED.—HOWEL KILLED IN BATTLE BY GRYFFYDD AP LLEWELLIN.—CONTESTS WITH RHYS AND RHYDDERCH.

The influence and power which Rhydderch ap Iestyn, of Caerleon, possessed among his countrymen enabled him to retain the throne of South Wales for a period of 10 years, in spite of all opposition. The record of this decade is, however, almost a blank. In the Iolo MSS. we are told that he made a castle at Cardiff, and there had his court, and in *Liber Llandavensis* there is a statement that he granted certain privileges and lands over a wide extent of territory for the benefit of the church at Llandaff. Rees, in his "Welsh Saints," says these grants were the result of an endeavour on the part of Rhydderch to restore the ancient diocese of St. Teilo, and that all churches bearing the name of that saint in the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, Brecon, and Radnor, with manors, lands, and villages, were given to Llandaff. A complete list is given in "Godwin's Bishops" which it is unnecessary for our purpose to extract. The list is valuable and curious for its antiquity, and is strongly corroborative of the extent of rule which Rhydderch exercised over South Wales.

An untimely death was at length the fate of Rhydderch, brought about by the plotting of Howel and Meredith, the sons of Edwyn, who since their father's death had treated Rhydderch as a usurper. These young Princes during their exile contrived to enlist in their service an army of mercenaries, chiefly, we are told, comprised of Irish Picts, and Scots, and with them made an effort to gain the kingdom which they regarded as their inheritance. Their enterprise was, no doubt, successful, but there is some uncertainty as to the

exact time and manner in which it was accomplished. The Welsh Chronicles give the date as 1031, and state that Rhydderch being killed and his forces defeated, Howel and Meredith carried on the government in their joint names. Other accounts say that Rhydderch was killed in battle in 1034, when circumstances led King Canute to march a powerful army into Gwent against him. If this were so it is not improbable that the action taken by Canute was instigated by the Princes whose desires were accomplished by the death of their rival.

Rhydderch left behind him four sons, viz., Caradoc, Gryffydd, Rhys and Rhydderch. The latter seems to have inherited Ewyas in the upper part of Gwent; and Rhys, Iestynston, in Pembrokeshire. What portion of his father's possessions fell to Gryffydd we cannot ascertain; Caradoc took up his residence at Caerleon, assumed his father's titles, and claimed the territory over which he had ruled. His claim, however, was speedily set aside. Howel and Meredith, as before stated, kept from him the kingdom of South Wales, while the army of Canute, still hovering about the land of Gwent, threatened to deprive him of the peaceable hold of any territory in that quarter. Caradoc's forces were too weak either to attack their opponents, or to prevent the country from being wasted; but ere the lapse of a year from the death of Rhydderch, the opposing armies came into contact with each other at a place called Rhaethewy, or Hyarthwy, which has been identified as a spot between Roath and the river Rumney. Caradoc, it would seem, was assisted by his brothers, while Howel and Meredith were aided by the army of Canute. The issue of the battle was that the sons of Rhydderch were subdued, Caradoc himself being killed.

After this tragic event Gryffydd, the brother of Caradoc, succeeded to Caerleon. He displayed much wisdom in exerting himself to restore the city, particularly in respect to its fortifications, these with other portions of the city having been, it may be remembered, "entirely destroyed" by the Danes, in 976. Over what extent of territory

Gryffydd ruled as a sovereign it is not easy to say; but either immediately upon his accession, or by degrees subsequently, he acquired control over the whole district usually understood to be the limits of the kingdom of Gwent. Although his reign extended for a period of fourteen years, there are no events recorded in which he is said to have taken part; but, remembering the circumstances of the times, it is scarcely possible to imagine that his life was undisturbed by the turmoil and strife in which the neighbouring princes seem constantly to have been engaged. For the present, however, we leave Gryffydd engaged in repairing and strengthening the good old city of Caerleon, while we furnish some further particulars respecting his surviving brothers, Rhys and Rhydderch, and relate what transpired in the kingdom of South Wales, with which they once again became closely identified.

The victory which Howel and Meredith obtained over Caradoc (1035) might have made their occupation of the throne of South Wales secure, if the spirit of revenge had not prompted deeds of desperate retaliation. Though Gryffydd and the other brothers of the deceased Caradoc were either unambitious or kept in check by superior forces, there were other individuals whose minds, deeply impressed with the base murder of Llewellin ap Seisyllt, took an early opportunity of avenging themselves upon the guilty princes who now filled the throne. These were the nephews of Llewellin, the sons of Cynan ap Seisyllt, who engaged in a conspiracy, which resulted in Meredith being assassinated. Howel only escaped a similar fate by going for awhile into exile.

Now was the opportunity of Llewellin's son, Gryffydd, and he seems to have availed himself of it without delay. He had by this time arrived at manhood, and the popular memory of his father greatly disposed the people in his favour. Howel, however, was not yet disposed of, and returning from his temporary exile he rallied his friends and gathered together what forces he was able with a view to attain the position he had once before

occupied. Gryffydd ap Llewellin marched against Howel's forces and attacked them at Pencadir, Carmarthenshire, and put them to flight (1038). Warrington says, "Howel escaped with difficulty but left his wife a prisoner in the hands of Gryffydd to whom she became a concubine. While Gryffydd was subsequently engaged in the North, Howel again collected an army, strengthening himself this time with the assistance of a company of Danes. He completely occupied South Wales, but once more Gryffydd sought out his rival and fought a battle with him near the source of the Towy, Carmarthenshire. The action was more bloody than the former, Howel being slain, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces. Thus was the full measure of vengeance poured on the heads of Howel and his family, for the murder of Llewellin ap Seisyllt.

No sooner did Howel meet with his death in the manner described, than other competitors rose to contest with Gryffydd ap Llewellin the right to the throne of South Wales. These were Rhys and Rhydderch, the younger brothers of Gryffydd ap Rhydderch, of Caerleon. Gryffydd ap Llewellin based his claim upon the fact that the throne had been occupied by his father, he having acquired it by his marriage with Angharad, daughter of Meredith. Rhys and Rhydderch thought they had a title equally as good in the fact that their father, Rhydderch ap Iestyn possessed himself of the throne by force of arms, and ruled the country for ten years. Both Meredith and Iestyn were the sons of Owain ap Howell Dda. The dispute, of course, could only be settled by force of arms. Gryffydd was supported by the men of both North and South Wales, whilst Rhys and Rhydderch relied chiefly upon the forces they were able to raise among the valiant people of Gwent and Glamorgan, with such "strangers" as they were able to get together. They formed, at all events, a great army, and marched to attack Gryffydd, who lost no time in preparing to meet them. The battle proved a bloody and terrible one, and notwithstanding the efforts of Gryffydd to

animate and solace his soldiers with the remembrance of their former victories and conquests, they were unable to subdue the sturdy warriors of Gwent. The fight continued until the darkness of night necessitated a cessation of the conflict, and when the next day dawned the combatants felt themselves so exhausted and tamed that neither was very desirous of another engagement. Powell writes: "One being unwilling to set upon the other, they both agreed to return to their own habitations." The Welsh Chronicles add that this was for the purpose of collecting reinforcements, but the contest seems never to have been renewed, and the Kingdom of Wales under Gryffydd ap Llewellin enjoyed a short season of unaccustomed tranquility.

POSITION OF AFFAIRS IN WALES—THE TWO GRYFFYDDS—OUTLAWRY OF EARL HAROLD—INVASION OF GWENT—PLUNDER OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD—RAVAGES OF RHYS—HIS ATTAINDER AND DEATH—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF GRYFFYDD AP RHYDDERCH.

The threads of the "tangled skein" of history which we have traced out and desire our readers to hold in remembrance are these :—

Gryffydd ap Llewellin rules over both North and South Wales.

Gryffydd ap Rhydderch is the sovereign of Gwent, and still holds his court in the royal city of Caerleon.

Rhys and Rhydderch, the brothers of the latter Gryffydd, remain the defeated aspirants to the throne of their father, occupied by the former Gryffydd.

The distinction between the two Gryffydds cannot be too attentively borne in mind, if the history of the period is to be rendered intelligible. Inattention in this respect has occasioned much confusion, and marred the pages of many historians by the admission of inexcusable blunders.

Leaving the state of things existing as here described, we must now digress to relate some particulars of English affairs. The facts themselves may be well known, but their local bearing and connection with the incidents we have to relate are very likely to have been altogether overlooked by the majority of readers.

In 1042 the English people, tired for a time of the contests between Danish and Saxon princes, chose for their sovereign, Edward the Confessor, surviving son of Ethelred. This event was brought about chiefly by the influence of Earl Godwin, the king maker of the age, and memorable as being the first English statesman who was neither king nor priest. At this period England was chiefly governed by five earls, of whom Godwin and his sons, Harold and Sweyn, were three. Godwin ruled in the southern counties, Harold in Essex

and other parts of East Anglia, and Sweyn in Gloucester, Somerset, Hereford, and adjoining counties.

The influence and position which Godwin had acquired led to numerous and serious differences between him and the King, which resulted finally in the Earl and his family being banished from the kingdom. Godwin, with his sons, Sweyn and Tostig, and some other members of the family, took refuge in Flanders, whilst Harold and his younger brother, Leofwine, with more courage, and with other objects, made their way to Bristol, which was in Sweyn's Earldom, and from thence they sought to be conveyed to Ireland, the eastern coast of which was peopled with Danish settlers. Among these Harold hoped to engage some adventurers in his cause, and by their aid to effect his own return and avenge his father's wrongs. Bristol at this time was the chief seat of communication between England and the South of Ireland, and Harold and his brother found little difficulty in escaping from a country where they had been pronounced outlaws. Although pursued, they embarked in one of Sweyn's ships, and, after beating about a few days in the Channel between the Avon and the Usk, owing to stress of weather, they landed safely in Ireland. The two brothers lost no time in fitting out a number of ships and engaging a force which they deemed adequate for their purpose. In the meanwhile Godwin had not been idle, and with his other sons had obtained all the assistance he required in Flanders. To right themselves, then, by force of arms, Godwin invested the eastern coast of England, and Harold proceeded to do the same on the western coasts.

According to Florence of Worcester, the expedition of Harold took place in August, 1049, but the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives the date as July, 1050. The fleet consisted of thirty-six ships. They sailed up the Bristol Channel, passed the Holmes, then made their way to the shore, and landed the crews near the mouth of the Usk. Here, according to the Chronicles, Harold received aid from

Gryffydd ap Llewellin who, it may well be imagined, had been by a previous arrangement marching an army to meet him, and probably keeping in sight of the ships as they proceeded up the Channel. If the agreed object between Harold and Gryffydd ap Llewellin was to molest only the territory of King Edward they did not wait for this, but no sooner did they land than they "commenced to plunder in that neighbourhood and did considerable damage." Newport being in "that neighbourhood" doubtless shared the general devastation, but it is useless to speculate upon the damage which the town sustained. It is by no means certain that a castle existed at this early period, and beyond the church founded by St. Gwynlliw and the surrounding camps left by the Romans, and which for half-a-dozen centuries had been almost undisturbed, few structures of any kind were to be found. At Caerleon Gryffydd ap Rhydderch had strengthened the fortifications of the city, and his foresight in this respect may have averted an attack upon this stronghold. The allied forces seem to have passed this by, and proceeding northwards crossed the Wye, burning a place called Dymedham, and "massacreing all they found there." The people of Gloucester and Hereford flew to arms, and Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, as their leader, prepared to resist the incursion. There were, however, many Welshmen in the ranks of the Bishop's army, and some of these conveyed private information to King Gryffydd which induced him to attack the English without delay, and having done so succeeded in killing a large number and put the rest to flight.

King Edward was naturally incensed at the proceedings of Harold and his father, and took steps to frustrate their designs and punish them for their disloyalty. He fitted out a fleet which he sent in quest of the ships of his rebellious subjects. Hearing that Godwin had been seen off Rumney Point, two Admirals proceeded thither, but Godwin, being informed of the King's intention, had time to get away and returned to Flanders. Harold, finding the forces at his command too inconsider-

able to do more than harrass and devastate the district, went back to Ireland and at once set about obtaining greater assistance wherewith to accomplish his purpose.

In 1052, Harold for the second time sailed from Ireland with a large fleet. On this occasion he sailed up the Severn, landed on the south coast, and resumed his former system of general plunder. Farms and villages were everywhere devastated and the booty carried off to the ships. A feeble attempt was made at resistance by the inhabitants, but Harold killed more than thirty noble Thanes and did very much as he listed. Having received information of his father's doings, he re-embarked his forces and sailed his ships round the Lands End, and proceeding up the English Channel, fell in with his father's fleet, which was hovering along the shores of the Isle of Wight. The united forces, after well provisioning, directed their course to the port of Sandwich, and then sailed up the Thames to London. Here peace was made with the King, and Godwin and Harold being restored to their former honours, subsequently obtained a position of greater influence than they had ever before enjoyed. Early in the following year Godwin died, and his earldom was conferred upon Harold.

Matters being so settled, the King had time to give attention to the continued inroads made by the princes of Wales in the border districts. The success which had accompanied the expedition made by Gryffydd ap Llewellin in company with Harold, and the immunity from punishment which they experienced was not only an encouragement for Gryffydd to repeat such inroads, but also an inducement to others to imitate such conduct.

Rhys, the brother of Gryffydd ap Rhydderch, having failed in his attempt to regain the throne of South Wales, turned his attention in this direction. He was a man of bold and enterprising spirit, and committed frequent depredations on the English territory. On that account he had become the object of particular resentment, and at the Witenagemot held 1053, at Gloucester, where the king

then chiefly resided, his conduct was taken into consideration. The result was that a bill of attainder was passed against him, and he suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Florence of Worcester, says he was put to death by order of King Edward at a place called Bullington, or, as Powell has it, Bulendun, and his head was brought to the king on the eve of our Lord's Epiphany (January 5th).

In the following year Gryffydd ap Rhyderch once more appears upon the scene, and for the last time. Having by husbanding his resources, and nursing his ambition, acquired confidence in his strength, he resolved to "venture another trial" to recover the throne of South Wales. When his previous attempt was made is not clear. His name does not seem to be mentioned in connection with his brothers Rhys and Rhydderch when they contested the prize with Gryffydd ap Llewellin, but it is probable that he assisted in the enterprise. Gryffydd ap Llewellin did not now hesitate to accept the challenge. He speedily marched an army against Gryffydd ap Rhydderch, a battle was fought, and the forces of the latter was easily vanquished, and Gryffydd ap Rhydderch himself slain.

RAVAGES OF GRYFFYDD AP LLEWELLYN—WALES INVADED BY EARL HAROLD—GRYFFYD BEHEADED —CARADOC AP GRYFFYDD, OF CAERLEON, CLAIMS SOUTH WALES—HE IS BANISHED BY HAROLD— HAROLD SEIZES PART OF HIS POSSESSIONS— BUILDS A PALACE AND CHURCH AT PORTSKEWETT.

After the death of Gryffydd ap Rhydderch, Gryffydd ap Llewellyn assumed all the arrogance which a long career of success naturally inspires. In the following year (1055), with Algar, Earl of Chester, he ravaged the district round Hereford, defeated the English troops sent against him, entered the city, burned the minister, slew seven canons and many other persons, levelled the walls, and then set the city on fire, carrying away all the spoil, and many captives.

The pacific spirit of King Edward was roused by such an event, and with a view to punish Gryffydd for his destructive and hostile acts, he commanded Earl Harold immediately to collect forces from every part of the kingdom and assemble at Gloucester. When ready, Harold marched with his army into North Wales to attack Gryffydd ap Llewellin, but Gryffydd, being afraid to meet him, retired with his army into South Wales. Harold did not pursue him, but returned to Hereford, and a peace was very soon patched up, which some writers have regarded as a very dishonourable one on the part of Harold. Surprise has been expressed at his conduct; but, however zealous Harold may have been to serve King Edward faithfully, the remembrance of his own former adventure, in which he had Gryffydd for an ally, may have induced him to adopt a conciliatory policy and bring about a settlement without the interposition of violent action. Gryffydd ap Llewellin was of too turbulent a disposition, however, to keep the peace long. In 1056 he massacred Leovgar, the Bishop of Hereford (formerly Harold's chaplain), and other notable persons at Cleobury; and two years afterwards he was again in arms assisting Algar of Mercia to recover his

earldom when he had been outlawed by the King. In 1062 the ravages which Gryffydd appears to have continued were the chief subject of discussion at the Christmas Gemot, held as usual at Gloucester. The damage resulting from these frequent inroads, and the insults thus offered to the King, could no longer be overlooked, and a bill of attainder was passed against Gryffydd ap Llewellin, just as nine years before a similar course was pursued in respect to Rhys, the brother of Gryffydd ap Rhydderch. Harold was again commissioned to carry out the instructions of the King, and he once more undertook to proceed against his former companion in arms. By rapid marches from Gloucester he soon reached Rhuddlan, only to find that Gryffydd had escaped by ship. Harold appeared to be in earnest this time; and, having destroyed the palace and the shipping which he found there, returned at once to Bristol, and organised a naval force. In May, he sailed down the Avon (as he had done twelve years before —an outlaw), and by previous arrangement met his brother Tostig at some point in central Wales. When this junction was effected, Harold pursued the Welsh unrelentingly, and completely subdued the people of the north, who submitted to pay the tribute which in former times they had usually paid, and gave to Harold hostages as pledges of their future obedience. When North Wales had been brought into subjection, Harold, by the incitement of Caradoc of Caerleon, who, on the death of his father, Gryffydd ap Rhydderch, succeeded to the kingdom of Gwent, entered South Wales and there pursued a similar course of severity. While so engaged Gryffydd ap Llewellin returned to North Wales, but instead of his subjects rallying round his standard, they beheaded him August 5th, 1064, and sent his head to Harold, who forwarded it to the King. In the campaign which thus terminated skirmish after skirmish was fought, and such a depopulation ensued, that to this disastrous cause Giraldus ascribes the tranquil acquiescence of the Welsh under the Norman yoke. To mark the spots

where Harold had obtained a victory stones were erected, bearing the inscription, "Hic fuit victor Haraldus." Two pieces of legislation followed the alleged conquest of Wales. Harold is said to have ordained that any Welshman found in arms on the English side of Offa's Dyke should lose his right hand. Probably this was nothing more than a temporary military regulation. The other decree is that Edward permitted Welsh women to marry Englishmen, from which it is inferred that hitherto it had been unlawful. The reason alleged is that the slaughter of the male population had been so great that there was no chance of the widows and daughters of the slain finding husbands among their own people.

The throne of South Wales being once more rendered vacant by the murder of Gryffydd ap Llewellin, Caradoc ap Gryffydd of Caerleon, put forth a claim for it. His father and his father's three brothers had all striven to possess the prize in vain, but now no claimant seemed more eligible or to have a greater legitimate right than Caradoc. Moreover, as he had assisted Harold in his late campaign in South Wales, he counted upon Harold's support in prosecuting his claim. But it turned out otherwise. The acquaintance between Harold and Caradoc does not seem to have cemented their friendship. Harold, we are told, regarded Caradoc as a subtle and deceitful man; Caradoc looked upon Harold with just as little respect and confidence. Harold made certain stipulations, and sought favours at the hands of Caradoc, but the latter was unbending and obdurate. In passing through Gwent, Harold's eye had been entranced with the beautiful country lying between the Usk and the Wye. Here in pre-Roman times the ancient Britons indulged in the wild chase; and here too in the time of the celebrated Arthur, the air rang with the gaiety of the gorgeous knights and ladies fair of his renowned court as they proceeded on their expeditions of sport and pastime. With its expansive woods and numerous streams tributary to the two noble rivers, it was still a magnificent hunting ground,

and Harold pleased himself with the fancy that the spot would delight the King, his master. Harold desired Caradoc to concede this district, but he declined to relinquish the very heart of his patrimony, which he valued even more than the object of his ambition—the throne of South Wales. Harold, however, whose heart was too deeply set upon the attainment of this district to be lightly denied, forcibly took possession of it, and banished Caradoc out of the country.

The dispute regarding the sovereignty of South Wales was settled by Harold placing upon the throne Meredith, the son of Owen ap Edwyn.

When Harold found himself free to dispose of the land of which he had taken possession between the Usk and the Wye, he at once incorporated it with the kingdom of England, the shire of Gloucester, and his own earldom, and proceeded to utilise it on behalf of himself and his sovereign. King Edward, though growing old, retained his love of hunting, and the newly acquired wild lands of Gwent seemed to present a new field for royal sport. They were a convenient distance from Gloucester, where one of the great gemots of the year was regularly held, and Harold hoped that his Majesty would deign to visit a place which promised abundant diversion.

Portskewett was then, and from still earlier ages had been used as now, as a place for crossing the Severn; but in Harold's time it was probably of greater importance than may be supposed from its present condition. The triads state Portskewett to have been one of the three harbours of the island of Britain; and Mr. Octavius Morgan, in his Notes on Runston, remarks that "when the land extended out in a long narrow strip towards the S.W., the confluence of the Troggy, now called the Neddern, and several other minor streams, must have formed a spacious estuary on its north side worthy of the name Port Iscoed, if that be the etymology of Portskewett." We know that the Roman city of Caerwent and the Roman camp of Sudbrook are in the immediate vicinity.

HAROLD BUILDS A PALACE AND CHURCH AT PORTSKEWETT—HORRIBLE MASSACRE OF THE WORKMEN BY TOSTIG AND CARADOC—THE PALACE DESTROYED —CARADOC RECOVERS HIS TERRITORY—TERMINATION OF THE SAXON REGIME.

In the neighbourhood of Portskewett Harold resolved to build a stately and princely house in which he could worthily entertain the sovereign of the kingdom, whose favour by various artifices he was endeavouring to maintain. A large number of workmen were employed to complete and furnish the building; and also to erect a church, the ruins of which latter is said to have existed up to a recent date. When the design was completed, and the place abundantly supplied with provisions for the royal use, his Majesty, after repeated invitations, is said to have accepted Harold's offer and arranged to pay him a visit and indulge in the rich sport which the country afforded. Both Warrington, and Williams, in his History of Monmouthshire, state that Edward did go to Portskewett, but it seems probable from the older writers, that Edward's promise was never carried out.

The favour which King Edward had shown to Harold by a compliance with his request created a feeling of envy and hatred in the mind of his elder brother, Tostig, which very soon openly displayed itself, and led to a remarkable *denouement*. The King being (1064) at Winchester, desired Harold during dinner to serve him with a cup of wine, which act of preference so enraged Tostig that he flew in a passion, seized Harold by the hair, and threw him to the ground. The soldiers parted the brothers, and Tostig being banished from the Court for his offence, resolved upon a plan of revenge. Before his anger cooled he made his way with a number of armed followers to Portskewett, and proceeded to butcher all the servants whom he found in the house his brother had erected. He cut off the legs and arms of some, and the heads of others, and these members,

with other parts of the body, he enclosed in the vessels containing choice wine, mead, ale, pigment, mulberry wine, and cider, which had been stored for the King's drinking. Having accomplished this savage proceeding, he sent messages to Harold intimating that he need bring with him no other than fresh provisions for the King, as he would find a sufficiency of preserved meats and sauce already provided. For this horrible crime Tostig was now perpetually banished and outlawed. This incident is recorded by nearly every historian with more or less variation and addition, but the local interest has hitherto been removed by the fact that quoting from Henry of Huntingdon, the locale of the occurrence is said to be Hereford. The place designated has more of indefiniteness than inaccuracy about it, for the whole district, and the city of Caerleon, important as it then was, is mentioned occasionally by later writers as being in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. The tragic affair, it is clear, took place at Harold's house, which he had built for the entertainment of the King and this was erected, not at Hereford, but at Portskewitt, which we learn from Florence of Worcester, and also from Marianus. The latter writer, however, describes the building as a fort constructed as a defence against the Welsh. If further evidence were necessary to prove that Portskewett and not Hereford was the scene of Tostig's revenge, we have it in the proceedings perpetrated at the same house by Caradoc, from whose possession the land upon which the house stood was forcibly taken by Harold. Caradoc, though banished by Harold, retained a position from which he could acquaint himself of what Harold was doing, and looking upon the land of Gwent as his own, he could not brook the establishment of a Saxon settlement therein. Amid the hills and valleys of Gwent, with which the Saxons had no intercourse, and from which they obtained little information, Caradoc quietly collected all the force he could procure, and on the feast day of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1065, made an attack upon the building. No organised resistance is

recorded, but whether occupied or not by a garrison, the forces of Caradoc were overpowering. They slew all the workmen and their overseers engaged in the building, defaced the work, and carried away all those things that with great labour and expense had been got together, and set out to beautify the structure.

Harold was thus foiled in his intention, and soon more weighty matters were pressing upon his attention. King Edward died a few days after Christmas, and the Witan or Great Council of the nation chose Harold as his successor.

Caradoc was unpunished for his daring, and retained undisturbed possession of his territories, when the fate of Harold was determined at the Battle of Hastings. It is recorded in Liber Llandavensis that when King William conquered England, King Caradoc reigned in Ystradyw, Gwent Uchoed, and Gwynllwg (Wentloog), and Rhydderch, the son of Caradoc in Ewyas, and Gwent Iscoed

The termination of the Saxon regime is an epoch in English history, a step in the progress of time, and forms a convenient resting place for retrospective purposes. This, however, is not our primary object, and we will not, to any great extent, intercept the continued narration of the facts and traditions which we have set before us. More than six centuries had now elapsed since the departure of the Romans from Gwent; and the city of Caerleon, which owes its chief glory to their occupation of it, had suffered in the interim many vicissitudes. Considerable damage had been inflicted upon the place in the course of prolonged internecine warfare, and the Saxon and the Dane in turn had used their best efforts to destroy it. Her palaces had fallen into ruin, her ancient fortresses were levelled, and the amphitheatre was no longer frequented. But in spite of all adverse circumstances Caerleon still remained the capital of Gwent, and native Princes still ruled the district according to their ancient laws, and held their Courts as they had done in byegone ages. The

change from Harold to William, and from the Saxon to a Norman dynasty, did not give them much concern. They probably rejoiced, as on the death of a king of England the Welsh, and especially the Gwentian people, invariably sought to cast aside the slight fetters which bound them as tributaries to England, and assert as far as possible their entire independence.

Some uncertainty exists as to the extent to which Saxon influence was exercised in Gwent at this period; but the uncertainty cannot be a matter of surprise, seeing that this district was the spot where the opposing forces of the two peoples came into contact; and when not in actual conflict were slowly intermingling one with another. Gwent was the strand upon which the flowing wave of Saxon progress was continuously beating with a slow and almost imperceptible advance. Gloucester, Chepstow, Portskewett, and Monmouth are admitted to have been occupied by Saxon settlers. Coxe includes Caerwent in the list of such places. Langstone, six miles further west, is one of the few places in the district bearing a purely Saxon name, and may therefore be reasonably supposed to have been inhabited or possessed by Saxon people. Mr. Octavius Morgan questions if they ever penetrated so far, but admits that it is by no means impossible that a descriptive name like Langstone may have been adopted by some individual English settler, and have afterwards continued. This probably indicates the real state of things. While the Saxons were not predominant in places west of Chepstow and Monmouth, there were, no doubt, considerable numbers settled here and there in various towns and villages. It would hardly be thought that they inhabited Caerleon, but from the evidence of the Doomsday Survey it may be inferred that many of the residents were of Saxon origin, and men, too, of position and influence, or their names would not have been recorded.

Something might be said regarding slavery in the district at this period. It was the practice of the later Saxon conquerors to preserve all the captives taken in battle, and divide them among

the principal warriors. They were of course, slaves, subject to the caprice of their owner and transferable at his pleasure. Many of them were thus sold, and at Bristol a large commerce in British (Welsh) slaves was regularly carried on. But it is worthy of remark that very few slaves appear to have been retained in Gwent, although in Gloucestershire more than two thousand are enumerated in the Doomsday Book. They were all no doubt native Britons. On the other hand the Britons retained as slaves the Saxons captured in the frequent conflicts which took place between the two peoples: and we find that at a later period King William liberated over 300 when he passed through the district.

Though the death of Harold terminated the period of Saxon rule in England, the reign of the Welsh princes was not immediately affected thereby. Caradoc's power in Gwent continued, and Meredith still held sway in South Wales. The Norman Conquest, however, proved the basis of events so important that we cannot omit to notice them in some detail before we proceed further with the incidents relating particularly to Gwent. The present, therefore, will be a convenient point at which to close the second portion of this work.

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NEWPORT AND CAERLEON,

BY A

MEMBER OF THE CAERLEON AND MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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PART III.

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HISTORICAL

TRADITIONS AND FACTS

RELATING TO

NEWPORT AND CAERLEON.

PART III.

THE NORMAN PERIOD.

In the year 1066, William, Duke of Normandy invaded England and defeated Harold, who was slain at the battle of Hastings. The Saxon monarchy, which had lasted six centuries, thus came to an end, and William was crowned King of England.

With the death of Harold the prospects of the Saxons were almost annihilated. His sons were, however, men of courage, and they had many supporters, but William, after having once gained possession of the country, afforded little opportunity for the people to revolt, or to make demonstrations hostile to his interest. Even in Harold's Earldom there was no safety for Harold's family. While William pressed them from the East, the Welsh in the West would offer no asylum to the sons or friends of him who had so ruthlessly pursued them. There seemed, therefore, no alternative for Harold's sons and supporters but to retire from the kingdom and to await the course of events which they trusted would ultimately prove favourable to their cause.

Githa, Harold's mother, had retired to Exeter on her son's death, and had there collected the wreck of her treasures which she had devoted to the cause of that country for which her son had died. Githa still remained there when William laid seige to the city in the course of the year 1067. From Exeter, Githa together with her daughter, Gunhild, and her grand-daughter Githa,

and the wives of many good men, escaped to the Steep Holmes, in the Bristol Channel, and here in this dreary island they abode some time, afterwards going over sea to S. Olaves, probably for greater safety.

Godwine, Edmund, and Magnus, three of Harold's sons, found shelter in Ireland, with the same Prince who had previously sheltered their father, King Diomed, of Dublin. They raised and manned a fleet in the Danish towns on the East coast, and before the year was out appeared exactly as their father had done 16 years before, to attempt to win their way back to their native land by force. Their fleet is said to have consisted of 52 ships, manned no doubt partly by Danes, and partly by English exiles. They sailed up the Bristol Channel, and landed at several places. The love of plunder in the breasts of the Vikings could not be repressed, so after ravaging the coast far and wide, they sailed up to Bristol. This city they attacked but without result, and then departed down the Channel along the coast of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. In these repeated attacks, as might be expected, they lost many of their number, and the remainder ultimately sailed back to Ireland without having achieved any degree of success.

If the Anglo Saxon Chronicles are to be credited, Harold's sons and their friends made a second attempt to possess themselves of their father's dominions, viz, about Midsummer, 1069, when they sailed from Ireland with 64 ships, and landed in Devonshire. Here Brian, Count of Brittany, with a large army came upon them, and slew all their bravest men. The others escaped to their ships and Harold's sons soon went back to Ireland. Their prospect of success, which must have been small even under the most auspicious circumstances, now vanished for ever, and nothing more is recorded of their exploits.

This is the last reference needful to be made relative to Harold's connection with this locality. We turn now to trace the gradual progress of the Norman power, and the means whereby its ultimate success was achieved.

It is clear that for a year or two after the Conquest, King William failed to give much attention, and made little effort to effect the subjugation of Wales. Probably he was too much occupied with foreign affairs and the settlement of matters with the Anglo-Saxons to do this. In fact, his influence and power in this district was merely nominal. Thierry says: "Upon the coasts of the Bristol Channel, upon the territories adjoining the mountains (*i.e.* the district of Gwent) there were at this period neither military posts established by the Normans, nor strongholds built or possessed by them. The Conquest, if we may so express ourselves had not yet reached this point, its laws did not prevail there, its King was not acknowledged there any more than in the North from Boston Wash to the Tweed." King William could appoint earls and lords, but the Welsh respected them as little as did William himself the rights and titles of the native princes.

The earliest particulars we find of the King's arrangements in this district are that William Fitzosborne, a relative of the King, and who had actively assisted in the invasion, was created Earl of Hereford, and Governor of the Marches. He also bore the title of Lord of Gwent. This William Fitzosborne, in conjunction with Odo, brother of King William, and Bishop of Bayeux, was appointed (1067) one of the viceroys of the kingdom during William's temporary absence in Normandy. The King gave instructions that strong castles were to be built in suitable places, and it has been assumed that as a result of these instructions the castles of Chepstow and Monmouth were built. William Fitzosborne met with a violent death in Flanders in 1074, and the eldest of his sons, who bore the same name as himself, inherited his lands in Normandy; but Roger, the younger son, succeeded to the domains conquered in England, including the Earldom of Hereford.

This Roger, during William's absence in Normandy, joined in a conspiracy with other dissatisfied Norman barons and some Saxon nobles, to deprive King William of his crown. Roger

hastened to his Earldom to collect his friends, and engaged in his cause many of the Welsh, who joined him either for pay, or out of hatred to the Conqueror, who menaced their independence. As soon as Roger had assembled his forces he marched towards the east, where the other conspirators awaited him. Before he crossed the Severn, however, he found the King's troops ready to oppose him. His project failed, and he was excommunicated by the Primate Lanfranc, before King William's return, and ultimately taken prisoner. Brought before the King, he was condemned to lose his lands, and to pass his life in a fortress. The Welsh, taken with arms in their hands, had their eyes put out, their limbs mutilated, or were hung upon gibbets.

This Roger, it is supposed, added to Chepstow Castle. The "keep" only being probably erected by his father.

Upon the imprisonment of Roger Fitzosborne, Eudes, Bishop of Bayeux and brother of King William was made Earl of Hereford; but it is not clear whether he was Lord of Gwent also. Roger's estates were forfeited to the Crown, and remained so vested for some time, until conferred upon the family of De Clare.

It is probable that neither William Fitzosborne nor his son were necessitated to take very active measures to bring the district from which their title was obtained into subjection, as it had already virtually submitted to the Saxon Kings, and King William had but little difficulty in maintaining his authority therein. Beyond the Usk the task was different; so here was again renewed those sanguinary struggles which for previous ages had been incessantly carried on between the natives themselves, and the natives and their invading enemies.

The unsettled condition of Government, which necessarily existed under circumstances described, afforded another suitable opportunity for the Welsh to renew their raids, which they were not slow to do. William thereupon conceived a plan which both relieved him for a period of the neces-

sity of troubling further about Wales, and also enabled him to reward some of the noble Barons who had assisted to gain for him the crown of England. These Barons, having obtained the King's license, took possession of many places on the borders which the Saxons had conquered, built castles on them, and from these were encouraged by the King, at their own expense, to make incursions with their retainers into the lands of the Welsh. They were rewarded with the lands they thus gained, and also were created Peers by the title of Lords Baron, assuming the name of the places which they overran and took to their possession.

These Baronies or Lordships were about twenty-one in number, and stretched from Chester, on the Dee, to the sea coast of Monmouthshire. In aftertimes the Baronies became known as Lordship Marches, and the Barons were termed Lord Marchers. Among these Lordship Marches were Caerleon, Wentloog, Machen, Abergavenny, and Glamorgan, and of those named probably the two latter were the most important.

The barons soon began to exercise their power and to make their interference felt in a manner which rendered the invasion of the Normans wholly different from that of the Saxons. The conquests of the Saxons being made in the name and with the troops of the Sovereign, were annexed to the possessions, and subjected to the jurisdiction of the Crown; but the Norman barons held their lands from the Crown as feudal tenures only. The tenure of the Lords Marchers was also unlike the tenure of the English barons. The latter, held by charters granted in writing by the Sovereign, whereas the Lords Marchers having fought, and won on their own account, held in a sense by right of conquest, without charters, and with a greater measure of independence. Until the lands had been gained it was impossible for the King to grant a definite charter, and when the conquest had been made the baron preferred not to apply for one, which would only limit his own liberty of rule and further conquest.

The Barons having obtained their lands in the way indicated in our preceding remarks, sub-divided them amongst their knights and vassals, whom they bound to them by the same tenure, paying to their Chief in time of peace or war the same species of service which they, the Barons, rendered to their sovereign. These divisions were what are now known as manors, respecting which we shall have more to say anon.

Power acquired on the principles described could only be retained by force, therefore the Knights strengthened the castles in their possession, and on every piece of freshly acquired territory they erected others, making these the base of still further operations, until they gradually occupied the whole country. Hence arose the numerous castles and Lordships with which Wales, and especially this district, abounded; Monmouthshire alone contained at least 25. The Knights and Barons became despots in their respective demesnes; awed the Crown when worn by weak Princes, and arrogated to themselves an almost independent sovereignty. The lands, says Enderbie, being holden per Baroniam, with full power to administer justice to all tenants, were vested with divers privileges, franchises, and immunities, so that the writs of the ordinary Justices of the King's Courts were not current among them, but in strife between Barons Marchers concerning their territories or confines, they had recourse to the King, their supreme lord, for want of a superior, and justice was administered to them in the supreme courts of the realm. The result of this being that in towns like Caerleon and Newport, and in fact the whole district of the Marches, there was really no law save the will of the Norman lord, and no court of judicature save that held in his castle, and in which he or his officers presided, and the decisions of which were carried into effect by his own subordinates. But when the Barons themselves quarrelled, the difference between them was submitted to the judgment of the King.

The subjugation of Wales to the Norman rule was not accomplished without the lapse of time. Still when we find that what the Saxons failed to complete in six or seven centuries the Normans brought about in a few years, the period must necessarily be regarded as very brief. Shrewsbury witnessed the erection in its vicinity of the first Norman citadel, and from this spot the conquest proceeded northward to Chester, neither the obstruction of Offa's Dyke, nor the efforts of Eric the Forester, being sufficient to prevent the country from being overrun. Meanwhile the native princes of Gwent and South Wales maintained their ancient titles, dignity, and power.

With the proximity of so powerful an enemy as the Norman Barons, it seems strange that the petty divisions and jealousies of the British Princes were not healed, and common cause made among them; but their antipathy to each other could not be restrained, and the result was that they were rendered weak and unable to withstand the aggressive encroachments which the Normans were continually making.

There was even a worse feature in the character and conduct of these Princes. So far did their feelings carry them that they seem to have been willing to sacrifice their own interest and that of their country in order to gratify their jealousy of or to humble a rival. Such an instance is presented in the case of Caradoc ap Gryffydd. It will be remembered that Caradoc assisted Harold when the latter overran Wales and dealt out to the too independent natives such a severe measure of punishment. In return, Caradoc looked for Harold's aid in supporting his claim to the throne of South Wales. Harold, however, for reasons before stated, set up Meredydd as King in South Wales, and banished Caradoc from the country. Caradoc speedily returned to Gwent and revenged himself upon Harold by the destruction of his house and the slaughter of his servants, at Portskewitt; and now that the Saxons and Normans were fully occupied in the new condition of things

which had arisen by the Conquest, Caradoc took the opportunity to re-kindle the feud which existed between him and Meredydd. To strengthen himself and more fully to ensure the object he had in view, he sought for allies, and successfully made overtures in the first place to his neighbour, Iestyn ap Gwrgan, who succeeded to the Throne of Glamorgan about 1043. Iestyn is described as a person of most intractable and turbulent disposition, and being doubtless pleased to share in the adventurous undertaking with so courageous a Prince as Caradoc, readily acceded to his proposals, and joined his forces to those which Caradoc had himself industriously raised in Gwent. In addition to these Caradoc had invited to join him William Fitzosborne (Earl of Hereford and Lord of Gwent), with a host of Normans. That the request was readily granted cannot be doubted, as the Normans, having in view the one great object of bringing the district into subjection, saw in the proposal a means of furthering the end they desired. Against the combination of forces which Caradoc succeeded in collecting, Meredith could not stand; yet, eager for the fray, he advanced towards Caradoc's territory in order to give him battle. The conflict took place upon the banks of the river Rhymney, either at Roath, or as other writers say, at Michaelstone-y-Vedw. The result is not so doubtful as the exact spot where it was determined, as it is agreed that Meredydd was far too weak to encounter the army brought against him; that his forces were therefore speedily overthrown, and Meredydd himself slain. By this event Caradoc obtained the government of South Wales, a prize which, for a long time, he had zealously striven to acquire. His enjoyment of the prize was not long, and the further incidents preserved of his life are few. He is mentioned in *Liber Llandavensis* as being present at the consecration of the church of the castle of Monmouth, by Bishop Herwald, and in the same work a curious story is related of him to the following effect: "In 1069 he sent some of his household to a place in the neighbourhood of Monmouth called

Llanmocha, where the Bishop seems to have resided. Having partaken of a banquet, the party forcibly remained all night, overpowered and intoxicated with much liquor. This was considered a great outrage, and the Bishop sent his messengers to Caradoc, requiring compensation from both him and his servants with respect to the injury that had been done. Caradoc sought pardon, and penance being enjoined to him and to his servants suitable to the crime committed, he gave to the Bishops of Llandaff the village of Tref Rita, in Edelygion, by Merthir Tecmed, with all its liberty in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, and with all commonage to be given to the inhabitants. Among the witnesses to the grant are Benedict, priest of Bassalleg, and several priests of St. Cadoc, by which probably Caerleon is intended. Tref Rita is supposed to be a place adjoining Llandegveth (Merthir Tecmed), Edelygion being the ancient name of a district in the south-west of Monmouthshire, comprising part of the hundreds of Usk and Wentloog.

The death of Caradoc is recorded as having taken place in 1069 or 1070. In the Kingdom of South Wales he was succeeded by his son, Rhydderch; but Caerleon fell to the possession of Owen ap Caradoc, who held it for some years. During this period many changes took place in South Wales. In 1074 Rhydderch ap Caradoc was murdered, when Rhys ap Owen succeeded him. Rhys seems to have been associated with Rhydderch in the government, under an agreement that the right of natural inheritance should rest in the descendants of Rhydderch ap Caradoc, but on Rhydderch's death Rhys ruled for a time alone. Old quarrels, however, arose between the North and the South. Caradoc ap Gryffydd of North Wales regarded the somewhat distracted of South Wales as favourable to his design of conquest, and accordingly invaded that country. Rhys, after being driven from place to place, was at length captured, and, with his brother Howell, were put to death near Llantwit Major. This line of princes was thus terminated, the next sovereign of South Wales being Rhys ap Tewdwr, a great grandson of Owen ap Howell Dda.

PILGRIMAGE OF KING WILLIAM TO ST. DAVID'S—THE SLAVE TRADE BETWEEN BRISTOL AND IRELAND—DOMESDAY SURVEY.

While the changes indicated in the last chapter were occurring, King William was too much engaged to give attention to the affairs of Wales, but at length, about 1081, which was the fifteenth year of his reign, and after he had finished a campaign in Scotland, he marched his army into Wales to punish the people for some incursions they had made into the English territory. The native Princes found themselves in no position to resist the powerful Norman force, and, reluctantly submitting, rendered homage to King William. Lord Lyttleton denies the statement of some previous writers that King William exacted tribute as from a conquered country, contending that the feudal laws regarded all as subjects who were admitted to homage, and of course exempting them from such impositions. The peaceful demeanour of the people induced King William, agreeably to that spirit of piety which in those days tinctured the minds of the fiercest warriors, to make a pilgrimage to St. David's and there offer up his devotions at the shrine of that saint.

An important act, attributed to King William on this occasion, and one very honourable to him, is that while upon his journey he issued an order liberating three hundred Saxons who had been enslaved by the Welsh. He subsequently published an edict putting an end to the slave trade which had till then been carried on at Bristol.

Slavery at this period seems to have been an established traffic. Not only did the Welsh enslave the Saxons who came within their grasp, but the Britons had been continually sold into slavery by the Saxons. From the district of Gwent they were conveyed to Bristol, the chief emporium of the traffic, and from thence exported to Ireland.

Henry of Huntingdon gives the following account of this state of things:—There is a seaport town called Bristol, opposite to Ireland, into

which its inhabitants make frequent voyages on account of trade. Wulfstan cured the people of this town of a most odious and inveterate custom which they derived from their ancestors of bringing men and women *from all parts of England* and exporting them to Ireland for the sake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price. You might have seen with sorrow long ranks of persons of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, tied together with ropes and daily exposed for sale: nor were these men ashamed, O horrid wickedness! to give up their nearest relations, nay, their own children, to slavery. Wulfstan, knowing the obstinacy of these people, sometimes stayed two months among them, preaching on the Lord's day, by which, in process of time, he had made so great an impression upon their minds that they abandoned that wicked trade and set an example to all the rest of England to do the same.

Next to the Conquest itself, the great work by which William's name has been perpetuated, is that known as the Domesday Survey, of the contents of which, relating to this district, it now becomes necessary to give some particulars.

The first suggestion with regard to this book seems to have been made to the Witan (Great Council) when the King was at Gloucester, at midwinter, 1085. The old chronicles relate that England, being threatened with invasion from Denmark and Flanders, William prepared for defence by laying waste the sea shores and raising the largest army that had ever been seen on the island. He also sent his men all over England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hydes of land it contained, and what land the King had in it, with various other particulars, such as who held the land, how many hydes there were in each Manor, how many homagers or vassals, how many villains, how many coltars, how many serfs, what freemen, how many tenants by hereditary right, how much wood, meadow, and pasture, what mills and fish-ponds, what was the

gross value in King Edward's time, when granted by the Conqueror, the present value, and how much each freeman had.

The requisitions, it appears, was made by Commissioners upon the oath of the Sheriffs, the Lords of each Manor, the Presbyters of each Church, the Reeves of every Hundred, the Bailiffs and six villains of every village, the latter being most probably Saxon artizans.

We can easily imagine the meeting of this assembly at Caerleon. They would probably meet in a building not unlikely one of the structures still remaining from the time of Roman occupation. The proceedings would excite no little interest, and were conducted, probably, with some degree of caution. Here at Caerleon, the Commissioners found the limit of their mission; beyond the Usk the King's authority was neither acknowledged nor enforced, and however much desired, it would have been unsafe to have carried further their inquisitorial proceedings. They therefore, probably amid the contempt of the Saxons and the suspicion of the native British obtained all the information they were able in the fulfilment of the task imposed upon them, and returned the same to the King.

That information forms a portion of the Domesday Record, and though eight centuries have elapsed since its compilation, is as accessible for reference at the present time as on the day when first completed. It affords interesting testimony of the then condition of things, and shows conclusively how sharply the line of demarcation was drawn in this district, between the native inhabitants on the one hand, and the invading hostile Normans on the other.

Monmouthshire, being a modern designation of the district, the county having been created by statute of Henry VIII., is of course not mentioned in the "Survey;" but under the head of Gloucestershire, on page 162, the account commences with particulars which relate to the land lying on the borders of the Severn, between the rivers Wye and the Usk. Striguil, Portakewitt

Llanvair, Dinan, Caldicot, Caerwent, and Caerleon are mentioned, and other places in their vicinity indefinitely referred to. Newport is not named in any way, and in one case only is there an allusion to any possessions on the west side of the Usk. Under Herefordshire, Caerleon is again mentioned.

The King's name was placed at the head, with a list of his lands and revenues in the county; then followed the names of the chiefs and the lesser proprietors, in the order of their military rank and territorial wealth. The Saxons, who had been spared by special grace in the great spoliation, figured only in the last ranks, for the few men of that race who remained free proprietors or tenants *en chef du roi*, as the conquerors expressed it, possessed only small estates. They were entered at the end of each chapter under the name of Thanes of the King. Although allowed to hold their lands, it was only by making a bargain with the Norman lord, and no English had any right of succession.

King William asserted himself proprietor, by inheritance, of all that Edward, the last King but one of the Anglo-Saxons, Harold the last King, and the whole family of Harold had possessed. The King's lands enumerated are therefore almost uniformly those which Edward, Harold, Earl Godwin, Ghida, the mother of Harold, &c, had held before the Conquest, while the lands of the Saxon nobles appear to have been doled out to the officers of the conquering army as already described.

A little reflection will show how King William came into possession of land in this district. When Harold, assisted by Caradog ap Gryffyd, defeated Gruffydd ap Llewellin, and regained the territory which Gruffydd ap Llewellin had taken from Gruffydd ap Rhydderch, the father of Caradog, he failed to restore it to Caradog, but annexed it to his own West Saxon Earldom. When Harold became King he did not appoint a new Earl, but retained the lands in his own care; consequently, at Harold's death, his possessions fell into the hands of King William. They were granted to

William Fitzosborne on his being made Earl of Hereford and Lord of Gwent; and confiscated by the King when Roger, the second Earl, broke into revolt during William's absence in Normandy.

No less than 64 vills are enumerated as being in the hands of the Kings's bailiffs, including four which are said to have been "wasted by King Caradeuch." From the names of the bailiffs, Mr Wakeman supposed that they were all Saxons. Of the vills enumerated very few have names given to them, from which it has been conjectured that they were of recent acquisition. The Normans were puzzled with the Welsh appellations, which they could neither pronounce nor understand; and therefore made no attempt to write them. Such names as Caldicott presented no orthographical difficulty.

In private hands were Llanfihangel, Dewston, Caerwent, Caldicott, Striguil, Monmouth, and Welsh Bicknor, with some others not named.

The town of Caerleon paid a rent of £7 10s, which in all probability was the same as had been paid to the Saxon King. There is no proof that all these vills or manors had been in the possession of the Saxons, but some of them certainly had. Up to this period the only acquisition of territory in this district by the Normans appear to be seven vills or manors of which it is said these were added to the customary payment of King Griffin by Earl William (Fitzosborne) with the consent of King William. This customary payment of King Griffin or Gryffydd, who, as we have seen, died before the Norman Conquest, Mr Wakeman thought could have been none other than the £7 10s payable from the revenues of Caerleon, and the seven vills may probably have been received from his son Caradoc by Fitzosborne, as the consideration for the assistance afforded by the Normans to the former in recovering the Principality of South Wales in 1069, in conjunction with Iestyn against Meredith.

A fac-simile of that portion of the Doomsday Book which relates to this district would be of considerable interest and also an object of curiosity, but many difficulties render its publication impra-

ticable. It is written in Old English black letter, many of the capitals being marked in red, and important words scored through with the same colour. There are too, many abbreviations and peculiar signs which render it unintelligible to the general reader. Even the version which has been published in Roman type requires much explanation before it can be understood, as will be seen from the following lines, which we render minus some of the signs peculiar to this and other very ancient documents :—

¶ Int' redditionē de carleion . & I . carucā quæ ibi . ē & VII . pif
carias in Waie & Hufcha :' exeunt . VII . lib & X . folid.
In *WALES* sunt . III . Harduices . Lamecare & potefchiuet & Dinan.
In his funt . VIII . car . & XI . uilli dimidij . & XV . bord . cū . VI . car.
p his . III .harduicis :' uoleb habere . C . folid Rog de jurei.

A translation of the principal entries relating to this district is annexed, with explanatory notes :—

Earl William(1) built the castle of Estrighoiel (2), and in his time it only rendered forty shillings(3) for ships(4) going into the wood. But in the time of Earl Roger(5), his son, the same vill rendered

(1) Earl William mentioned here was probably William Fitzosbern, Earl of Hereford, and first Lord of Gwent.

(2) Castellum de Estrighoiel is supposed to mean either Chepstow or a smaller castle situate on the brow of the Forest of Wentwood, four miles distant.

(3) The shilling of Domesday Book was not a coin, but simply money of account. It was reckoned, as now, equal to twelve pence, but is estimated at about thirty times its present value.

(4) The mention of ships convinced Mr Coxe that Chepstow Castle was intended. It is, however, difficult at present to judge accurately, as great changes have taken place during the last eight centuries in the conformation of the coast line.

(5) Roger, the son of William Fitzosborne, was the second Earl of Hereford.

sixteen pounds, and Ralph de Limesei(6) had one-half. Now the King receives twelve pounds from it.

Between the surrender of Caerleon, and one plough(7) which is there, and seven fisheries in the Wye and the Usk, the issues are seven pounds and ten shillings. In Wales(8) are three hardvices(9) Lamecare(10), and Poteschivet(11), and Dinan(12). In these there are eight ploughs and eleven half villeins(13), and fifteen boors(14) with six ploughs. For these three hardvices, Roger de Ivrei(15) wished to have one hundred shillings.

(6) Ralph de Limesi is said to have been the son of the sister of King William.

(7) Carucata is interpreted the plough land. This was as much arable as could be managed with one plough and the beasts belonging thereto in a year, having meadow, pasture, and houses for the householders and cattle belonging to it. It varied, according to the soil and the custom of husbandry in every county, from 100 to 300 acres.

(8) All land west of the River Wye was evidently considered at this period to belong to Wales.

(9) Hardvices were villages belonging to herdmen.

(10) Lamecare is supposed by some writers to be Llanvair. The late Mr Wakeman was of opinion that Llanwern was intended.

(11) Portskewett.

(12) Sir Henry Ellis, in his Notes on Domesday Book, says the place is not known, but there can be no doubt of its being in the Forest of Wentwood.

(13) Villa was a term used for a manor or lordship, "two or more of which," says Nicholls, "were usually united to form a villata. When thus joined together each was called dimidia villatæ."

(14) Bord was a cottage, and Bordarii were probably persons who had a bord, or cottage, with a small parcel of land allowed to them, on condition that they should supply the lord with poultry and eggs and other small provisions for his *board* and entertainment. Their condition was probably different on different manors. On the demesne appertaining to the Castle of Ewias were twelve Bordarii "opantes una die ebdomad."

(15) Roger de Iveri was cupbearer to King William. He was banished for treason by King William Rufus and died 1088. His estates were forfeited to the Crown, but restored to his younger brother, Geoffrey.

Under Waswic(16) the Reve, there are thirteen vills; under Elmui, fourteen vills; under Bleio, there are thirteen vills; under Idhel, there are fourteen vills. These render forty-seven sextaries(17) of honey and forty swine, and forty-one cows, and twenty-eight shillings for hawks(18). All this was worth nine pounds and ten shillings and four-pence. For a waste land(19), Walter the Arblaster(20) renders a sectary of honey and a hog.

Berdic, the King's Minstrel(21), has three vills, and there are five ploughs, rendering nothing; Morin one vill, Chenesis one, Fitz Waswic one, Sessibert one, Abraham the Priest two vills. These have six ploughs and render nothing. Earl William has sent these to the custom of King Griffin, by license of King William.

Under the same prepositus are four vills wasted by King Caradog.

In the gift of the King(22) is one vill, which for

(16) Waswic, and the persons whose names follow, were prepositi, *i.e.*, reeves, bailiffs, or stewards of manors, whose business it was to collect the rents, to levy distresses, to prevent trespasses, and to keep the peace, &c.

(17) The sextarium was a measure of uncertain quantity according to the custom of the locality.

(18) This passage is quoted by Sir Henry Ellis in his illustrations from Domesday Book of ancient manners and customs.

(19) This term "Waste" occurs frequently in the Survey, but more particularly in places where the conflict of armies had been recent. As will be seen below, four villæ are distinctly stated to have been wasted or devastated by King Caradog. Their exact locality is not known, but they were probably Harold's property in the neighbourhood of Portskewitt.

(20) Sometimes given as arbalistarii, an office not explained.

(21) In the original the words are Regis joculator—the King's jester or fool. No information is afforded respecting the other names mentioned in this paragraph.

(22) Ellis says this entry seems to imply that there were some privileges conceded which King William thought it prudent not to refuse. Mr E. A. Freeman regards it as a curious incident, and considers it to mean that an English priest builds a church by the King's leave, the King stipulating advantages to himself as the price of the permission. The particular church here referred to cannot be

his soul renders to the church on the feast of St. Martin two hogs and one hundred loaves of bread with ale; to St. Michael the issue of one plough of land, and to St. David one plough. These render nothing.

One Beluard of Caerwent has a half plough of land, and renders nothing.

Walter the Arblaster holds of the King, two ploughs of land, and the same has three ploughs, and three slaves, and three maids. The value is twenty shillings.

Roger de Berchlai holds two ploughs of land at Strigoielg, and he has six boars with one plough, value twenty shillings.

Durand the Sheriff(23) holds of the king in Caerwent one land called Caldicot. He has in demesne there three ploughs and fifteen half villains, and four slaves and one knight. All these have twelve ploughs. There is a mill worth ten shillings. The whole is worth £6.

Turstan the son of Rolf has between the Usk and the Wye 17 ploughs.

The same Turstan has six ploughs of land beyond the Usk (*ultra Huscham*). There he has four ploughs and a mill, rendering fifteen shillings, and half a fishery of ten shillings; total value, fifty-three shillings and sixpence.

In addition to the entries already quoted from Domesday Book, under the heading Gloucestershire, there are several under Herefordshire, which refer to Caerleon and the north-eastern part of the district of Gwent. Caerleon is mentioned among the lands possessed by William de Scohies, one of great Norman chieftains who appear to have been nominated by the crown or to have assumed nominal possession of the lordship. The land is described as Castellaria de Carlion, and eight carucates spoken of as being within its precincts, are set down as hav-

ascertained, as there are several Llanfihangels and Michaelstones. It may have been Llantarnam, and almost certainly was adjacent to Caerleon.

(23) The office of Sheriff did not exist in early times in Wales, its functions being virtually performed by the native Princes until the time of the Union.

ing been waste lands in the time of Edward the Confessor. Although William de Scohies is thus indicated as being the owner of Caerleon it is very doubtful whether he occupied the castle or had been able to dispossess its native and probably rightful owner, who from other sources of information we find to have been Owen ap Caradoc. Still, in the Domesday Records no English or Welsh lord is mentioned or acknowledged.

One entry shows that in Caerleon there were three Welshmen with three carucates of land, living under Welsh law. "III Walenses lege Walensi vivantes."

The castelry of Ewias is recorded to have been held of King William by Aluredus de Merleberge.

Under Arcenfelde are several curious entries which are worth quoting. Referring to six hides of land, it is said one of these was according to Welsh custom, and the others English, showing that there was a distinction between the two. What the distinction was, or the exact extent of a hide of land, is unknown. Another entry has reference to three churches in the district. When the survey was ordered no injunction was given to make a return of churches, and mention of them therefore is very irregular. The entry is as follows :

In Ircingfeld King Edward has three churches, the priests of which are his ambassadors for Wales, and each sings the masses weekly for the soul of the King. When one of these priests dies the King receives 20s. If a Welshman shall steal a man or woman, horse or cow, on conviction he shall restore what he has stolen, and make satisfaction for the theft by the payment of 20s, but if it be a sheep that has been stolen the fine shall be 2s. If a Welshman shall slay a bondman, the master shall receive 10s. If a Welshman shall slay a Welshman, the relations of the slain man shall assemble, and shall spoil the property and burn the houses of him who has slain him, and of his relations, till about the following noon, when they shall bury the body, and the King has one-third of the spoil and they the remainder. If any man burn a house he must find 40 compurgators to

clear him, and if he cannot, must pay 20s to the King. All the sheep yeaned, and all the honey found in Ircingfelde belonged to King Edward. The concealment was therefore punished by a fine. They who were summoned to a shiremote, and did not go, paid 2s or an ox to the King; and lastly, when the vice count went into Wales with the army the men of Ircingfelde must accompany him, being the avantwarde going, and the rerewarde returning. There is a further entry of one tract in Arcenefelde. It is said that in the time of King Edward, Gryffyd the King, and Bleddyn laid this land waste, and so the value of it is unknown,

The contrast shown in the survey between the condition of Gwent and the adjacent counties is in some respects very great, but not more perhaps than might have been expected between two nations whose people had for centuries been so antagonistic to each other. The total number of inhabitants enumerated in Gloucestershire, according to Mr Sharon Turner, is 8,365, which number Sir Henry Ellis increased by one. Of these, the former says 2,423 were slaves, but Sir Henry Ellis sets down only 2,044 as "servi," and 84 ancillæ (female slaves.) While so large a number as this is reckoned among the dwellers in Gloucestershire, it is certainly satisfactory to find that only ten are enumerated throughout the whole of this locality, Walter, the Arblaster, being credited as the possessor of three servi and three ancillæ, and Durand, the Sheriff, of three servi. Of course it must be understood that these servi and ancillæ were serfs or slaves belonging to the lord, and transferable at his pleasure, like other goods and chattels, from one owner to another. Of the higher class of serfs attached to the land and termed villains only ten are mentioned in the district of Monmouthshire, of whom three were possessed by some church and seven by Alured. Of half-villains there were twenty-six. Whether the term dimidii villain signified that the persons were half freemen and half slaves, or that they held moieties of villanage tenements is not certain. Of bordarii, who occupied small portions of land, 29.

Only one knight is alluded to, and his service was rendered to the Sheriff.

The difference recorded as to the revenue derived from the district is also striking. King William is said to have received £12 from the Castle of Striguil, whereas the payments had previously been £16, and 40s for ships going into the wood. Other vills as they came into Norman hands contributed to the Royal Exchequer of England. Caerleon paid £7 10s, and this seems to have been paid in Saxon times. Roger de Ivrei, for three vills, paid £5. On account of the land held by four of the King's baliffs £9 10s 4d was paid, beside 40 sextaries of honey, 40 swine, 41 cows, and 28s for hawks. Walter, the Arblaster, for a waste land, rendered only a hog and a measure of honey. The King's Jester had the benefit of three vills as a reward, probably, for the amusement he afforded to the the King, as he paid nothing. A summary of the land held by other Normans show its value to be about £40, a pretty sum if calculated according to the present value of money.

The statement we have made of some of the changes and effects produced by the Norman Conqueror will enable us now to resume our account of the Princes of Gwent, and show how the next step in the great Norman progress in Wales was brought about.

TEMP. WILLIAM RUFUS—FURTHER CHANGES IN SOUTH WALES—ATTACKS AGAINST RHYS AP TEWDWR—RHYS ATTACKS IESTYN AP GWRGAN—IESTYN SEEKS NORMAN AID—STORY OF EINION—FITZHAMON'S INVASION.

The previous chapters will have already indicated some of the great changes effected by and resulting from the Conquest, but other changes of great importance rapidly followed, of which we must now take some notice. In point of time we desire to fix attention upon the last decade of the 11th century. William Rufus was now occupying the throne of England, having succeeded thereto on the death of his father William, in 1087.

In Gwent, Owen ap Caradoc was still regarded as the representative of British Princes, although his authority and power had evidently been much diminished by the force of circumstances. In the eastern and northern districts, the Normans had filched and retained possession of considerable portions of territory, and by them he was regarded as lord of Caerleon only. That he held the town of Caerleon is certain, and probably also a limited district attached to it, as this appears to have been in the hands of his descendants down to the time of Henry III.

In Glamorgan, Iestyn ap Gwrgan still reigned, and the Kingdom of South Wales was governed by Rhys ap Twdwr, who, after some years of exile, had again returned and taken possession of the throne. His occupancy of the throne was, however, bitterly opposed, and resulted in a series of events which ultimately led to the Norman conquest of Glamorgan.

The central figure round which the opposing forces rallied was that of Gryffydd, son of Meredydd, the predecessor of Rhys ap Twdwr. With Gryffydd became associated Llewellin and Einon, sons of Cadivor, lord of Dimetiæ and Einon ap Collwyn, his brother. The forces of these several princes having united attacked Rhys with a view to dethrone him, but the attack proved most disastrous for them. A great battle took place at Llandydoch, where Gryffydd was taken and put to

death, his forces were dispersed, and the other leaders fled. Rhys seized their lands and thus became more powerful than before. He was now master of South Wales, Glamorgan excepted, and to this kingdom he next turned his attention.

The reasons assigned for the attack which Rhys made upon Glamorgan are various, and it is possible that each of those which we shall enumerate had some effect in determining Rhys in the course he pursued. The Princes of South Wales as we have before shown, frequently claimed to have jurisdiction over the kingdom of Glamorgan, and Rhys, now finding himself so powerful, might have thought it a convenient opportunity strongly to assert that right. There was a fact, too, which he could scarcely be expected to overlook. When Rhys had defeated the efforts of the combined princes in South Wales, Einion fled to Iestyn, and with him found shelter. Rhys might reasonably have feared another combination against him, and hence resolved, while he possessed the power, to do his best to frustrate such a circumstance by making an attack upon Iestyn, and enforcing a claim which might otherwise have been allowed to remain in abeyance. Whenever this claim had been previously made it had always been stoutly resented and resisted, and as Iestyn had fought against Meredydd and his son Gryffydd, so did he now prepare to oppose by force the pretensions of Rhys.

Other circumstances, too, are alleged to have existed tending to embitter the feeling between Rhys and Iestyn. One was of a personal nature, and sufficient to account for a display of the most bitter enmity. An eisteddfod was held at Neath about this time, and among those present were Rhys, and Iestyn and his wife Nest Rhys is said to have conceived an insatiable desire for the latter, and conducted himself in such a manner as to arouse the suspicions of Iestyn, who hastily withdrew from the gathering. Rees Meyrick, in his Morganiæ Archaiographia written 1578, says the war which subsequently took place sprang from this cause, and denies that it arose from any idea of reducing Iestyn to subjection.

In the Iolo M.SS. there is another event related

which may possibly have had some foundation in fact. It is said that when Rhys, after his exile, returned from Brittany to Wales, he brought with him the system of the Round Table. It had become forgotten, and he restored it as it is with regard to minstrels and bards, as it had been at Caerleon upon Usk, under the Emperor Arthur . . and it was placed under the protection of the church of Cattwg in the vale of Neath. Iestyn, the son of Gwrgan, under a claim that he was prince of the territory, namely, that of the church and parish of Cattwg in his dominion, and that the custody of the Roll belonged to him, took it with him to his new castle at Cardiff; and because the Court of Caerleon upon Usk, which was the Court of Arthur, was within his dominions, he asserted that his Court was that of Arthur continued down to his time; and so he took the Roll by fraud and by force to Cardiff Castle; and he suffered for that, for Rhys made a hostile expedition against Iestyn, and defeated him in the battle of Cadlas.

These statements seem to raise a question as to the extent of the kingdom of Glamorgan at this time, but it seems pretty clear that in the east it did not extend beyond the Usk, and in the west not further than Neath.

The exact position of Caerleon is difficult to define, for while on the one hand there is evidence that it was in the possession of Owen ap Caradoc, it is named in other records as the first of the four principal Royal Courts of the Kingdom of Glamorgan in Iestyn's time, the other three being respectively Cardiff (where Iestyn is said to have built a new castle), Boverton, and Dunraven.

Whatever was the cause of the quarrel between Rhys ap Tewdwr and Iestyn ap Gwrgan is of comparatively little consequence, as it is the result that we have chiefly to do with. The assistance which Iestyn received from the Normans in his contest with Meredydd was so far satisfactory to him that he resolved to repeat his former tactics against Rhys. He took Eineon to his counsel and seems to have used him as the instrument for conducting the negotiations necessary to

carry out his design to crush Rhys. Eineon was deputed to go to William Rufus and seek his aid, or, at all events, the aid of some of the Norman barons who were hovering about the district and ready to join in any expeditionary undertaking. Eineon went upon his errand, incited, it is said, by the promise of Iestyn that he would give him his daughter in marriage. He was successful in enlisting the Normans in his cause, and returned to Glamorgan with a host of mercenaries, under the command of Robert Fitzhamon, one of the barons whom William Rufus had promoted to high honour. Thus far the statement has been generally accepted as an historical fact, but in the present day—whether from a prevalence of scepticism, or a desire to be scientifically accurate—previously admitted facts are questioned and new theories advanced. It is so in the case under notice, and so plausible is the theory advanced by Mr. G. T. Clarke that we are not inclined to dispute the matter with him. He contends that Fitzhamon's invasion was not really due to any local quarrel, but was part of a settled policy for completing the English conquest, and which, if not undertaken by Fitzhamon, would have been carried out by Rufus in person, or by some of the adventurers who, about the same time, were taking possession of Monmouth and Brecknock and the whole of South Wales. Indeed, Rufus, he states, awaited the result of Fitzhamon's expedition at Alveston, between Bristol and Gloucester, and, it is supposed, was only prevented by illness from bearing a share in it.

Fitzhamon was accompanied by twelve knights, and his force comprised a large army of horse and foot. They seem to have been conveyed into Glamorgan by water, by which it may be inferred that the Princes and people of Gwent held aloof from the affair, and were neither desirous to assist Iestyn nor favourable to the interference of their Norman foes.

No long period elapsed before the hostile forces of Rhys and Iestyn came into collision, but as with many similar circumstances, the exact date and place are rendered uncertain by the different state-

ments of various writers. Florence of Worcester says the battle took place near Brecknock Castle, in Easter week 1093. Warrington gives the date as 1091, and describes the battle field as in the Black Mountains, near Brecknock. Williams, in his History of Monmouthshire, states that Iestyn and his followers met Rhys on Hirwaen Wrgan (Gwrgan's Long Plain) in Glamorgan, and also near Brecknock, and after a long contest Rhys was vanquished, and he was obliged to flee, but he was pursued and soon taken, and beheaded not far from Gwrgan's Long Plain, at a place now called Pen Rhys (*i.e.*, the head of Rhys), where afterwards was erected the great monastery of that name in the parish of Ystrad Dyfodwg.

Donovan (a later writer) in his "Tour," says Rhys fell at the fatal battle of Rhymney. The authority, however on which he so distinctly names the place is not stated.

The result there can be no doubt was the speedy overthrow of Rhys, and wherever or whenever the fatal battle occurred, it was one regarded as of the greatest significance, and Fitzhamon, as the victor, assumed the proud title of Conqueror of Wales. Rhys had attained the patriarchal age of 90 years, and was a grand old king of whom the Welsh have always been proud. "With his death," says Yorke, "sunk the sun of Wales and all its glories."

The overthrow of Rhys ap Tewdwr having been accomplished, the Normans ravaged his territories to Iestyn's content, and were apparently well rewarded with the spoils they obtained. As they had come by sea, so they now prepared to return home again, and for this purpose retired to their ships at Penarth, when circumstances transpired which, though trivial in themselves, were pregnant with most important consequences. Powell records that Eineon, who had been, as stated, promised the daughter of Iestyn, lost no time in seeking the fulfilment of the conditions of the bargain, by which he hoped to benefit, but Iestyn was not so ready to grant the favour, and appeared desirous to overreach his nephew. He not only ultimately refused to give his daughter to Eineon, but couched

his refusal in terms which fired all his evil passions. Eineon thereupon hastened to the sea shore, and found that his auxiliaries had just pushed their long vessels out into the deep water. By waving his cloak he attracted their attention, and having induced Fitzhamon to again come on shore, Eineon represented to him the ease with which Morganwg might be conquered, how desirable it was, and how all his love for his country was turned to bitter hate by the insulting treatment he had received at the hands of Iestyn. Fitzhamon undertook what the traitor suggested, and entered upon a new campaign. A battle was fought with Iestyn's forces at the Great Heath near Cardiff, Fitzhamon proving the conqueror of him whom before he had served as a mercenary. It is said that Fitzhamon, in his arrangements for the battle, took the precaution of placing the natives under Eineon in the front ranks, and thereby considerably weakened them while reserving his own men. Iestyn escaped from the country and found refuge in Bristol, and according to some accounts died at Keynsham Abbey, which he had endowed with lands and property in Gwentloog. In other accounts he is represented to have returned to Gwentloog and passed his last days in the monastery of Llangennys. His age was 126 years.

M. Thierry gives a different version of Fitzhamon's adventure, and represents him, after the defeat of Rhys ap Tewdwr, as returning to his Earldom at Gloucester, and there reflecting upon the terrible effect of his steel-clad knights upon the slightly armed natives with whom they had been in conflict. He was then inspired with the idea of conquering Morganwg, and set out upon the enterprise without the invitation or interposition of Eineon.

With the conquest of Fitzhamon the kingdom of Morganwg, which, under varying conditions, had been for many ages a separate kingdom or principality, ceased to exist. Gryffydd, the son Iestyn, was forbidden to bear the title of king or prince, and was styled lord only; and the whole district was divided up among Fitzhamon and the

nobles who had aided him in the conquest. The names of these warriors—the descendants of some of whom still exist—were William de Londres, Richard Grenville, Robert St. Quintin, Richard Siward, Gilbert Humphreville, Roger Berclos, Reginald Sully, Peter Le Soor, William de Esterling, John Fleming, Payne Turbeville, and Oliver St. John.

The lands with which Fitzhamon rewarded these knights were situated in what is now Glamorgan, the level district between the Taff and the Usk being chiefly reserved for himself, including the site of the town and castle of Newport and the town and castle of Cardiff. Rogerstone, near Newport, with St Donats, near Cardiff, was awarded to De Esterling, who may be recognized as the ancestor of the Stradling family.

Fitzhamon is said to have displayed a degree of generosity also towards some of the native chieftains and leaders who had rendered him assistance. Thus one Rotpert ap Seisyllt received the lordship of Maes Esyllt, which was probably the district in which Beuper Castle, near Cardiff, now stands; and Eineon is said to have received for his perfidy the hilly tract of country extending from Castel Coch to the Brecon mountains, and known as Senghenydd. If the latter be correct, it gives some ground in support of the allegation made so much to Eineon's discredit.

Of other grants in Monmouthshire we find no trace. The fact, we presume being that the whole of Gwent as far west as the Usk was already under the control of the king, and held by his tenants, as would appear from Domesday records. Fitzhamon therefore would presume to interfere with those lands only which for the first time he had brought immediate into subjection. The next step towards the subjugation of the country was the formation of the castle of Cardiff, by which the dominion of the king was transferred, and advanced from the banks of the Usk to the Taff. But even this was comparatively the beginning of that wide occupation of South Wales, which went on only still more vigorously in the next reign.

The knights to whom Fitzhamon had given the districts around were soon inspired by him to put into operation the Norman laws in the courts of the several lordships, the old and lawful lords being deposed and thrust aside. But strong as was the Norman baron's arm, the spirit of the Welsh refused in many instances to bend to the foreign laws, even though their land had been taken from them, and they were allowed to hold and cultivate it only on condition of doing homage to the pillager. They claimed to be governed according to the laws and customs of their own prince Howell Dda, and in consequence there were continual and serious commotions. In some cases the barons deemed it prudent to make concessions, but when they thought it safe to refuse they did so. These compromises thus effected gave rise to some unavoidable confusion, and the perpetration of customs which have not yet wholly become extinct. In Domesday Book it is stated that three tenants in Caerleon were living by Welsh law, and similar records are preserved in reference to other places. It was this practice that gave rise to such distinctions as Coity Anglicana and Coity Wallicana, English Dowlais and Welsh Dowlais, and other like designations.

One remarkable instance of the tenacity of the people of this district for their ancient laws is set forth in the pages of some of the old writers. One account is given in the Book of Aberpergwm under date 1091 A.D. Powell says, the people of Gwentlloog and Glamorgan were so incensed by the attempted enforcement of the new laws that they broke into open revolt, and secured as a leader Payne Turberville, one of the twelve Knights that had accompanied Fitzhamon. The army, as it was termed, is said to have destroyed a castle of the Normans (though its locality is not stated), and then marched against Cardiff. Here they besieged Fitzhamon in his own castle and immediately began to demolish it. At this juncture Fitzhamon, seeing the greatness of the multitude, conceded the demands which the Welshmen made, and so the contest ended.

According to an account preserved in the Iolo

M.SS., the Welshmen took the opportunity of making their demands at a time when Henry I. happened to be at Cardiff. It is also stated that the malcontents had the assistance of Caradoc, the son of Iestyn, the late King. When the castle had been surrounded the King is described as going to the top of the Raven Tower, enquiring what the tumult was all about, and seeing the place encompassed by fierce armed men calling for a parley. Payne Turbeville, acting as spokesman, told his Majesty the reason, and added that if the rightful orders were not made to restore the laws of Morgan the First, both he and Sir Robert would soon feel at the ears of what stuff the castle was made. It would seem that without more ado the request was granted. Such an event would seem to indicate that the grip of the Norman barons had, to some extent, become relaxed. Indeed the Welsh Chroniclers, who naturally represent events in a light favourable to their own countrymen, state that in 1094 the Normans were completely driven out of the country, but it is clear that Gwent is not to be included in this general statement.

It may seem strange that one of Fitzhamon's Knights, upon whom it is supposed he bestowed great privileges and power, should so soon rebel against him, but the following narration will throw some light upon the circumstances and bring them within the range of probability :—

At the division of the spoil after the winning of Glamorgan, Sir Payne de Turbeville asked what his share was to be. Fitzhamon answered, "Here are men, here are arms ; go, get it where you can." Turbeville, who seems to have had a foregone conclusion in his mind, at once sallied off with his force to Coity, and sent a message to the Welsh lord, Morgan, requiring him to give up the Castle. The Welshman, as philosophic as he was fearless, promptly appeared leading a very buxom damsel, his daughter Sarah, by the hand, and carrying a drawn sword in the other. Passing through the Norman camp he came to Turbeville, who was looking in great wonderment at this proceeding, and said, "If you will marry my daughter, and come like an honest man into my castle, I will

yield it quickly; but if not, let not the blood either of your men or mine be lost, but you and I in single combat decide who shall call the castle his own." Sir Payne, with true knightly courtesy, instantly drew his blade, and bowing low, presented the hilt to the father, while he took the daughter by the hand and embraced her. By the advice of Morgan he garrisoned the castle with Welsh soldiers, and stoutly refused to pay the noble claimed by Fitzhamon every year in recognition of his seniority, but instead sent it to Caradoc the son of Iestyn, the rightful heir.

The incident narrated in our last, in which the Welsh appeared to have gained a temporary advantage, was one of those events which might be expected to transpire where a brave people, although completely conquered, had not their characteristic spirit entirely crushed out of them. It no doubt led the Normans to reflect upon the insecurity of their position, and to take measures to prevent a repetition of such patriotic outbreaks, and accordingly evidence is clear that renewed efforts were made to effect a more complete subjugation. Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Breconshire, and Herefordshire were simultaneously over-run and spoiled, some districts being, it is stated, "left without any inhabitants," so great was the slaughter. Stout resistance was again offered by the men of Gwentlwg, who were joined by those of Glamorgan. Gruffydd and Caradoc, sons of Llewellyn Bren, lord of Senghenydd, are said to have been among the leaders. The Welsh and Norman forces came into conflict with each other at a place named Gelli Darfawg or Gelly Tarvawc, the result being that the Normans were put to flight. They, however, recovered themselves, and taking with them a large number of English, returned to the charge. The Cymry then pretended to retreat, and drew their pursuers into the mountains of Brecknock. Here, first making a stand, the Welsh then rushed upon their enemies and drove them to Gelligaer. The Normans were here once more reinforced, and a great battle with severe slaughter followed. The Welsh chronicles represent that many of the Norman barons were

killed and the soldiers fled to the castles which had been erected for their protection.

Conflicts such as we have mentioned were continually occurring, the result being generally a gain to the Norman adventurers. The King at length took the matter in hand. On his return from the continent in 1097, he was annoyed to find that so much trouble had been occasioned by the Welsh, and made extensive preparations to quickly reduce the country to peace and submission. He started with the avowal that he would exterminate the whole male population, but Florence of Worcester, says he was scarcely able to take or kill one of them. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles state that the King remained in Wales from Midsummer till near August. He experienced a great loss of men, horses, and other things, and then seeing he could not effect his object, "returned to England, and forthwith caused castles to be built on the Marches."

It was most probably at this juncture that by the efforts of the lords marchers many of the castles in Monmouthshire were erected, a wonderful series of fortresses which in their very desolation at this day attest the terribleness of the struggle which for 300 years was maintained between the Normans and the people of Gwent.

The miseries and state of desolation to which the people of the district were reduced at the end of the 11th century by the constant struggles, were increased by a serious loss occasioned by a tremendous inundation of the sea along the coast of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. One account says it occurred in 1095, and another in 1097. The sea coasts and banks of rivers were all overwhelmed, and many men, with numbers of cattle and large quantities of corn, were swept away.

DEATH OF FITZHAMON—MABEL INHERITS THE LORDSHIP OF GLAMORGAN—MABEL IS MARRIED TO ROBERT EARL OF GLOUCESTER—CONDITION OF CAERLEON—DEATH OF OWEN AP CARADOC—CAERLEON SEIZED BY ROBERT DE CHANDOS.

Gwent was not again troubled during the remaining portion of William's reign. He was killed in August, 1100, and succeeded by his younger brother Henry. This prince, although reigning for thirty-five years, was so much engaged in foreign affairs that he was enabled to spend only five uneasy summers within the realm of England. During these periods the affairs of this district seem to have occupied a fair share of his majesty's attention.

We now approach matters which may prove more interesting than any we have previously treated of, if for no other reason than that they are less remote, and their sequence more easily traced. Newport, too, of which so little has hitherto been said, will gradually emerge from the nebulous condition in which the place appears to have been existing for a couple of centuries.

In 1105, Fitzhamon, having been appointed general to the King's army, was called away from Cardiff Castle, where he had continued to reside, to take command of the siege of Caen, in Normandy, and there, September 28, 1106, he received a spear wound in the temple, which, in March of the following year terminated fatally. His remains were brought home and buried in the Abbey at Tewkesbury, where there still exist a monument and other memorials of him.

Fitzhamon died without male issue, but left four daughters co-heiresses. King Henry, it is said, was averse to seeing the honour of Gloucester, which Fitzhamon held, divided, and adopted such arbitrary measures as effectually prevented the execution of the testator's will. The daughters were thus disposed of: Hawise was made Abbess of Wilton; Cecilia, Abbess of Shaftesbury; Amicia was given in marriage to the Earl of Brittany; and Mabilia (Mabel or Maud), the eldest, was married to Robert, the King's natural son by

Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. The estates devolved upon Mabel, and on her marriage, fell into the hands of her husband.

Mabel, it is said, expressed some reluctance when this alliance was proposed by the King, alleging that as Robert had then no baronial title nor high military standing, such a union was neither agreeable to her taste nor suitable to the rank and possessions bequeathed to her by so many illustrious ancestors. The King removed these objections by creating his son Earl of Gloucester, and installing him in the various high offices connected therewith.

Robert, a monk of Gloucester (writing about 1280), represents the affair in the following shrewd dialogue. The King is supposed to have proposed as a State measure that Mabel should give her hand to his son, Robert, when Mabel answers him thus:

MABEL: Sir, she said, ich wote your herte upon me is
More for myne heritage, than for myselfe I wis
And suche heritage as ich have, it were to mee grit shame
To take a lorde but he haddé any surname.

KING HENRY: Damoseill, quod the Kinge, thou seest well in thys case.
Sir Robert Fitzhäyman thi faders namé was;
As fayre a name he shall have, as you may see,
Sir *Robert le Fitz-Roy* shall his name be
Yea, Damoseill, he sayd, thy lorde shall have a name
For him, and for his heires, fayre without blame:
For Robert, Earl of Gloucestre his name shall be, & 'tis
Hee shall be Earl of Gloucestre, and his heirés, I wis.

Mabel no longer hesitates, but in amiable simplicity answers:

MABEL: Inne this forme, quod shee, ich wole that all my thyng be hys.

From subsequent events it is pretty clear that among the estates held by Fitzhamon was the town and district of Newport, this property forming part of the possessions held by his daughter Mabel at the time of her marriage. Caerleon still remained in the hands of native princes.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who married Mabel, is said by Lord Lyttleton to have been unquestionably the wisest man of his day, and his virtues were such that even those times could not corrupt them. Having acquired the estates of his wife,

he is credited with taking steps to preserve them from the inroads of the hostile natives, and being aware of the important position of Newport, he set about building a castle. Such is the statement generally received, but which after all is nothing more than a bare suggestion, and is not supported by any sufficient authority to be received without question.

It is an unfortunate circumstance that the records of the district for the first century and a half after the Conquest are very scanty, being chiefly charters granted by the lords to their dependents or to the church, though usually attested by many witnesses.

Fitzhamon and his successors styled themselves in their charters Domini Morganiæ et Glamorganiæ, and retained this title even after the lands now in Monmouthshire had passed away into other hands for a time.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, died about the year 1148, leaving his son William to succeed to his honours and lands. But before proceeding further in this direction we must revert to the condition of Caerleon.

During the half century after the conquest Caerleon was more unsettled than most other places in the district, and in the struggles of the Normans to obtain possession of the city it is not unlikely to have been taken and retaken several times. Being the capital city, and a place so dear to the memory of all Welsh princes, from the fact that the ashes of so many of their ancestors reposed there, it must surely have been held with all the tenacity which characterised the early British race, and accordingly we find that while neighbouring towns submitted to the Norman power, and the remnants of government in them by British princes was swept away, there still lingered at Caerleon a shadow of the ancient regime. As to the events which transpired, very much might be reasonably surmised, but we are scarcely warranted in going beyond the facts which are recorded. The Norman accounts represent that when Domesday survey was made the castelry of Caerleon was in possession of Wm. De Scohies, but who he was or what became of him it is difficult to trace.

That he had been nominated to the lordship is apparent, but that he was in possession there is no evidence. If Caerleon was at any time in his hands, he must after a little while have either given it up or been expelled. It is not to be expected that he would do the former, and so we are led to the conclusion that possession of Caerleon must have been the object of some contest, for in 1113, Owen, who succeeded his father Caradoc in 1069 or 1070, is still found lord of Caerleon. William the Conqueror and William Rufus had passed away in his time, and both these sovereigns had expended much consideration and force to extinguish every spark of independence among the native Welsh people, but Owen, notwithstanding these efforts, still maintained a position of dignity and power at Caerleon. This was scarcely the result of opposition to the Norman rule, because it is clear that he had rendered continued allegiance to the English crown, and had so far ingratiated himself into the favour and confidence of the barons who held sway in this district, as to have been entrusted by them with the defence on their behalf of the King's castle at Carmarthen, against Gryffydd, the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr. It was in connection with this service that Owen met with a premature death. The circumstances appear to be these. After the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, his territories were seized upon by the Norman Barons, and divided among a large number of them. The claims of Gryffydd, the son, to any portion of them was totally disregarded. Gryffydd made an appeal to the King, but his appeals were treated with contempt. Instead, therefore, of meekly submitting to the indignity, he gathered a number of friends and took every opportunity to harass the Normans in the positions they held. Having captured several castles, and his forces gaining considerable strength, the Normans became alarmed, and entered into consultations with, and sought the assistance of all the native Princes whom they could rely upon as being the King's friends. The defence of Carmarthen Castle was organised, and Owen ap Caradoc undertook the command for the first fortnight, it being arranged that other com-

manders should by turn have a charge of equal duration. Gryffydd soon came before the castle, and having by means of spies ascertained the condition of the place, made preparations accordingly. Rushing suddenly into the town by night, he ordered his men to make a great shout, thereby to strike terror to those within. Owen, being surprised at such an unexpected uproar, made all possible haste to the place where he had heard the shouting, and, thinking that his men were at his heels, fell in among the enemy; but, having none to support him—his men being all fled—he was, after a manly defence, cut in pieces. Gryffydd thus obtained possession of the town, and destroyed the castle.

Owen ap Caradoc, therefore, died, not in defending his own patrimony, or in aiding the cause of his fellow-countrymen, but fell by their hands maintaining the cause of the Norman conquerors.

Owen ap Caradoc had three sons—Owen, Morgan, and Iorwerth—each of whom in turn, it seems, succeeded to the Lordship of Caerleon. In the "Lineage of Caerleon," preserved in the Iolo MSS. it is stated that Iorwerth became "the next Lord of Caerleon," but from the best accounts it would appear that Owen succeeded his father Owen. The younger Owen seems to have been designated Owen Wân, probably from some infirmity of body or mind, and could not have held the Lordship long, for just at this period Robert de Chandos, one of the Norman barons, swooped down upon Caerleon, carrying all before him. This Robert de Chandos was a personage, as Mr. Octavius Morgan well observes, who, like a passing meteor, suddenly appears upon the scene, and as quickly disappears. The history of his connexion with Gwent is involved in impenetrable mystery. He assumed to be Lord of Caerleon, and the fact of his having founded the Priory of Goldcliff, about 1113, is confirmatory that he held a portion at least of the Lordship, and was an individual of great influence. He died in 1120, and was buried in the Priory, at Goldcliff. He left three sons, but neither of them succeeded to Caerleon, nor is it conjectured that they ever

made any claim to it. On the contrary, however, the sons and descendants of Owen ap Caradoc are found to be lords of Caerleon for at least a century later. It is still strange that the sons of Owen appear to have confirmed the grants to the Priory of Goldcliff which Robert de Chandos had made. The solution of the difficulty is not clear, but it has been supposed that Robert de Chandos held the lordship under a grant from the Crown temporarily, during the minority of Owen Wân, or while he was incapable of exercising the functions of his position. It is natural to think that the sons of Robert de Chandos would undoubtedly have made an effort to have acquired the lordship if their father had been really possessed of it, but the records show that after his death Morgan, the brother of Owen Wân, became next lord.

Mr Wakeman, in corroboration of this, points out how improbable it would be that the King would allow the Barons to dispossess the heir of a tenant of the Crown who had so lately fallen fighting in its behalf. He further suggests that Robert de Chandos was only the owner of Goldcliff, which was a mesne fee, and did not have possession of the entire lordship. A difficulty here again arises, as it appears from Dugdale that he assigned to the monks the tithes of a mill, and an orchard at Caerleon, together with the Churches of St. Julius, St. Aaron, and St. Alban, and their appurtenances, and this statement, if correct, would certainly show that Robert de Chandos exercised all the power which could be vested in the rightful lord. Whatever were his powers, however, he soon went the way of all flesh, and the mist of more than seven centuries have rendered the outline of his deeds uncertain and apochryphal.

THE BRITISH CHURCH—ROME ACQUIRES JURISDICTION AT LLANDAFF—THE POWERS OF THE CHURCH EXERCISED TO RESTRAIN THE RAPACITY OF THE BARONS.

The British Church, which up to the latter part of the 18th century had maintained a position of independence to the see of Rome, became in time weakened by internal dissensions, and by degrees submitted to the imperious requirements of the authority it for a long time vigorously repudiated. In the early ages of Christianity a jealousy arose between the See of Llandaff and the metropolitical See of Caerleon, the superiority of the latter being generally acknowledged up to the time of St. Augustine. The removal of the See, however, from Caerleon to St. David's lessened the respect for the former place, and Llandaff, less disposed to admit the superiority of St. David's than it had been that of Caerleon, grew bolder in the maintenance of its dignity and asserted rights. The ill-feeling between the rival Sees grew increasingly bitter, and at last became so intense that the Bishops of Llandaff refused consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of St. Davids. Up to this time it can hardly be doubted that the Bishops in Wales had been all native Britons, and that the Archbishops of Caerleon, and subsequently of St. Davids, had exercised their archiepiscopal functions without the ornament of the pall, the mark of submission to the Pope. In 961, Bishop Pater, or Padarn, who had held the See of Llandaff for eighteen years, died, and his successor was appointed by Rhodri, son of Morgan Hen, contrary to the will of the Pope. This Bishop, however, having been poisoned, he was followed in the See by Gwgan, or Gucan, a Welsh priest, who submitted to be consecrated by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury. This act of Dunstan established a new jurisdiction in Llandaff, which was not however extended to other dioceses in Wales for more than a century afterwards, when going hand in hand with Norman rule, St David's, and other dioceses in turn, were brought under the sway of the authorities of Rome.

This circumstance was certainly not an unmitigated evil, even if it may not be regarded in some respects as a blessing. After a period of great prosperity, the efforts of the clergy in Wales became less vigorous, and while the country was convulsed with internal warfare, and overrun by the marauding parties of invading nations, its power for good was limited to the smallest degree. To the rapacity of the Norman adventurers neither the Church nor the people were able to oppose any effectual check, and every vestige of a separate nationality would, in all probability, have been swept away had it not been for the interposition of the representatives of the Romish Church. With all her faults, let us be just to Rome. At a period in the history of this district especially, when all laws human and divine were set at nought by the conquering forces and their leaders, when might alone enforced the desires of avarice, the Church stepped forward to stay the torrent of evil, and the powers of spiritual Rome were exerted on behalf of a suffering and despoiled people.

We have already narrated how the Norman barons, and the knights parcelled out the districts which they overrun, until scarcely a rood of ground had been left unclaimed by them. Whether it had been the property of a Welsh Prince or peasant, or was it possessions held by and for the benefit of the church all former circumstances were equally disregarded, and they held the land with an iron grip which neither prince nor people were able to loosen. A power more potent than this, however, was found in the influence of the church since it had come under the supervision and authority of Rome, and the beneficial way in which this was exercised we shall have occasion to set forth.

Ten years prior to the Conquest, Bishop Herwald was appointed to the See of Llandaff, and remained in that position during the lifetime of William the Conqueror and his successor. He lived until 1104, having occupied the see for a period of 48 years. His great age and natural infirmities were unfavourable to the exercise of those powers which

might have been a restraint to the injustice of the neighbouring barons, and the bishopric remaining vacant for four or five years after Herwald's death afforded a further opportunity for forwarding their nefarious policy. The condition of the diocese when Bishop Urban was promoted to the see in 1108 was very deplorable, but he at once set about doing his best to maintain the rights of the Church and to prevent further spoliation. He found that lands belonging to the Church had been filched by the barons on all hands, some of the greatest sinners in this respect being Robert de Chandos, who had taken Caerleon and Goldcliff; the Earl of Gloucester, and Walter Fitz-Richard de Clare, the baron who possessed Llanvair, Caerwent and other places. Urban remonstrated with these and other barons for their wickedness, and sought a return of the land, but without avail. He denounced them with no better success, and ultimately pronounced sentence of excommunication against the offenders by name, and sought the interposition of the Pope. His requisition to the Pope sets forth the ruined state of the diocese. It says that although Llandaff

"Had been the mistress of all other churches in Wales in dignity and every privilege, had been annihilated by the cruelty of the natives and the invasion of the Normans. Yet religious persons always remained in it to perform Divine service, but during the reign of William Rufus a great number of the clergy were destroyed, and of the twenty four canons whereby the church had been protected, but two remained therein, and in the possession of the church only four ploughlands and four oxgangs of land. The church not only had its territories taken from it, but had been also deprived of its tithes, and of the clergy of the Diocese, both by the robbery of the laity and of the monks, and by the invasion of the territory and Diocese by the Bishops of Hereford and of St David."

Pope Calixtus gave Urban all the assistance which his position of influence commanded. He sent a Bull to King Henry commanding him to assist Urban, and also to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring him to render justice to those who detained the property of the church at Llandaff, especially the Bishops of St David and Hereford. A special Bull was sent to Robert de

Chandos, of Goldcliff, Walter Fitzgilbert, and others, directing them to restore without delay all the lands and property which they had wickedly taken away and detained from the said Church. In his Bull to the Archbishop of Canterbury the Pope observes that the diocese of Llandaff "appears to have been reduced almost to nothing."

The efforts of Calixtus do not seem to have had any immediate effect, for we find that in 1128, nine years after the issue of the Bull of Calixtus, Pope Honorius II. addressed a Bull to the Monks, Chaplains, &c., of the Diocese of Llandaff upon the same subject. It is as follows:—

Honorius, Bishop, Servant of the servant of God, to our beloved sons, monks, chaplains, canons, Walter, son of Richard, Bryan son of Earl William, Payne son of John, Milo of Gloucester, Bertram son of William . . . Winebald de Badlou, Robert de Chandos, Richard the son of Puntius, Robert the son of Martin, Robert the son of Roger, Maurice the son of William de Londres, and other noble persons resident throughout the diocese of Llandaff, health and apostolical benediction. We are informed through means of report, that contrary to your honour, and the salvation of your souls, you have rashly dared to plunder your mother, the Church of Llandaff, and annihilate it. Wherefore, having compassion and paternal affection on your adverse conduct we by means of the present writing, do order and command that ye, without delay, restore whatsoever in tithes, lands, oblatures, sepultures, and other property ye have unjustly taken and retain from the said Church, and other churches in the said diocese. For if sons are to be blamed who dishonour their natural mother, and inflict injury on her, much more are they who molest their spiritual one, and by violence take away her property. And what is infamous and prejudicial to the Christian name, when ye come to the thresholds of the saints, and the dedications of the Churches, ye blush not to rob and molest, and, on the market days, take away the property of those who are coming or returning, and kill some of them in a cruel manner. On account of these things, we command ye altogether to desist from these crimes, and that ye humbly obey the orders of our venerable brother Bishop Urban. But if ye treat them with contempt, we, God being our adviser, confirm the canonical sentence, which he shall promulgate against you, given at the Lateran, the 19th day of April, 1128.

In getting a restoration of the land, Bishop Urban was only partially successful. Walter Fitz-Richard de Clare, who heads the list in the

Bull of Honorius, seems to have compounded the matter with the Bishop by building Tintern Abbey upon part of the lands which he had plundered, and having endowed it with a portion was permitted to retain the rest. Robert de Chandos, like his brother sinner, seems also to have compounded by giving a portion of his ill-gotten property to the monastery he had founded at Goldcliff, as we find that Llanbedr, Catsash, (Capella de Fraxino), St Alban's, and St Julians and Aarons were all given to Goldcliff for the health and salvation of his soul, and of his wife Isabella. What others did in the way of giving up land cannot well be ascertained, but the continued influence of the Bishop and Popes was not without its due effect, for to it must be attributed in some measure the rise of those great religious institutions in the district which were founded during the reign of Henry I., and which have been both in their glory and their ruin regarded with so much pride.

The great revival in religion, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, the great rage for erecting buildings for religious purposes was a characteristic feature in the reign of Henry I., and in no district of the kingdom probably was the effect more striking than in that of Gwent. Where the sacred structures built in the early centuries of the Christain era had been systematically and ruthlessly destroyed by the Saxons; where the land claimed as the remnant of church property had been unceremoniously taken possession of by the Norman barons, there now suddenly arose numerous buildings of unusual splendour and opulence. It was a marvellous change, and not only affected the social condition of the population, but even affected the physical aspect of the country. The cause or reason of the sudden transformation was simply this: the Church of Rome from the days of William the Conqueror, had had a severe struggle with the civil power of Britain, and in the course of Henry's reign had succeeded in acquiring an influence more powerful than she had ever before possessed. She then inculcated upon the rich a duty which they not unreadily practised, until it became

quite fashionable to erect large and grand places of worship. The King encouraged the practice, and the clergy themselves impressed upon those who had the means, that they would have lived in vain if they did not leave behind them some monument of their pious munificence. The clergy further urged upon the barons especially, the double incentive that such works would answer the purpose of atonement for the enormous offences they had committed, and also become gradual but certain instruments of subjection and self-protection. "Thus," remarks a writer, "each Norman chieftain at that time of pillage compromised and commuted liberally with Heaven for a life of brilliant crimes." At the same time it might be justly added that the evils of conquest were to a great extent ameliorated by the introduction of useful and elegant arts.

If we here set down in order the dates at which some of the religious institutions were founded, it will be seen at a glance how early and to what extent the district must have been affected by the prevailing movement of the age. Thus the Abbey of Llanthony was established as early as 1108, a Priory at Bassalleg in 1110, a similar institution at Goldcliff in 1113, another at Abergavenny before 1128, and the beautiful Abbey of Tintern in 1131. Then followed the erection of structures of a like character at uncertain dates at Caerleon, Llantarnam, Malpas, Usk, Monmouth, and Newport. When it is mentioned that a monastery at Bristol was not established until 1142, the religious movement in this district will appear all the more remarkable.

The histories of Llanthony and Tintern we do not intend to enter upon. They have been ably dealt with by many writers, and would open a scope beyond the purport of this present work, but most of the other places named will come within our purview in due course.

The first institution in point of time seems to have been the Priory at Bassalleg, alleged to have been founded by Robert de Hawya, or Haia, and Gundreda, or Gundra, his wife. Why such a secluded and obscure place as Bassalleg should have been selected as the place of foundation for

the first Norman priory in the district is not apparent, but the ruins, or remembrance of a former institution established by Gwladys, wife of Gwynlliw, founder of St. Woolos Church, may have still remained, and were resuscitated by Robert de Haia. The new priory was dedicated to St. Basil, and with the consent of Robert Fitzhamon, the chief lord of Glamorgan, given with all its dependencies to the Abbey of Glastonbury, forming afterwards a cell to that celebrated abbey.

The Priory at Goldcliff was founded by Robert de Chandos, and being, by the permission of Henry I. annexed to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, was considered and treated as an alien priory. These alien priories were cells or small houses in one country dependent on large foreign monasteries. When manors or tithes were given to distant religious houses the monks, either to increase the authority or more probably to have faithful stewards of their revenues, built convenient houses for the reception of small fraternities of their body, who were to reside at and govern these cells. A prior and 12 monks of the Benedictine Order were in accordance with this principle sent to Goldcliff from Normandy.

The religious house established at Malpas formed a cell to the priory of Montacute, in Somersetshire, and contained two Cluniac monks. It was founded by Winebald de Baeluna, who is named in the bull of Pope Honorius, which we have already quoted, as one of the barons who had plundered the church. Referring to the same baron there is another bull addressed by Honorius to Bishop Urban, as follows :—

"Honorius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, health and apostolical benediction. Winebald, of Baeluna, was disposed to give for the benefit of his soul to the monks of Montacute, the territory of Cairleon. Wherefore we command thee, that saving the right of thy church, thou wilt so far grant the said territory to the aforesaid monks. —Given at the Lateran, the 16th day of June, 1129."

The lands spoken of in this Bull as "Terra de Cairleon" are supposed to have been given for the foundation and benefit of the house at Malpas.

The Cistercian order was introduced into England during the reign of Henry I. The members of this Order of set purpose lived in the wilderness, and for the most part they pitched their dwellings in spots of striking natural beauty. This is instanced in the position of Llantarnam Abbey, which at its foundation must have been well secluded from the haunts of men, surrounded by hills on all sides, well watered with two small rivers, and where nature is luxuriant with her rural charms. The precise date at which this abbey was founded is uncertain, but there is no doubt as to its founder. In one of the chronicles published in the Myfyrian Archæology, it is stated that Howel ap Iorwerth founded the monastery of St. Dewi, that is Llantarnam, in 1178. Mr. Wakeman, however, thinks the date is not correct. Howell's own statement is that he was the founder, and that his father was then living. This is found in a Charter of his granting certain lands to the Abbey of Glastonbury, commencing in these words :—"Be it known to all the faithful of the Church of God, present and to come, clergy and laity, that I, Howel, son of Iorwerth, son of Owen, with the assent and consent of my said Father, for my own Salvation and that of my parents and predecessors, and for the commutation of the tithes Ensanternon (in Llantarnam), where I have settled white monks (ubi albos monachos institu), have given," &c. This document is, unfortunately, without date, but as Iorwerth died in 1175, it must have been before that date. Mr Wakeman, who investigated the matter, was of opinion that the Abbey at Llantarnam and the institution of a similar character at Caerleon were connected with each other and under the same rule. The foundation of the Abbey at Llantarnam is clear, but it is strange that no mention is made of it either in the taxation of Pope Nicholas (1290), or in any other public records for several centuries afterwards, and equally strange is it that although an Abbey of the Cistercian Order is known to have existed at Caerleon at an early period, neither Dugdale nor Tanner could find any account of the

date of its foundation or the name of its founder.

In connection with these early ecclesiastical foundations we might mention that Peterstone Church, dedicated to St Peter, was built in the twelfth century by Mabel, daughter and heiress of Robert Fitzhamon, and wife of Robert Earl of Gloucester. She gave it to the Abbey of Bristol (founded 1142), with the addition of sixty acres of land in the parish of Peterstone, or as the records say, in the marsh of Rumney.

Our readers will scarcely need to be reminded that the institutions we have named were not the only places existing for religious worship. A long list of churches belonging to the See of Llandaff is enumerated in *Liber Landavensis*, a repetition of which in this place would be tedious, many of the names being difficult of identification.

Bishop Urban, who occupied the See of Llandaff from 1108 to 1133, indefatigable in his efforts on behalf of the Church generally, was particularly in regard to his own half-ruined diocese. His frequent appeals to the Pope in respect to the conduct of the Barons, and the Bishop's own denunciations, brought them at last to a condition of mind in which they were disposed to aid most liberally the work which the good Bishop desired to press forward. Whilst numerous religious institutions were springing up in towns and villages around, Bishop Urban did not overlook the urgent requirements of his own city, and was rapidly completing the erection of a new cathedral. During the contests which had a few years before raged between the Britons and the Normans, the old structure had become a heap of ruins, and now Phœnix-like from its ashes there arose an edifice excelling the old one as much in size as in grandeur. It would be a mistake to imagine that the new cathedral, the ruins of which were left for the present generation to witness, in any way resembled the pre-Norman structure on the same site, for the latter appears to have consisted of a small chapel only. According to the late Dean of Llandaff its length was about 28ft., its breadth 15ft., and height 20ft. There was an aisle of very small size on each side and a porch of round form about 12ft.

in length and the same in breadth. The new cathedral was of a very superior style of architecture. Its dimensions as given in Mr Browne Willis's survey was 263ft. 6in. in length, and 65ft. wide. An image of Urban or of Dubritius (for writers differ on the point) was placed over the west door, and a figure of the reigning monarch Henry I., in a position above. It was completed in 1120, dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul, and opened with great ceremony, one of the principal incidents of the occasion being the transference to the new cathedral of the remains of St Dubritius, the great Archbishop of Caerleon, from the Isle of Bardsey, where they had lain unenshrined for six centuries.

DEATH OF HENRY I.—WARS BETWEEN STEPHEN AND MATILDA—ANOTHER RISING IN GWENT—SLAUGHTER OF NORMANS—MURDER OF RICHARD FITZGILBERT—IORWERTH AP OWEN OF CAERLEON—DEATH OF ROBERT EARL OF GLO'STER—CONTENTION BETWEEN IFOR AP MEURIG AND MORGAN OF CAERLEON—SUBMISSION OF WELSH PRINCES TO HENRY II.—THE KING PASSES THROUGH GWENT.

The peaceful progress which the country enjoyed for some years suddenly ceased when Henry I. died in 1135, and the Britons once more renounced their allegiance to the English crown. The circumstances were favourable to their rising, for the iron grip with which Henry held them in subjection was removed, and his successor was unable to replace it. There was too a serious division among the Norman Barons; for while some of them supported the cause of the usurper, Stephen, and others that of Matilda, the daughter of the late King, there were not a few who simply wished to live in a state of anarchic and barbarous independence. Of this condition of things the Britons availed themselves and in the conflicts which they forced upon the Normans gained an advantage in almost every instance. While the Normans were taken by surprise, the fanaticism of the Britons was inflamed by the visions of Merlin, and the slight successes they achieved encouraged them to hope that they would be enabled to avenge their wrongs, and drive the hated Norman from the soil upon which they had conquered. The civil war which followed between Matilda and Stephen was still more favourable to the cause of the Britons.

One of the first incidents of the outbreak was the attack upon a body of Normans in Gower, where 500 were slain, "whose bodies," says Florence of Worcester," were horribly dragged about the fields and devoured by wolves." Elated by their successes, the Britons next ventured upon English territory, over-running all the borders, bent, as one writer says, on every sort of mischief, and ready for every crime, neither sparing age nor respecting rank, and suffering neither place nor season to be any protection from their violence. Stephen made

some unsuccessful efforts to quell the rebellion, but the cavalry and archers he sent against the enemy retreated in disgrace after fruitless toil and expense. Rapin says that at Cardigan, the English soldiers were so terrified that they allowed themselves to be taken prisoners by the women.

There were several matters which specially militated against Stephen's success. One was that the Welsh had learned from their conquerors the policy of building castles, as bulwarks of defence, and another was that many of the nobles of South Wales were bitterly opposed to him. They did not, therefore, assist in his enterprise, but, on the contrary, were disposed to frustrate his movements in every possible way. A better case to illustrate this point could not be found than that of Robert the Earl of Gloucester, whose marriage with Mabel, the daughter of Fitzhamon, had given him possession of the lordship in which Newport now stands. He was natural son of the late King, and therefore half-brother to Matilda, whose cause he championed against the assumption of Stephen. His great wisdom and the integrity of his conduct had, too, considerably influenced the minds of the natives, and Robert, above all the Norman barons, had become on friendly terms with those around him.

A similar instance is that of Richard Fitzgilbert, Earl of Clare, to whom the territory of Cardigan, had been given by Henry I. This earl had succeeded in acquiring great influence among his neighbours, and kept the country peaceable and affluent. Being chagrined in consequence of Stephen refusing him some favour, he resolved to support the cause of Matilda, and join the Welsh in their general insurrection. His intention, however, was frustrated by an incident in which Morgan ap Owen, of Caerleon, took a leading part. Morgan was one of those who figured prominently in the insurrection, which seems to have been undertaken with great unanimity. He was a "chip of the old block," and had many of the qualities which distinguished his father Owen, and grandfather Caradoc. Fitzgilbert, in his journey towards Wales, had arrived at the lordship of

Abergavenny, which at that time was held by Brian de Wallingford, a nephew of Hameline de Balun, son of Dru de Baladun or Balun, who came over with William the Conqueror, and was presented with the lordship on the condition that he was to defend it at his own cost and charge against the Welsh. Brian de Wallingford accompanied by his retainers escorted Richard Fitzgilbert through his lordship, and the two barons consulted together as to the best means of chastising the upstart Stephen. When they arrived at a forest near Abergavenny, known as Coed Dias, Fitzgilbert bade adieu to his brother baron courteously expressing an unwillingness to take him too far from his castle, and proceeded along the wood paths with his own little band. They were in the garb of peace, for Fitzgilbert trusted to the weight of his name with the Cymry, and before him rode a minstrel, who cheered and enlivened the journey by his mirth and merry lay. Suddenly there burst out of the thicket upon them, Morgan ab Owen, of Caerleon, and his brother Iorwerth, with a host of followers. The Normans were beset on all sides before any one of them could draw a sword or wind a blast to recall the Lord of Abergavenny and his train, and Fitzgilbert, his son, and all his company fell victims.

The attack seems to have been of cold blooded atrocity, and shows that the Welsh had as little regard for the lives of their Norman invaders as the Normans had for the property of the Welsh. There is no palliation assigned for this sanguinary attack, and the idea naturally occurs that the party were slaughtered simply in consequence of their being Normans, Morgan doubtless hoping that in the temporary weakness of the English power, some advantage would accrue to himself and his countrymen by the atrocity which he committed. One fact, however, should not be overlooked, viz, that Henry I., following the example of his predecessors, had granted to Walter, the son of this Richard Fitzgilbert, the usual license to enjoy what he could conquer of Wales, and, as the result of this, it is stated that he had become possessed of all Netherwent. It is

extremely probable, therefore, that he had trenched upon the territory of Morgan, who seems to have possessed the same fiery and valorous spirit which characterised Caradoc when he attacked and destroyed the house which Harold was erecting at Portskewett. If any occurrence of this kind had taken place, the desperate attack of Morgan at a moment when the strong arm of the law was paralysed is not altogether so unaccountable.

In the slaughter of Richard Fitzgilbert, Morgan was abetted and assisted by his brother Iorwerth, a man of daring and fiery disposition. Some writers accredit him with being the actual perpetrator of the deed. Giraldus does so, but his statements are not to be relied upon without corroborative evidence. His version of the affair seems to show that he was mistaken as to the identity of the victim, as he mentions Richard Fitzgilbert as the great ancestor of the Clares, who came over at the Conquest. That nobleman, however, had been dead a score of years, and the person slain must have been his grandson, Richard, Earl of Hertford (buried in Gloucester Abbey), the father of Gilbert and Roger, and brother of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke.

The event, sad as it appears, was probably soon forgotten in the vortex of destruction which followed. His estates were plundered till nothing was left, women of every age were openly abused, and the young of both sexes bound and dragged into slavery. It was fortunate that Robert, the Earl of Gloucester, whose influence and good understanding with the people of this district we have previously noticed, succeeded in diverting some of the force of this revengeful outbreak in another direction. In support of his sister Matilda, he persistently followed up the King and attracted in his train a large number of active Welshmen. At the battle of Lincoln, where Stephen was made a prisoner, the Welsh were at first disposed on the wings of the army, but Earl Robert, demurring to the suggestion of the Earl of Chester that he should make the first attack, claimed that the first onset should be made by those whom the King had disinherited, and there-

fore led the van. In the charge with him were Iorwerth ap Owen, of Caerleon, and a number of his followers who had been induced to follow in the fortunes of the war. By the success of the battle the Welsh gained both credit and renown, which occasioned annoyance in the minds of some of the high stomached Norman barons. The Welsh Chronicle relates that Gilbert, Earl of Clare, was highly incensed at being in the rear of Iorwerth, and soon afterwards took the opportunity of showing his resentment. Seeing Iorwerth by the river side fishing, Gilbert struck him a violent blow in the ear, calling him at the same time a clownish Welshman, and telling him he was totally ignorant of the manners of a gentleman or he would not have presumed to have taken the lead of his superior. The only response Iorwerth made to this rude address was to lay his assailant dead at his feet with one blow of his fist.

We must not pursue the fortunes of Matilda further than to say that she sent Stephen in chains to Bristol, and on her proceeding to London she was crowned with the loudest acclamations of joy. Within six weeks, however, she found it necessary to flee for her life, and her cause sustained a signal defeat at Winchester, where Robert, her brother, was taken prisoner. He was released in exchange for the King, and then retired for a time to his Earldom of Gloucester, there to further carry out and consolidate those great changes which are special features of the Norman period of rule. Robert died at Bristol in 1146, leaving his son William successor to his earldom. Stephen prolonged his reign, and secured peace in the latter part by recognising the right of succession in Henry, the son of his late rival. Iorwerth returned to Caerleon, and again with his brother Morgan joined in those intestine conflicts which seem to have been both chronic and widespread. The lordship of Senghenneth (Caerphilly) at this time was held by Ifor ap Meurig, who, according to Powell, cast a very wishful eye upon the land and estate of Morgan. About the year 1157 he resolved to put into execution the plans he had before contrived, his covetousness, as is

usual in such cases, having no regard to virtue or honour. The affair resulted in a conflict with the forces of each, and Morgan with many of his followers were slain. Among the most lamented of those who fell in the slaughter was Gwrgant ap Rhys, esteemed as one of the famous bards of his time. The statement that Ifor ap Meurig desired to possess himself of Morgan's estates seems scarcely borne out by the fact that, although victor over Morgan, he bestowed the lordship upon Iorwerth. Had he been so enviously disposed as the statement suggests, it is hardly probable that, having killed the rightful owner and brought the estates within his grasp, he would have immediately handed them over to the brother of the man he had slaughtered. Ifor may have only desired a portion of Morgan's lands adjacent to his own lordship of Senghenneth, and, having obtained that, raised no obstacle to the possession of the remainder by Iorwerth. Certain it is that Iorwerth, about this time succeeded to Caerleon, and other lands formerly belonging to his father, Owain.

The frequent disputes, such as we have described, and the still more serious incursions by the Welsh into English territory were at length restrained by the action of Henry II., and a general peace concluded between the King and all the princes and lords of Wales. The latter found that with the dissensions existing among them their attempt to secure permanent independence would be abortive, and therefore at last they peaceably submitted and consented to become Henry's tributaries. At the same time they arranged to give up to the King all the territory they had wrested from Stephen during the late convulsions. Among the princes who thus swore fealty to the King was Iorwerth ap Owen, of Caerleon. There was one exception to this general surrender of independence, viz, Rhys ap Tewdwr, who claimed to reign over the kingdom of South Wales. He refused to join with the other Princes, and his stubborn spirit, which would not bend, was too strong to be easily broken. He continued in rebellion against the King, who

found it a difficult task to bring him to submission, and was necessitated to undertake several expeditions into Wales with that object. In one of those expeditions, undertaken in 1158, Henry took the route to South Wales through Gwent.

The details preserved of this expedition are few, but in the pages of Giraldus several interesting incidents are related concerning it. Caerleon at this time was held by Iorwerth ap Owain, who had recently done homage to the King, and Newport and Cardiff were in the hands of William, Earl of Gloucester. Up to this point, therefore, the King and his army would have marched through a friendly district, but as beyond this he would be entering territory where at any moment he might come into contact with the enemy, it was necessary that he should gather his forces together and place them in compact order, and this he did probably before he proceeded from Newport. The progress of the King was noted by the Welsh with more than ordinary interest, for the people, as we have before observed, were "inflamed by the visions of Merlin," and the fulfilment of his predictions was eagerly expected and looked for in every circumstance that occurred. One particular prophecy considerably alarmed them at this time. It was to this effect, "When the freckle faced Prince passes over Rhyd Pencarn, then shall the Welsh forces be weakened." Henry was recognised as a freckle faced Prince, and Rhyd Pencarn was known to be within a distance of three miles of Newport, near to a road which the King would have to take in his march forward. In expectation of the King's crossing the Ebbw river at the spot indicated in Merlin's prophecy, a large number of bards and prominent Welshmen gathered together at a place at the further side of the river, from which a sight of the ford could be obtained. The approach of the King's army was at length heralded. and to the great relief of the anxious Britons it was observed that the King led the way along a modern road instead of proceeding by the more ancient road which terminated in Rhyd Pencarn. The manner in which the prophecy was fulfilled is so graphically

described by Giraldus that we cannot refrain from quoting the account of this writer. He says: "In the neighbourhood of Newport, which is in the district of Gwentloog, there is a small stream called Nant Pencarn, passable only at certain fords, not so much owing to the depth of its waters, as from the hollowness of its channel and muddy bottom. The public road led formerly to a ford called Rhyd Pencarn—that is the ford under the head of a rock—from Rhyd, which, in the British language, signifies a ford (Pen, the head, and Carn, the rock), of which place Merlin Sylvester had thus prophesied: "Whenever you shall see a mighty prince with a freckled face make an hostile irruption into the southern part of Britain, should he cross the ford of Pencarn, then know ye that the force of Cambria shall be brought low." Now it came to pass in our times that King Henry II. took up arms against Rhys, the son of Gryffydd, and directed his march through the southern parts of Wales towards Caermardyn. On the day he intended to pass over Nant Pencarn the old Britons of the neighbourhood watched his approach towards the ford with the utmost solicitude, knowing, since he was both mighty and freckled, that if the passage of the destined ford was accomplished the prophesy concerning him would undoubtedly be fulfilled. When he had followed the road leading to a more modern ford of the river (the old one spoken of in the prophecy having been for a long time in disuse), and was preparing to pass over, the pipers and trumpeters, called Cornheriet (from *hir*, long, and *cornu*, a horn), began to sound their instruments on the opposite bank in honour of the King. The King's horse, startled at the wild, unusual noise, refused to obey the spur and enter the water, upon which the King, gathering up the reins, hastened, in violent wrath, to the ancient ford which he rapidly passed, and the Britons returned to their homes alarmed at the dismay and destruction which seemed to await them."

The identification of the river which King Henry II. crossed, under the circumstances narrated, has been a matter of interest to nearly every writer

upon the period; and modern tourists of antiquarian tastes have not only repeated the particulars of the incident, but endeavoured to decide the exact locality of the ford. Leland, referring to the account of Giraldus, says, "it is most probable that the ford called Nant Pencarn was Nant Bengam, on the river Rumney, near the bridge, and not far from a farmhouse called Bengam. It could not be on the western side of the Rumney, because Giraldus says it was situated in Novi Burgi finibus, or within the limits of Newport lordship, and in another place he states that "the lordship of Newport be likelyhood should stretch to the ryver of Rumny limes (frontier), Morganiæ." Scott, in his history of Newport, writes, "There is a tradition that there exists a ford in the river (Usk) next the castle, where Henry II. bathed his freckled face and removed this accompaniment of fairness from the skin, and this he had been induced to do because Merlin, the prophet of Wales, had long before predicted that the Welsh should be conquered by a prince of fair countenance, who in passing that ford should lave his face in the water and lose his freckles."

Why the Rumney river on the one hand and the Usk on the other have been named as being concerned in the fulfilment of Merlin's prediction it is difficult to say, except it be attributed to sheer ignorance. Giraldus was contemporary with the event recorded, he was a Welshman by birth, had travelled through the district, and well qualified in every way to record the circumstances correctly. His statements, therefore, should have been taken as literally accurate unless plain evidence was forthcoming to the contrary. Giraldus states that the crossing was accomplished at Rhyd Pencarn, but there is no place similarly named on the river Usk, and on the Rumney nothing more closely approaching it than Nant Bengam, as mentioned by Leland. There is not a particle of evidence to support the allusion to the Rumney or the Usk, but there is no difficulty in determining as we have done that the ford must have been on the river Ebbw. It may be inferred that the incident

occurred after the King had left the town, and before he had passed out of the lordship of Newport, which terminated at the river Rumney. In this case the Ebbw was the only river his Majesty would have to cross, and it is not to be overlooked that before the new bridge at Pont Ebbw, and the and the turnpike road leading through Tredegar Park were made, the old road was further down the river, and may still be travelled a long way towards Cardiff. This road, after being traversed a couple of miles, leads to the manor of Pencarn. This manor was constituted before the time of Giraldus; it still exists, and the name is also retained in connection with three farm houses in the locality, which are called Great Pencarn, Little Pencarn, and Middle Pencarn. There can be no doubt therefore, that the celebrated ford was on the Ebbw, and not far from the bridge which now leads to Tredegar Park. In confirmation of this view, we are pleased at being able to give the opinion of Mr. Octavius Morgan, obtained since the foregoing was written. He says "From the account of this matter given by Giraldus Cambrensis, which there is every reason to believe correct, I think there can be no doubt that the ford mentioned, viz: Rhyd Pencarn, can be no other than the ford across the Ebbw a little below Ebbw Bridge, and which may very likely have been called Rhyd Pencarn at that time, being the ford across the river leading to the Manor of Pencarn, in the same way as we now call the road the "Cardiff-road," not from its vicinity to Cardiff, but because it leads to that place. There is in fact no other stream of water to be crossed by a ford but the Ebbw, for the reens and ditches were hardly of that importance. The ford exists in the same place at the present time, and was approached by the road from Stow-hill, which was a hollow way leading from the church to the river, crossing the present turnpike road (which was only made at the end of the last century) passing by the pine end of the thatched cottage, and descending to the river through a cutting in the low cliff which is now to be seen, and of this road the ford was a continuation to the opposite side of

the river; and that was the only communication from one bank to the other before the erection of the bridge at Pont Ebbw in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

HOSTAGES GIVEN TO HENRY II. MURDERED—REPRISALS—HENRY'S JOURNEY TO IRELAND—SEIZES CAERLEON—IORWERTH ATTACKS AND RECOVERS THE CITY—RETURN OF THE KING—INCIDENT AT CARDIFF—SEEKS AN INTERVIEW WITH IORWERTH—FOUL MURDER OF OWEN AP IORWERTH.

The result of Henry's expedition was that Rhys, by some stratagem, was taken prisoner, but almost immediately released on his consenting to do homage and giving hostages to the King. Matters were thus smoothed over for a time, and King Henry returned to Normandy. Of the hostages given we have not found a clear account, but from circumstances which afterwards transpired it would appear that among the number were two sons and two nephews of Rhys, besides the sons and daughters of many of the noblest families in Wales. The two nephews of Rhys are known to have been handed over to the custody of William, Earl of Gloucester, who, pursuing a policy in opposition to the wisdom of his father, joined the Lords Marchers in cherishing a spirit of discord and war.

In the following year (1164) Eineon, one of Rhys's nephews, was found dead in the neighbourhood of Newport under circumstances which led to the general belief that he had been murdered by persons in the employ of the Earl of Gloucester, and by his orders, or at least with his connivance. This event immediately roused to fever heat the passions of the Welsh throughout the Principality, and the call which Rhys made upon his fellow countrymen to avenge the supposed murder was speedily responded to. Owen Gwynedd bounded from the north, Powis and Glamorgan heard the war blast and thronged to the revenge, while Iorwerth of Caerleon, always active in the confederacies against Henry, readily joined in the fray. Rhys soon had at his command a large force with which he made successful inroads upon the neighbouring counties.

Some writers assert that a project was set on foot for the entire expulsion of the Normans from Wales; and it is said that at no period had the

Welsh ever united into a confederacy like this, concentrating with so much energy and force, the various policies and interests, and the different tempers and abilities of the princes of Wales. The movement assumed such proportions that Henry felt it necessary to give up for a time the quarrel which he had engaged in with Thomas á Becket, and also the military preparations in Normandy, and to collect the flower of his armies with a view once more to punish the Welsh. At Oswestry, however, the English forces were defeated with considerable loss, upon which Henry gave way to a fit of ungovernable passion, and in revenge for the disaster, put out the eyes of the men and mutilated the faces of the women, given to him as hostages upon the release of Rhys.

Holinshead thus records the savage act: "Henry did justice on the sons of Rhys, and also on the sons and daughters of other noblemen that were his accomplices, very rigorously, causing the eyes of the young striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their noses to be cut off or slit, and the ears of the young gentlewomen to be stuffed."

Rhys, as might be expected, again retaliated by a series of warlike exploits, and South Wales became for a year or two the scene of further conflicts.

In 1171 King Henry again marched through the district of Gwent, under somewhat different circumstances to his former visit. Like his predecessors, William I. and Henry I., the King entertained a desire to add Ireland to his dominions, and he thought a favourable opportunity presented itself whereby he might accomplish his object. He had already sanctioned the invasion of the country by a number of barons, at the head of which was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, and Striguil, (Chepstow), generally known as Strongbow, a nobleman, who at this time was ruined in fortune and seriously damaged in reputation. This Richard was the son of Gilbert de Clare, who had the Earldom of Pembroke conferred upon him, and nephew of Walter de Clare, founder of Tintern Abbey. The expedition of the barons had been so successful that Henry began to be jealous, and resolved

himself to visit the country. Having completed his preparations, we soon find him on his military progress through Gwent, taking up his quarters at Caerleon.

From the commencement of his reign it had been a part of Henry's policy to weaken the leading men of his kingdom by depriving them of their strongholds, and on his arrival at Caerleon the circumstances surrounding him were such that he could not forbear from furthering the policy which he had made general, and accordingly took possession of the lordship, garrisoned the castle by his own men, and kept it for his own use and under his own control. No reason is assigned why Iorwerth ap Owen should have been deprived of his possessions, and if simply effected by Henry as a matter of security, utterly failed in its purpose, and in fact brought about the evil he desired to avoid. Iorwerth left the King's presence in great fury, and Henry lost no time in proceeding on his journey towards Ireland, leaving the "Earl of Bristow" in command of Caerleon Castle.

It was fortunate for King Henry that in his passage through South Wales he had not to encounter the hostility of his old enemy Rhys ap Gryffydd. The relations between this Prince and the King had latterly become considerably altered, and they met each other on terms of most perfect amity, Rhys, in proof of his friendship, making the King a present of horses towards the conquest he was contemplating, and King Henry giving Rhys an extension of territory, delivering up to him his son Howel, whom he had long held as a hostage, and remitting for a time the payment of tribute. Henry at length arrived at Milford, where he embarked on the 17th October, 1171, with a large body of troops, on board a fleet of 500 sail.

No sooner had King Henry left Caerleon on his march towards Ireland, than Iorwerth, who had been so unceremoniously dispossessed of the city, took steps to recover the place. Powell says Iorwerth was not so easy mouthed as to be so unreasonably curbed by the King, and therefore, calling to him his two sons, Owen and Howel, and his nephew, Morgan ap Sitsyllt ap Dyvnwal, and bringing

together all the forces they were able, soon prepared for an attack upon Caerleon. On their march through the country they committed considerable waste and destruction, and in like manner when they had gained the city, which they had little difficulty in doing, they spoiled and destroyed whatever they could meet with, so that nothing escaped their fury. The castle, however, was so well defended by the garrison shut up in it, that Iorwerth failed to win it.

Henry was recalled from Ireland in the spring of the following year (1172), and on his return to Wales was again met by Rhys ap Gryffydd, who accompanied him on his journey to the metropolis as far as Cardiff. By his demonstration of duty and allegiance, Rhys had so ingratiated himself into the King's favour that he was appointed Justice of South Wales. The appointment, carrying with it the semblance of power, was flattering to Rhys, and no doubt it was intended as a mark of honour, but it also implied the admission of Henry's superiority; and after this period the title of Prince was dropped, and the descendant of a long line of kingly ancestors was henceforth styled and known as the Lord Rhys.

It was Easter-day when the King was at Pembroke, and by the following Saturday his Majesty had reached Llandaff. He here took the opportunity of dining with the Archdeacon, who was then, probably, the highest dignitary residing in the city. Nicolas ap Gwrgant was Bishop at the time, but although he occupied the See for thirty years, very little is known respecting him. After dinner the King proceeded to Cardiff, and took up his quarters in the castle for the night. Giraldus relates the following story of what transpired on the morrow:—"The day being called Low Sunday the King held early mass in the chapel of St. Perian, and after all had departed except the King who continued at his devotions longer than usual, when at length he came forth, as he was mounting his horse at the chapel door, a man stood before him holding a stake in his hand, on which he supported himself. His hair was yellow, and it was cropped round; his face

was emaciated; he was rather tall; appeared to be about 40 years old, and wore a white tunic fitting close and girded about him with a belt, and his feet were bare. The man addressed the King in the Teutonic language, as follows: "Got holde thee cunning, "God keep thee, O King"; and afterwards added in the same language; "Christ and His holy Mother, John the Baptist and Peter the Apostle salute thee, and do charge and command thee strictly to prohibit any kind of traffic or markets or fairs to be held throughout their dominions on the Lord's Day, or any sort of labour to be done save only in preparing necessary food, but that divine offices be duly and devoutly performed and heard on that day. If thou wilt do this, all that thou shalt take in hand shalt prosper, and thou shalt have a happy life." The King then said to one Philip de Mercros, who was holding his horse's bridle, a person of good condition down in those parts, and who gave me an exact account of this occurrence: "Ask the clown whether he dreamt this?" Philip having interpreted this in English, the man replied: "Whether I dreamt this or not, mark well," he said, addressing himself to the King and not to the interpreter, "what day this is, for unless thou doest this, and shalt amend thy life before the end of the present year, thou shalt hear such tidings of those thou lovest best in the world, and shalt have from them so much trouble that it shall last for all the rest of thy life." On hearing this the King put spurs to his horse and went forward a little, as much as eight paces towards the town gate, but having reflected a moment on what was said, he reined in his horse, and said, "Call back that good man." Upon that Philip de Mercros and a youth named Williams, the only two of the Royal attendants who had remained in the town, called after him, and on his not appearing, searched for him in the chapel, and afterwards in the courts, and in all the inns of the town, but could not find him. The King waited alone for some time in the town while the others thus sought out the man in vain; and then sorrowing much and in great dudgeon because he had not talked to him more at large, crossing

the bridge at Rempni (Rumney) pursued his journey towards Newbury (Newport). What this man predicted and threatened, adds Giraldus, came to pass before the year was ended. The King's three sons, Henry, the eldest, and the other two Earls of Poitou and Brittany, leagued against him and went over to Louis, King of France, occasioning him so much disquietude as he had never experienced before, and which incessantly troubled him from one or other of his sons to the last day of his life, and it may be supposed to have been a just judgment of God, that as he had been a disobedient son to his Spiritual Father, his sons of the flesh should be disobedient to him.

While upon his journey through South Wales, Henry had ascertained from the information afforded him by Rhys that the only leader of any note in the district remaining in open revolt against his authority, was Iorwerth ap Owen. Iorwerth's attack upon Caerleon, and the destruction he had occasioned throughout the district, were fully made known to the King, and now that his Majesty had arrived upon the scene where these proceedings had taken place, the circumstances could not well be overlooked. Henry felt himself in no mood, however, to make any effort to punish Iorwerth, and was anxious to return to his court with all speed. The policy he adopted therefore was to send for Iorwerth, with an expression of a desire to enquire into the nature of his complaints, conceiving by the influence of his presence that matters might be amicably settled, and the country left to enjoy the blessings of tranquility. Whether the King's desires were sincere may be fairly questioned, but it is decisively stated that he gave commands that a safe conduct should be given both to Iorwerth and his friends. Iorwerth was willing to accept of the proposal, and with his son Howel and a number of friends, without delay, set out to meet the King, sending at the same time a message to his son Owen bidding him to join the party on the road. Owen started off without much preparation and with but a small number of attendants. He relied upon the King's safe conduct and had no thought

of danger, but, as with his party, he passed the "new castle upon Usk," he was set upon by the garrison, and being unarmed and incapable of defence was foully murdered. Some of the few attendants succeeded in escaping, but the others shared the fate of their leader. Those who escaped soon conveyed intelligence of the tragedy to Iorwerth, who had not at the time yet reached the King's presence. He was naturally much affected, and immediately turned back, vowing to revenge himself for what he deemed a base and treacherous act. It is stated that he refused ever afterwards to believe the word of any Englishman.

It has been assumed by most modern writers that the "new castle on the Usk" was a structure which had within a short period been erected at Newport, and the statement follows that it was at Newport, Owen met his untimely death; but the statement appears to be an assumption only, being unsupported by anything more substantial than the expression used above, which in all probability has been misunderstood. That a castle of any kind existed in Newport at this period is only conjectured, as there is no certain evidence respecting it. Had it been otherwise, we see no ground for believing that Newport was the scene of the murder. Enderbie, quoting from Powell, states that the attacking party issued from the "new castle of Caerleon upon Usk," and in a previous passage where the words "new castle upon Usk" occurs, there is a marginal note intimating that this was "Caerleon castle anew repaired, not built by Henry II." We therefore conclude that the mention of Newport is unwarranted, and that the death of Owen ap Iorwerth was an addition to the long list of sanguinary events particularly connected with Caerleon.

IORWERTH'S REVENGE.—INHUMAN CONDUCT OF HOWELL AP IORWERTH.—CAERLEON RECOVERED BY THE NORMANS.—IS RESTORED TO IORWERTH BY KING HENRY.—WHOLESALE ASSASSINATIONS AT ABERGAVENNY CASTLE.—IORWERTH AND HIS ACCOMPLICES DESTROY IT.—DEATH OF IORWERTH, AND HOWEL HIS SON.

The murder of Owen ap Iorwerth, whether regarded as an act of treachery or simply a misadventure, was much to be deplored. It was an act incapable of defence, and for which no apology could atone. Iorwerth lost no time in making preparations for the revenge which he threatened, and with the aid of his son Howel, soon collected a sufficient force to enable him to make some reprisals for the injury he had received. These proceedings doubtless hastened the King's progress, but before he could escape from the district of Gwent, Iorwerth seems to have directed an attack against him, as in the Brut under the date of this year (1172) the following entry occurs: "A battle was fought at Caerleon upon Usk, between the men of King Henry and the men of Morganwg under Iorwerth ab Owen, ab Caradog, ab Rhydderch, ab Iestyn, and the English were defeated, and the King fled to Castell Newydd-ar-Wysg." Powell gives an account of Iorwerth's proceedings, and says, "The King was so intent upon his return that he took no great notice of what Iorwerth was doing, and was soon engaged in more weighty national dissensions. Iorwerth was not sorry to see this, and taking advantage of it drew his army against Caerleon, which stood out stiffly against him, but after many warm disputes on both sides, Iorwerth at length prevailed, and entering the town by force he took most of the inhabitants prisoners, and then, laying siege to the castle, it was surrendered up in exchange for the prisoners he had taken in the town."

While Iorwerth was devoting his attention to the recovery of Caerleon, Howel his son was active in other parts of Gwent Iscoed, and succeeded in

bringing into subjection the whole country, excepting the castle, which is conjectured to be Striguil or Chepstow, belonging to the Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow), who was then in Ireland. Having done this he took pledges of the inhabitants to be true and faithful to him, and to withdraw their allegiance to the King of England.

In Upper Gwent, Iorwerth's cause was still further advanced through the exertions of his relative Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwal, and Ievan ap Ririd, another nobleman of Gwent. Abergavenny Castle was beseiged by them, and at length, by the treachery of the king's officers, was delivered up, and De Breos, the occupier, driven out. Crickhowell Castle was also lost to the King about the same time. The exact sequence of events during this year is not clear, but it must have been a terrible time. The whole country is described as having been laid waste as far as the gates of Hereford and Gloucester. The Norman Barons were one after another driven from their strongholds; their cause became almost desperate, and Iorwerth once more recovered the power which he formerly exercised in the country of his ancestors.

It may have been this exercise of power and a desire to retain it legitimately for his own descendants that led shortly afterwards to the commission of a barbarous and inhuman act of cruelty on the part of Howel ap Iorwerth. Owen Wan, it must be remembered, was the rightful heir to the lordship of Caerleon, and was dispossessed by Robert de Chandos, upon whose death Iorwerth assumed the dignity and exercised the rights of the lord. Owen being still alive, but suffering, it has been supposed, from some infirmity of mind, it occurred to Howel that it would be for his advantage desirable, if not to put an end to Owen's existence, at least to render it improbable that he would have heirs to succeed him. Howel, therefore, without his father's knowledge, took Owen prisoner, and then committed one of those ferocious acts of cruelty which cannot be named, but which unfortunately for the character of the Welsh at this period were but too common. This occurred in 1175. Owain, in some of the old writers, is termed Owain Pencarn, and

it has, therefore, been questioned whether he was the same person as Owen Wân; but the fact can hardly be doubted. Pencarn, which we have recently noticed as being the place at which King Henry crossed the Ebbw, may have been his residence, and this term attached to his name in consequence; but the relation of the parties (Owain being uncle to Howel), and the reason given for perpetrating the diabolical act show that Owain Pencarn and Owen Wân was one and the same person.

The power which Howel so much desired, and for the retention of which he had committed such an abominable crime, was soon wrested from his hands, for, immediately after the event described, a great force of Normans and Englishmen came before Caerleon with a view to regain its possession; and, notwithstanding every exertion which Iorwerth and Howel could make, succeeded in obtaining the occupation of both the town and castle.

Before another year elapsed, matters were once more wholly reversed. This time, however, not by the sword, but by skilful diplomacy. Henry, almost for the first time since his accession to the thrown, found himself at peace with all the world, and wisely set about making certain reforms in his own kingdom with a view to remove every cause of dissatisfaction remaining among his subjects. In order to settle matters concerning South Wales and the Marches, the King, on the feast of St Peter and St. Paul, June 29, held a great council at Gloucester, and by what has been designated a matter stroke of policy, Rhys ap Gryffydd induced a number of the Welsh princes to attend. Among those named as having been present and done homage to the King were Morgan ap Caradoc, ap Iestyn, of Glamorgan, Griffydd ap Ifor, ap Meurig, lord of Senghennith (Caerphilly), Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwall, of Higher Gwent, and even Iorwerth ap Owen, of Caerleon, forgetting his injuries, attended with the rest. With their formal submission came the king's pardon and promised protection; but more than this, the Norman forces were withdrawn from Caerleon, and the town and castle restored to

Iorwerth. On the other hand, the castle of Abergavenny which had been seized by Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwal immediately after the murder of Owen ap Iorwerth, was by arrangement given back to the Norman baron De Breos.

This arrangement, however, like others preceding it, was not lasting, although made with much imposing ceremony. The Norman leaders were bent on the complete conquest of the whole country, and the utter annihilation of every remnant of native power. What therefore they could not accomplish on any principle of justice, or even by the exercise of any force at their command, they sought to gain by the perpetration of crimes of the deepest dye, including treachery and wholesale murder. A notable instance of this is recorded, in which the personages we have already named were chiefly concerned. De Breos represented to the Welsh Princes that the late pacification was an event worthy of being becomingly celebrated, and to show his readiness to give effect to his own suggestion invited a large number of Welsh princes and the best men of Gwent to attend a banquet in his own castle at Abergavenny. The Welsh Chronicles mention that the event was also to congratulate Rhys ap Gryffydd upon the reconciliation which he had chiefly been instrumental in bringing about. The Welsh Princes, mistrusting not the good intentions of De Breos, attended in large numbers, and at the onset were treated with all the hospitality they could have expected. In the midst of the conviviality, however, the real design of the Normans was disclosed. It was submitted to the guests that henceforward they were not to have the privilege of wearing or using arms, a proposal which the moment it was comprehended aroused no less indignation than surprise. The request that they should be sworn to fulfil this requirement and submit without the power of defence to the will of the Norman lord was of too degrading a nature to be for a single moment considered. The Welsh blood boiled with rage at the insult and treachery of which they plainly saw they were the victims, and the festive board was transformed into a scene of violent

recrimination. De Breos calculated upon this result being produced, and had prepared for it. At the proper moment a signal was given, and a number of armed men who had been in waiting rushed into the hall and fell upon the Welshmen with a view to the assassination of every man. The murderous conception was too successfully carried into effect, almost the only survivor of the massacre being Iorwerth of Caerleon, who, by brave and desperate efforts, cut his way through the assassins and so effected his escape and returned once more to Caerleon.

Among others who were slaughtered at the massacre at Abergavenny Castle were Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwal and his son Geoffrey; but the thirst for blood was not slaked by the scene we have referred to. De Breos desired to have the property of his victims, as well as their lives, and, therefore, ere the bodies of the Welshmen lying in his hall were cold, he rushed off with a number of his retainers to attack Castle Arnold, where Sitsyllt had resided. Here he seized Sitsyllt's wife, and Cadwalader, his infant son, and, putting the latter to death before his mother's face, killed the mother, destroyed the house, and, without molestation, took possession of Sitsyllt's estates. On this event, Enderbie remarks that "it was a lamentable day for all Gwent and a lesson for all men to take heed of a reconciled enemy." No intimation is found that the King took steps to mete out any punishment for these dastardly murders, and it cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise that he has been accused of being privy to the outrage of De Breos and his accomplices.

The repeated acts of cruelty and oppression practised by the Normans drove the Gwentians into a state of fury, and ere long Iorwerth of Caerleon, with the remaining sons of Sitsyllt, and the relations of those nobles who were killed by De Breos, joined in an attack upon the blood-stained castle of Abergavenny, and levelled it with the ground. A fortress at Dingestow was next assaulted, and the occupant, Ranulph de Peor, sheriff of Herefordshire, who had been associated with De Breos, was killed, with many others, in

the general carnage of the garrison. The infamous De Breos, who was in the castle when the attack was made, escaped with some difficulty.

Iorwerth ap Owen probably died soon died after these events, but the exact date is not known. His remains were buried in the Priory at Goldcliff. Iorwerth had been married to Angharad, the daughter of Uchtryd, Bishop of Llandaff, and had four daughters, beside the two sons, Owen and Howel, before referred to. Other names have been given as the sons of Iorwerth, but Mr. Wakeman was of opinion that his step-sons were mistaken for his sons. The only further information we have respecting Iorwerth is the statement in the Iolo MSS. that he built castles at Machen and Gellygaer.

With regard to his son Howel, termed the Lord of Caerleon upon Usk, there are but few facts recorded of him, in addition to those mentioned in connection with the active assistance he rendered his father in his various conflicts. One important act of his life, and which perpetuated his memory, was the foundation of the Abbey at Llantarnam, as already narrated. Among his various possessions was the castle of Usk; and, according to Giraldus, during an attack made upon this place by the Normans, Howel was wounded, in consequence of which he died soon after, probably about 1178.

Excepting this statement, there seems to be no evidence showing that Howel was ever in possession of Usk after his father did homage to the King; but Giraldus, being a contemporary, is likely to have been acquainted with the condition of things he had set forth. It is proved by a document which we shall hereafter refer to, that Howel held Caerleon *in capite* of the King, and this must have been, of course, after his father's death.

According to the Welsh genealogists, Howel had a family of one son and four daughters who were called co-heiresses, but it appears by an inquisition *post mortem*, that the son named Morgan was an only child, and that he was the next successor to the lordship of Caerleon. This Mor-

gan ap Howell, who was generally called Morgan of Caerleon, was a only child at his father's death, as he survived him 70 years, but to whom he was given in ward, the existing records do not extend far enough back to show.

Morgan was subsequently forcibly dispossessed of Caerleon by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke; but before we proceed to the details of this great change several matters deserve attention.

THE CRUSADES PREACHED.—GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ACCOMPANIES ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN—THEIR VISITS TO USK, CAERLEON, NEWPORT, AND CARDIFF.—CONDITION OF CAERLEON DESCRIBED.—QUOTATIONS FROM GIRALDUS.—KING ARTHUR'S REMAINS FOUND.

In 1185 John, the King's son, to whom Ireland had been assigned as an appanage, made an expedition to that country, and was accompanied by the notable Giraldus Cambrensis.. The expedition, which, by the way, historians very briefly refer to, passed through Caerleon and Newport on its way to Menevia.

Two years later, viz., in 1187, Giraldus again visited the district on a more important mission. In the latter part of this year news arrived in England of the capture of Jerusalem, with its treasures and relics, by the Mahometans under Saladin, and all Western Europe was thrown into a state of great excitement about its recovery. Preparations were made on every side for a new crusade, and Henry II., though too prudent a monarch to be led away by the enthusiasm to which it gave rise, could not avoid seeming to encourage it. He accordingly proclaimed the crusade, and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to preach it in Wales. Giraldus was appointed to accompany the Archbishop, which was no doubt a stroke of policy, for he was then known throughout Wales as the champion of the rights and independence of the Welsh Church against the pretensions of the metropolitan See of Canterbury, and it was thought by joining him in the mission the fears and suspicions of all who might be inclined to look with distrust upon the visit of the English metropolitan would be silenced.

This expedition is the subject of Giraldus's work, "The Itinerary of Wales." The Primate and those who accompanied him entered Wales near the borders of Herefordshire, then proceeded to Radnor, and passed on to Abergavenny, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, and Cardiff. At the castle of

Usk, a multitude of persons were signed with the cross, and many of the most notorious murderers, thieves, and robbers of the neighbourhood were here "converted," that is, enlisted or consented to join the crusade, to the astonishment of the spectators.

At Caerleon, the famed City ot the Legions, we might have expected that the crusade preachers would meet with much success, but the generally loquacious writer passes over the circumstances of his mission in a few words.

Newport, was the next stage of the journey, and here the party spent the night. An extraordinary commotion was visible throughout the district from an early hour on the following morning. The people, whose martial spirit had already been aroused by the prospect of another crusade, had heard of the visit of the Archbishop and were anxious both to see and hear him. The purpose of his visit increased their anxiety. Around the castle gates, and at all the ale-houses folk began to muster and gossip about the events of the day. All the talk had reference to the great project of the new crusade, but the local events relating thereto were the subjects of chief comment. The leading converts at Usk were known not only by repute but personally to many now assembled, and some of them had in their enthusiasm for the cause followed the Archbishop to Newport. These embryo warriors had each a knot of anxious listeners as they spoke of the dignified bearing of the Archbishop, his eloquence of discourse, and the grandeur of the whole party; and while the crowds were held intent with such information, the hour approached when the Archbishop himself was expected to address the assembly.

Let us picture him then accompanied by William de Salso Marisco, Bishop of Llandaff, Alexander, the Archdeacon of Bangor, the learned Giraldus, many of the clergy from neighbouring religious institutions, some of the leading Normans, and also the native nobles of the district, the soldiers of the garrison filling up the back ground. It is immaterial whether the spot from which he harangued the people were the precincts of the

Castle, the Churchyard, or the Stone Cross, the remnants of which still remain on Stow-hill, he performed his mission, and succeeded in inducing many persons to take the cross. The party then passed onwards by the road taken by King Henry and his army a few years before, crossed the river Rumney, and approached the castle of Cardiff, where the same programme was repeated and with a like result. Here, however, in describing the assembly which gathered round the preachers, the English people are spoken of as standing on one side, and the Welsh on the other, indicating that although the amalgamation of races had been proceeding in England, the Welsh still clung to their distinction of nationality.

It may not be uninteresting, in conclusion, to mention that the origin of "assuming the cross" is supposed to be derived from the council of Clermont, held by Pope Urban II. in 1095, when those religious enthusiasts who undertook the expedition to the Holy Land, had a cross sewn on their garments. It was generally worn on the right shoulder. In the first crusade all were red. In the crusade which was now being preached, the different sovereigns distinguished their own subjects by varying the colours. Thus the English wore white, the French red, and the Flemings green. Those worn by great men were of silk worked with gold; those of the commonalty of cloth.

If Giraldus omitted to record the results accomplished at Caerleon in preaching the Crusade, we are indebted to him for an interesting description of the city, as he observed it on the occasion of his visit. After referring to the fact of its having been occupied by the Roman Legions, he says: "This city was of undoubted antiquity, and handsomely built of masonry, with courses of bricks, by the Romans. Many vestiges of its former splendour may yet be seen; immense palaces, formerly ornamented with gilded roofs in imitation of Roman magnificence, inasmuch as they were first raised by the Roman princes and embellished with splendid buildings; a tower of prodigious size, remarkable hot baths, relics of

temples and theatres, all enclosed within fine walls, part of which remain standing. You will find on all sides, both within and without the circuit of the walls, subterraneous buildings, acqueducts, underground passages, and, what I think worthy of notice, stoves contrived with wonderful art to transmit the heat insensibly through narrow tubes passing up the side walls. The city is well situated on the river Usk, navigable to the sea, and adorned with woods and meadows. The Roman ambassadors gave their audience at the Court of the great King Arthur; and here also the Archbishop Dubricius ceded his honours to David of Menevia, the metropolitan see being translated from this place to Menevia, according to the prophecy of Merlin Ambrosius, 'Menevia pallio urbis Legionem inductur'—Menevia shall be invested with the pall of the city of the Legions."

This account of Giraldus is the most valuable we possess respecting the condition of Caerleon in the middle ages. It seems to be the result of repeated observations, and being written after a careful and minute examination of the city, its accuracy cannot be disputed. We have little sympathy with modern writers, therefore, who seek to lessen its force and significance. The author of "Isca Silurum" doubts whether any roofs of Roman construction could possibly have endured through the seven centuries, at least, which had elapsed from the departure of the Romans to the time of Giraldus, and contrasts with Giraldus's account the statement of Henry of Huntingdon, written half a century before. This writer says, "Although Caerleon was the seat of an Archbishop in the time of the Britons, there are now only the remains of its walls on the bank of the river Usk, not far from the confluence with the Severn." As a general and vague account of a city in a ruinous condition, little fault can be found with it, but it does not deny or overthrow the weight of the words of Giraldus. Henry of Huntingdon might never have been near Caerleon. We know that Giraldus was familiar with the city, and the magnificence which he witnessed, even amid the ruins, might have been more than sufficient to indicate the character and

extent of many of the original structures. Another seven centuries have passed away since the time of Giraldus, and in respect of the ancient city the words of Henry of Huntingdon are still applicable, "There are now only the remains of its walls."

In the pages of Giraldus we find other matters related concerning the district which are worth extracting, not only as illustrating the writer's style, but also as evidence of the stories which in those days passed current for truth. "It is worthy of observation," says Giraldus, "that there lived in the City of Legions (Caerleon) in our time a Welshman named Melerius, who, under the following circumstances acquired the knowledge of future and occult events. Having on a certain night, viz., that of Palm Sunday, met a damsel whom he had long loved, in a pleasant and convenient place, while he was indulging in her embraces, suddenly instead of a beautiful girl, he found in his arms a hairy, rough and hideous creature, the sight of which deprived him of his senses, and he became mad. After remaining many years in this condition he was restored to health in the Church of St. David through the merits of its saints. But having always an extraordinary familiarity with unclean spirits by seeing them, knowing them, talking with them, and calling each by his proper name, he was enabled through their assistance to foretell future events. He was, indeed, often deceived (as they are) with respect to circumstances at a great distance of time or place, but were less mistaken in affairs which were likely to happen nearer, or within the space of a year. The spirits appeared to him usually on foot equipped as hunters, with horns suspended from their necks, and truly as hunters, not of animals, but of souls. He particularly met them near monasteries and monastic cells, for where rebellion exists there is the greatest need of armies and strength. He knew when any one spoke falsely in his presence, for he saw the Devil as it were, leaping and exulting upon the tongue of the liar. If he looked on a book faultily or falsely written, or containing a false passage, although wholly illiterate, he would point out the place with his

finger. Being questioned how he could gain such knowledge, he said he was directed by the demon's finger to the place. In the same manner entering the dormitory of a monastery, he indicated the bed of any monk not sincerely devoted to religion. He said that the spirit of gluttony and surfeit was in every respect sordid, but that the spirit of luxury and lust was more beautiful than others in appearance, though in fact most foul. If the evil spirit oppressed him too much the Gospel of St. John was placed on his bosom, when like the birds they immediately vanished; but when that book was removed, and the history of the Britons, by Geoffrey Arthur, was substituted in its place they reappeared in greater numbers and remained a longer time than usual on his body and on the book.

At the same time there was in Lower Gwent, a demon incubus who, from his love for a certain young woman and frequenting places where she lived, often conversed with men, and frequently discovered certain things and future events. Melerius being interrogated concerning him said he knew him well, and mentioned his name. He confirmed that unclean spirits conversed with mankind before war or any great internal disturbances, which was shortly afterwards proved by the destruction of the province by Howell, son of Iorwerth of Caerleon. At the same time when King Henry II., having taken the King of Scotland prisoner, had restored peace to his kingdom, Howell, fearing the royal revenge for the war he had waged, was relieved from this difficulty by the comfortable words of Melerius. "Fear not," said he, "Howell, the wrath of the King, since he must go into other parts. An important city which he possesses beyond the sea is now besieged by the King of France, on which account he will postpone other business and hasten hither with all possible expedition." Three days afterwards Howell received advice that this event had really come to pass owing to the siege of the city of Rouen. He forewarned also Howell of the betraying of his castle at Usk, a long time before it happened, and informed him that he should be

wounded, but not mortally, and that he should escape alive from the town. In this also he was deceived, for he soon after died of the same wound.

King Henry did not live to take part in the crusade which he had arranged, but Richard, who succeeded to the throne of England, speedily embarked for the Holy Land, and Giraldus was nominated as one of the governors of the kingdom in his absence. Giraldus died in 1220.

We cannot pass by the period of Henry's reign without noticing the circumstance that in the last year there was said to be found in the churchyard ot Glastonbury Abbey, the bones of the renowned King Arthur, who was crowned at Caerleon, and also the bones of his wife Guinevere. The remains were found 16 feet below the ground, but seven feet below the surface was a large stone bearing the inscription in Latin, "Here lies the Illustrious King Arthur, in the Isle of Avalon." The bones of Arthur are described as being of prodigious size, and the skull of wonderful largeness. The remains were taken into the great Church, and covered with a marble tomb.

KING JOHN INVADES WALES AND TAKES HOSTAGES.—THE HOSTAGES HANGED.—KING JOHN'S CONNECTION WITH GWENT.—WILLIAM MARSHALL, EARL OF PEMBROKE.—COMBINATION OF BARONS AGAINST THE KING.—THE TRUCE VIOLATED.—CAERLEON WRESTED FROM MORGAN AP HOWELL.

During the reign of Richard, 1189 to 1199, no event of great local interest seems to have occurred, but when his brother John came to the throne, Gwent once more came into prominence by circumstances which ended in bloodshed and slaughter. John could not agree with the barons, and he had a violent dispute with the Pope. These and other distracting circumstances encouraged the Welsh princes once more to raise their war banners, upon which John threatened again and again to invade the country. It seems, however, that his design was never fully carried into effect, being afraid of conspiracies at home. He ventured, however, in 1210, to make an expedition to Ireland, but he speedily returned. We do not find that on the occasion of this journey King John or his army visited either Caerleon or Newport. The Royal troops, however, were garrisoned at Cardiff, and King John was himself at Swansea, on the 28th and 29th May of that year "enforcing homage and levying tribute." He also took 28 hostages. To the burgesses of that place he granted a charter freeing them from certain tolls.

During the many invasions of South Wales, which were made by the English Kings, it was not unusual to transport from Bristol to Carmarthen and other ports, provisions and part of the troops, and as no mention is made of Caerleon or Newport, it is not unlikely that the expedition was chiefly conducted by water, instead of by the coastland route.

Both the Clergy and the Welsh people continued to give John much concern. The land was laid under an interdict; the church bells remained silent; the dead lay unburied, and outrages were left unpunished. A Welshman, having murdered

a priest, was taken before the King. "Let him go," said John, "he has killed my enemy."

In 1212, when the Welsh princes made another incursion, John fell into a passion and hanged the twenty-eight hostages he had had entrusted to his keeping two years before.

King John, prior to his ascending the throne, had a somewhat peculiar connection with Gwent, William, Earl of Gloucester, having made him his heir. The reasons for the adoption of this course are not precisely known, but Walsingham has assumed that the Earl, having no son, did this in order to prevent the heritage from being divided. He had four daughters, co-heirs, and at Windsor, 1176, nominated John as his heir, with the understanding that he was to marry one of them, which he afterwards did.

Earl William died November 23, 1183, when King Henry stepped in as guardian of the heiresses for six years, and the issues of the estates in this district were received as a branch of the royal revenues.

The close connection of the Earl with Newport and Caerleon at this period is shown by the charters which he granted. In one he granted to the monks of Goldcliff freedom from toll in Bristol, Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon and Chepstow; to the monks of St. Guthla, Hereford, freedom from toll in all his Welsh possessions. To St. Augustine's, Bristol, he gave the tithes of his mill at Newport; and to St. Peter's, Gloucester, freedom from toll in Bristol, Cardiff, and Newport.

On King Henry's death, 1189, the estates of the Earl still remained in royal keeping, and King Richard assumed the wardship of the four daughters. He only held it, however, for a portion of a year, when he determined it in favour of Isabel, the third daughter, and married her to his brother John, to whom she had been contracted in 1176. John was created Earl of Gloucester. The marriage was forbidden by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground of the parties being too near akin, Henry I. being great grandfather to both. The union, however, appeared to prevent a dispute as to the right of inheritance,

and the prohibition of the Archbishop was not persisted in. John disregarded it until he became King, when he made use of it to obtain a divorce in 1200. The divorce having been granted, proceedings were taken to compel John to give up the estates which he had received with his wife, but it was not without much delay and with a very bad grace that he did so.

After thirteen years of widowhood, about January, 1214, Isabel married Geoffrey Fitz Peter, or De Mandeville, the justiciary, who, on the death of his father, became Earl of Essex. His usual style was Earl of Essex and Gloucester; that of his wife, Countess of Gloucester and Essex. She granted a charter to Bassalleg, in which the two titles are combined thus: "Ego Isabella, Comitissa Gloucestre et Essexie consensu et assensu domini mei Galfridi de Mandevilla Comitis Essexie et Gloucestrie.

While a widow, Isabel also granted a charter to Caerleon, but she speedily became the third wife of Hubert de Burgh, then justiciary.

She died childless, previous to October, 1217, and the estates passed to the son of her eldest sister Mabel, who alone left issue.

Leaving in abeyance for a time the descent of the estates, other matters claim attention, and we must not delay to introduce one of the leading men of the period, a statesman who made his mark upon the country's history, and who guided its destinies amid a stormy period with singular ability. We allude to William Marshall, who has been already referred to as subsequently becoming the possessor of Caerleon. He was devoted to the service of John, and was one of the chief instruments in securing for him the crown of England. On the day of his coronation John acknowledged the many favours he had received by making him Earl of Pembroke and Striguil. He was, moreover, Marshal of England, and as such the head of the armies. In the King's first contest with the barons he was given by John as a hostage, and at Runnymede appeared on the King's side, his name standing first after the list of Bishops. His son, however, William Marshall, the younger,

took an opposite view of matters, and supported the barons by his presence on the same occasion. This difference between father and son continued for some time.

While King John was thus engaged with the barons, Llewellin ap Iorwerth dealt some heavy blows to the Norman settlers in South Wales, and seized many castles, including that of Caerphilly. John was distracted by the circumstances in which he was involved, and died before the successes of Llewellin could be reversed.

On the death of John, his son was crowned at Gloucester as King Henry III. Being only ten years of age, a regent was chosen, the responsibility being entrusted to Wm. Marshall, the elder, Earl of Pembroke and Striguil. It is generally admitted that a man better fitted for the position or one who more faithfully performed its duties could not have been found. Unfortunately nearly the whole of the barons who had opposed King John maintained the cause of Prince Louis, eldest son of Philip, King of France, and sought with an army of foreigners to establish him on the throne of England in the place of Henry. The barons were actively supported by many of the nobles of Wales, headed by Prince Llewellin, who was in league with the French. The Earl of Pembroke was also stoutly opposed by his own son, and when Louis summoned the great men of England to do him homage, William Marshall the younger was one of the first to meet him and render this mark of submission. A civil war, with most disastrous consequences followed, the country being ravaged by two mercenary armies, with nothing in view but plunder. The wise policy of the Earl, however, ultimately prevailed, and the barons one by one, and among them his son William, came over to the side of the young Henry. The confederacy of the barons was then broken up, terms were made with Prince Louis, and general peace again established throughout England.

We have deemed it advisable to give the foregoing outline of the Earl of Pembroke's proceedings, as they tend to throw some light upon a most important event which soon after took place

at Caerleon, and by which the representatives of the ancient Princes of Gwent were once more forcibly dispossessed of their inheritance.

When the Earl of Pembroke had made peace with the Barons of England he found that many of the castles of South Wales were in the possession of Llewellin. Caerphilly had been taken by him. and he had made it over to Reginald de Braose, who committed it to the care of Rhys Vychan, one of the sons of Prince Rhys. The Earl saw that it would be difficult to obtain the places in Llewellin's possession without again calling together the troops which had just been disbanded, and this he was unwilling to do. He therefore granted to Llewellin an honourable and advantageous peace, and procured him absolution from the Pope's legate. Some historians aver that in the terms of the peace there was an express stipulation that Llewellin should restore to the King all places taken by him during the war, and that the like should be done by the King to Llewellin. Others state that the Barons in their articles of submission to Henry basely and treacherously omitted the Welsh Princes, who had been in strict alliance with them, and not only deserted their cause but began to use the confidence they had lately obtained to extend their domains by the violent and unjust seizure of their estates.

The tragedy was opened by the Earl of Pembroke himself in a bloody scene, in which suddenly and unexpectedly he made an attack upon Caerleon. Morgan ap Howell was surprised, the castle wrested from him, and the inhabitants who were not prepared to offer an effective defence, ruthlessly put to the sword.

The suddenness with which the Earl of Pembroke seized Caerleon created considerable alarm in the mind of Prince Llewellin, who regarded it as a most treacherous act, and fearing that the Earl might extend his operations to other castles within his reach he at once gave orders to Rhys Vychan to rase the walls of Caerphilly and retaliate upon the lives of the Englishmen in the neighbourhood. There was consequently a general banishment and great slaughter, after which the Welsh forces retired.

It is by no means clear why Morgan ap Howell was dispossessed of his Lordship of Caerleon, and the Welsh Chronicles give no information upon the point. They simply state that Wm. Marshall the elder got possession of the castle of Caerleon, but do not say in what manner he acquired it. It seems, however, needless to look for any cause beyond the mere desire of Wm. Marshall in common with the Norman barons generally to exterminate every remnant of the ancient power in Wales, and to seize the estates of its legitimate representatives. The Earl of Pembroke already possessed the lordship of Chepstow; Newport was held by Gilbert de Clare, who married the Earl's daughter, and other Barons had possession of nearly the whole intervening district. Caerleon remained almost the only place where the descendants of the Welsh Princes had rule. The circumstances of the times were tempting, and William Marshall could not resist turning them to his own advantage.

The Earl died about the middle of March, 1219, and was buried in the church of the New Temple, London, leaving five sons and five daughters. His estates, including Caerleon, devolved upon his son William, the city after his death continuing to be the object of fierce and sanguinary contentions.

It is recorded of the first William Marshal, that having been in great danger on sea, he made a vow to build an Abbey on the first spot where he should land in safety; he put into the Bay of Tintern, on the Bannonbay, three miles N.E. of Duncannon Fort, and religiously redeemed his vow by erecting a Cistercian Abbey for monks whom he brought from Tintern Abbey, and endowed it with many valuable lands.

Morgan ap Howell, it is clear, regarded the seizure of Caerleon by William Marshall the elder, as narrated above, an act of gross injustice; and being unable by force of arms to regain it, instituted legal proceedings in the King's Courts for its recovery. This fact is confirmed by one of the Close Rolls, dated 15 Henry III., May 4th, 1220, which states that Morgan of Caerleon appeared by his "attorneys," Henry de Frenchesnai, and Henry of Caerleon, before the King, to answer in the

trial between him and William Earl Marshall concerning the possession of Caerleon. The issue of the proceedings is uncertain, nor is it clear whether the elder or the younger William Marshall was defendant in the first place, the elder having died in the previous year.

Some writers conclude that Morgan, as was just, won the day, being subsequently (1231) found to be in possession of Caerleon. It seems far more likely, however, that he failed in his claim, and that the writers who hold the former opinion have overlooked the circumstances that occurred a year or two after the legal proceedings referred to.

In 1223, William Marshall, the younger, was in Ireland, and Morgan ap Howell, taking advantage of his absence, sought the aid of Llewellin to recover Caerleon once more. Their united efforts were successful, as it appears by the chronicles that they took two castles (one of them being Caerleon) from the Earl, and having cut off the heads of all those found therein, manned them with Welsh soldiers. Intelligence of this affair having been conveyed to the Earl in Ireland, he speedily returned to Caerleon, collected a very strong force, regained the Castle, and then took revenge by serving the defenders in a like cruel manner as Llewellin had done the English.

After all this it is strange to find that in the same year (1223) Morgan was entrusted by the King with the custody of the castle of Dymock, in Gloucestershire, but whether this arrangement had anything to do with the affairs at Caerleon cannot be determined.

The justice of Morgan's claim to Caerleon was evidently too strong to be utterly ignored; and it appears, therefore, that what he was deprived of by force, was endeavoured to be kept from him by fraud, otherwise a document pretending to be a grant from Morgan to William Marshall, seems inexplicable. The document is in the following terms:—

"Know all men present and to come, that I, Morgan, son of Howel, have given and granted, and by this my present Charter, confirmed to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and his heirs, the Castle of Caerleon, with its

appurtenances, to be holden of the lord the King, and his heirs *in capite*, as Howel my father was accustomed to hold the said castle with its appurtenances, justly and freely, and as I justly and freely do hold the said castle and appurtenances as of the gift of the King."

The document is witnessed by Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary of England, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, Ralph Fitz Nicholas, William de Gamage, and others. There is no date, but it was probably written after 1223, when the last recorded events took place and before 1228, when this real or pretended grant was confirmed by King Henry III. Seven years later, viz., 19th, Henry III., 1235, the grant was further confirmed to Gilbert Marshall, his brother William having died in the interim. Now as Morgan omitted no opportunity, to assert his claim, both before and after this period, it can hardly be supposed that the grant of his property to the Marshalls was voluntary, and there can be little doubt that if he ever executed such an instrument he must have been acting under coercion.

CAERLEON ATTACKED BY PRINCE LLEWELLIN.—DEATH OF WM. MARSHALL, THE YOUNGER.—RICHARD MARSHALL.—HIS OPPOSITION TO THE KING.—ATTACKS THE ROYAL CAMP AT GROSMONT.—SUBSEQUENT CONFLICTS.—IS MURDERED IN IRELAND.—GRANT OF CAERLEON CONFIRMED TO GILBERT MARSHALL.—OWNERSHIP OF CAERLEON DISPUTED.—A TRUCE BETWEEN THE KING AND LLEWELLIN.—DEATH OF GILBERT MARSHALL.

For several years, Llewellin by his frequent incursions into English territory, had occasioned King Henry a great deal of trouble; and several expeditions, organised with the object of restraining him, failed in their purpose. In 1231, consequent upon the barbarity of the King's troops at Montgomery Castle, Llewellin became greatly enraged, and collecting a large army he renewed the war with considerable vigour. The chronicles declare that he committed terrible depredations on the lands and property of the Lord Marchers, and in Gwent subjugated all the Lords except Morgan ap Howell, whom he could not dispossess of Caerleon Castle, although he burnt both the city, and the church. The Margam Chronicle states that he was grieved and amazed to find that he lost so many men, either slain or drowned in the Usk, or captured by the defenders of the castle.

Enderbie says he went to Caerleon, and after a long fight and loss of many of his men men, got the town, and left nothing therein but ashes.

Mr. Wakeman publishes a different account, but does not give his authority. He states that Llewellin attacked the castle and town, and captured them after an obstinate resistance, the garrison being put to the sword. He adds that the castle was burnt to the ground, and conjectures that it was never re-built.

These accounts, it will be noticed, are somewhat conflicting. From the first it is to be inferred that the attack upon Caerleon by Llewellin was against Morgan ap Howell, but we have found nothing to show that Morgan was ever in possession of the

place after William Marshall retook it and slaughtered the Welsh occupants on his return from Ireland in 1231. Still, had Morgan held Caerleon it is not easy to understand why Llewellin should have displayed such a hostile attitude towards him whom he had always befriended, and whose interest he afterwards continued to espouse. The attack upon Caerleon was certainly made, but with the object, we think, of inflicting damage upon the cause of the King and his supporters.

William Marshall's name is not mentioned in connection with this event. He seems to have been in Ireland at the time, as he died there during the year, at Kilkenny.

This same William Marshall granted a charter to the Abbey of Tintern, dated Striguil, March 22nd, 1223, "pro salute animæ meæ et pro animabus bonæ memoriæ Walteri filii Guilberti Strongbow avi mei et Ysabelle Matrisque meæ et antecessorum, hæredum et successorum nostrarum." It is witnessed among others by Master William of Christchurch, then acting Steward of Lower Gwent. By this charter, nearly the whole of the land between Chepstow and Newport was added to the revenues of Tintern.

William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, had married Eleanor, the King's youngest sister, who was twenty years younger than himself, but having no children he left his estates by will at his death to his brother Richard, who was then in Bretagne, where he had done the State signal services. A truce having been made Richard returned to England to claim his inheritance, but before his return King Henry had seized the estates, and made a variety of excuses to Richard for not handing them over to him. Ultimately he charged Richard with carrying on a criminal correspondence with France, and commanded him to leave the kingdom within 15 days. Richard, as being the son of the Earl of Pembroke, by whose powerful influence Henry had been established upon the throne, felt this conduct sorely, and left the country for Ireland, where he speedily obtained possession of the estates belonging to his family. The temper of King Henry soon changed, and he recalled Richard, handed over to

him the estates in Gwent and other places left to him by his brother William, and further invested him with the dignity of Earl Marshal, which his brother had enjoyed.

The general conduct of the King, more especially in filling his court with foreigners, and promoting them to the principal offices of the Government, gave much displeasure to the English barons, and Richard Marshall, who was the first who ventured openly to complain of these proceedings, soon became the leader of the dissatisfied party. The dissatisfaction of the barons was equalled by their determination to effect a change, and when the King summoned them to Parliament, they not only refused to attend, but sent word that if the King failed to dismiss the foreigners about him they would expel both him and them, and give the crown to one more worthy to wear it. Those who did assemble in Parliament refused to act against the offended barons, but notwithstanding this, Henry resolved to use all the force he could command to bring them into subjection. He summoned the vassals of the Crown to meet him with troops at Gloucester, but, as might be expected, Richard and other nobles identified with him in opposition to the King did not see fit to appear. Their refusal furnished the King with a pretext to attack them; whereupon he ordered their estates to be plundered, their parks to be destroyed, and their houses to be pillaged. For some reason the dissatisfied barons did not hold together, and the Earl of Pembroke, perceiving that he could not make head after being deserted by many of his associates, sought for and obtained assistance and protection at the hands of Prince Llewellin.

In the mean time Henry marched down into Gwent with a design to seize the castles belonging to the Earl, but failing in his object, he sought to accomplish by deceit that which he could not effect by force. When spending his time before the first castle he proposed that on giving his word to consider the complaints of the barons at the Parliament which would meet in October, the castle should be given up to him, Henry promising to surrender it back again in 15 days. On these

conditions the castle was given up, upon which Henry laughed at the Earl's easiness and refused to fulfil his promise. Such conduct naturally exasperated the Earl, who gathered a force, and, laying siege to the castle, obtained possession of it in a few days. Henry again fell into a great fury, and commanded the bishops to excommunicate him, but much to the King's mortification they replied that they saw no lawful cause for excommuication, inasmuch as the Earl had done nothing but take possession of what was his own. Henry was still determined to avenge the conduct of the Earl, and once more summoned all the lords to meet him at Gloucester, with their troops. A large force assembled, and as soon as the army was ready, he set out on the march. It was not long before the King found himself in extremes for want of provisions, the Earl of Pembroke having laid waste all the places through which the royal army was to pass. The army, however, succeeded in entering Monmouthshire, and took up quarters at Grosmont. It would seem that at this time the castle was held for the King, and was being besieged by Llewellin. According to a statement by Lambarde, relief was soon afforded, for says this writer, "the King came with a great army to raise the siege; whereof as soon as the Welshman had understanding, they saved their lives by their legges." The King then took up his quarters in the castle, and the army encamped in tents outside. For some time his Majesty was occupied in making the necessary arrangements for the subsistence of his army before making a further advance; but while these arrangements were in progress, the Earl of Pembroke attacked the camp by night, and easily surprised it, putting to the sword five hundred of the English, and obliging the rest to fly with haste within the walls of the castle. He had likewise the good fortune to take possession of five hundred horses, the money, prisoners, carriages, and other furniture belonging to the King's army, In this critical moment, the Earl did not pursue his success, but gave an exalted proof of moderation and duty. Out of respect to his Sovereign, confined in the

castle, he offered no further hostilities, but retired before break of day to a secure situation, loaded with the spoils he had captured. After this disaster many of Henry's courtiers, having lost their military equipments, left the army and returned to England; and the King, confounded and ashamed at the event, retired to Gloucester, leaving a garrison in charge of the castle.

Flushed with his success, the Earl of Pembroke resolved to besiege the castle of Monmouth, which was then under the command of Baldwin de Guisnes, a Flemish officer of great reputation. Baldwin anticipated such an attack and made preparations for defence. Surmising that the Earl would approach with a small number of soldiers to take a view of the castle, he laid an ambush for him and took him prisoner, but while they were conducting him to the castle Baldwin was desperately wounded by an arrow, which obliged his people to halt in order to assist him. This delay afforded time for the Earl's forces to come up, when they not only rescued him, but killed or took prisoners all those who sallied out of the town.

Early in 1234, King Henry thought it necessary to oppose to the Earl of Pembroke a man of similar reputation and talent, and consequently John, Lord of Monmouth, a great border baron, a noble warrior, and a general in the King's army, ever faithful to Henry, was appointed Warden of the Marches of Wales. He at once collected a large army and made preparations to encounter the Earl of Pembroke. His proceedings for this purpose and the result are described by Matthew Paris. He hoped by a sudden and vigorous impression to surprise the Earl, and, by taking him prisoner, strike at the root of the revolt. He therefore so ordered his march as to be ready to assail the Earl during the darkness of the night, but the spies of Richard had obtained intelligence of the intended attack, and an ambuscade was prepared to counteract the design. Troops were posted in a wood adjoining the road which the troops of John of Monmouth had to pass, and here awaited their approach. As they came up, little suspecting the trap laid for them, the Earl's forces rushed out, and

the enemy, confounded by the darkness of the night, and the loud shouts of their opponents, were easily put to flight. Numbers of them were slain on the spot, and many flying into the wood were cut in pieces by the troops stationed there. John of Monmouth saved himself by flight, but the villages belonging to him, the buildings therein, and all that they contained, became plunder for the Earl s troops, who left nothing that fire and sword could destroy. John was made a poor man, while the Earl of Pembroke returned to his own estates laden with immense booty and large herds of cattle.

It was soon perceived that the genius of the Earl of Pembroke was sufficient to overcome all the opposition which John of Monmouth could offer. Strengthening himself by the alliance with Llewellin, the Earl followed up the advantages he had gained by continuing to ravage the King's lands on the borders of Wales, and rendered the King so uneasy at Gloucester that he withdrew, and shut himself up at Winchester, leaving Monmouthshire and the district entirely at the mercy of his enemy.

Attempts to make peace were set on foot, but Henry insisted that the Earl should come and throw himself at his feet, with a halter about his neck, and acknowledge himself a traitor. The Earl was not likely to submit to such degrading terms, and so probably the contest would have been prolonged had not a scheme, suggested it is said by the Bishop of Winchester, been carried out. The Bishop obtained of the King a grant or charter to his officers in Ireland to plunder the estates of the Earl in that country, promising to give them what they acquired. The artifice succeeded, for the Earl of Pembroke soon repaired to Ireland to take vengeance upon those who had attacked his estates, but instead of being revenged he was stabbed in the back with a dagger by Geoffrey Marsh, a magnate of Ireland, who pretended to be his friend. His death took place on the 19th April, 1234.

Richard Marshall was succeeded in the Earldom of Pembroke by his brother Gilbert, who also inherited the immense estates which his deceased

brother had held in Gwent and other parts of the kingdom. The possession of Caerleon seems to have been one of the first objects of his ambition, for we find that, on appeal to the King, his Majesty in 1235 confirmed to him the grant which Morgan ap Howell is said to have made to the first William Marshall. The rightful ownership of the city, however, was at once questioned, the disputants this time being the King and Prince Llewellin. The latter, it will be remembered, secured possession of the place during the second William Marshall's absence in Ireland, and for all that we know to the contrary, he retained it until 1234, when peace was brought about between him and King Henry. The conditions of this truce or peace was that it should continue for two years; that the Welsh nobles who had assisted Llewellin should be reinstated; that Morgan of Caerleon should be restored to his lands and property; that other captives should be at once released; and that no new castle should be built in the Marches, or any dismantled one rebuilt during the period named.

Notwithstanding these conditions, which were formulated and agreed to with much ceremony, Gilbert Marshall, as we have stated, obtained possession of Caerleon, and displayed his hostility towards Morgan ap Howel by attacking a castle which he held at Machen. Woodward states that the castle was burnt, but Enderbie says that having taken the castle Gilbert fortified it very strongly for fear of Llewellin. All the old writers agree that all the moveable property therein and round about, belonging to Morgan was carried away, and his territory wasted.

Of this gross infringement of the conditions of the truce Llewellin made a formal complaint to the King, who on the 18th February, 1236, wrote to Llewellin expressing dissatisfaction with the affair, and informing him that he had sent commissioners to investigate it. He insisted, meanwhile, however, that all others should keep the peace. Matters proceeded slowly even in those days when diplomacy was the motive power employed. July came and Morgan had not been put in possession of his own again, but on the 11th of that month Henry,

being at Tewkesbury, notified to his subjects that on St. Benedict's Day (the same 11th), Llewellin had sworn to continue the truce for a year, from St. James's Day, on which day the previous two years' truce expired. One of the conditions of this new peace was that Morgan of Caerleon should have full restitution made to him for all the injuries he had received since the commencement of the late peace. The commissioners and arbitrators were appointed to meet at Shrewsbury, and with them the final decision was left. It seems likely that the preliminary conditions agreed to were never fulfilled, and that Gilbert Marshall retained possession of Caerleon until his death in 1241.

Gilbert like his brothers, had been received into the favour of the King, and was promoted to the office of Grand Marshall. In 1238, he was disgraced and compelled to leave the Court, but after two years retirement he was again restored to his former high favours. In the following year, 1241, the Earl met his death under the circumstances detailed by Matthew Paris. This writer says:—

Earl Gilbert Marshall had, with some other nobles, arranged a sort of tilting match, called by some a "venture" but which might rather be called a "misadventure;" they tried their strength about a cross bow shot, from Hertford, where he, by his skill in knightly tactics, gained for himself the praise of much science, and was declared by all, considering his small size of body, to have justly distinguished himself for his valour. This was what the said Earl chiefly aimed at, for he was in the first place destined to clerical orders, and was reported to be weak and unskilful in warlike exercises. He was at this tournament mounted on a noble horse—an Italian charger—to which he was not accustomed, accoutred in handsome armour, and surrounded by a dense body of soldiers, who soon afterwards, however, left him, and dispersed, intent on gain. Whilst the Earl, then, was amusing himself by working his horse at full speed, and anon goring his sides with sharp spurs, to urge him to greater speed, and, as the case required, suddenly drew rein, both the reins suddenly broke off at the junction with the bit. By this accident the horse became unmanageable, and tossing up his head, struck his rider a violent blow on the breast. Some there were who unhesitatingly asserted that the bridle had been treacherously cut by some jealous person in order that, being thus left at the mercy of his horse, he might be dashed to pieces and killed; or, at least, that he might be taken by his adver-

saries at will. Moreover, he had dined, and was nearly blinded by the heat, dust, and sweat, and his head was oppressed by the weight of his heavy helmet. His horse, too, could not be restrained by him, or anyone else; but he, at the same time fainting away, began to totter in his saddle, and soon after fell, half-dead, from his horse, with one foot, however, fixed in the stirrup; and in this manner, he was dragged some distance over the field, by which he suffered some internal injuries which caused his death. He expired in the evening of the 27th of June amidst the deep and loudly expressed sorrow of those who beheld him, at a house of the monks of Hertford, * * * His body was taken to London to be buried near his father."

Gilbert died without issue, and his estates by hereditary right devolved upon his brother Walter. The King, however, withheld them from him, alleging that both he and Gilbert were present at the tournament contrary to the prohibition which he had given them. A writ was issued to John of Monmouth to take possession of three castles, viz., Karelioun (Caerleon), Usk, and Strigoyll, which had belonged to Gilbert, and probably other loyal barons were similarly commissioned to take charge of the remaining castles and estate which the deceased Earl had held. The writ to John of Monmouth pretty clearly testified that Gilbert retained Caerleon at his death, and that Morgan ap Howell was not restored to the hereditary rights which had been solemnly promised to him by the King. Among other property in the neighbourhood, belonging to Gilbert was that of the manor of Crick, which in 1240 was held of him by Sir W. Deneford.

On the intercession of the Queen, Walter Marshall was invested with his rightful Earldom and the Marshal's office, and his estates also were restored to him except the castles of Cardiff and Cardigan, which the King considered it necessary to retain in order to strengthen the district he had lately taken possession of.

In 1245 Walter went the way of all flesh, and was buried at Tintern Abbey, where many of his noble ancestors lay entombed. Matthew Paris records his death as having taken place in November or December in London, but other writers say it occurred at Goodrich Castle.

Anselm, the youngest and last of the brothers, succeeded to all the estates and honours of the family. He was Dean of Salisbury, but lived only a few months to enjoy the honours which had fallen to his lot, dying 21st December, 1245, at the castle of Striguil. His remains were buried in Tintern Abbey with those of his brothers.

The last five Earls of Pembroke had been all brothers, and each in succession had been possessed of Caerleon, and invested with the dignity of Earl Marshal of England. They all died without issue, and thus speedily failed the members of a noble family. The old writers notice these peculiar circumstances, and assert that certain predictions had been fully verified in them. The mother is said to have prophesied that all her sons would be "earls of one earldom." An Irish bishop, being offended because the father, William Marshall, had taken possession of some land in Ireland, belonging to the church, declared at his interment at the New Temple, London, "that in one generation shall his name be destroyed, and his sons shall be without share of that benediction of the Lord, 'Increase and multiply.'"

THE MARSHALL ESTATES DIVIDED.—GILBERT DE CLARE OBTAINS CAERLEON AND USK.—RICHARD DE CLARE SUCCEEDS.—CURIOUS LETTER FROM HIS COUNTESS.—SIMON DE MONTFORT, EARL OF LEICESTER.—HIS INTEREST IN THE DISTRICT.—HE BECOMES LEADER OF THE BARONS.—CONDITION OF THE MARCHES.—EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS THE WELSH.—MILITARY COMMAND GIVEN TO LEICESTER.—CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE KING AND BARONS.—LEICESTER CAPTURES THE KING.

The vast estates which the family of Marshall possessed in Gwent, in Wales, England, and Ireland, became, on the death of the last earl, divided among five surviving sisters, who were all married to divers great noblemen of England. Striguil, the estate which gave a title to the earldom, fell to the lot of Maud, the eldest daughter, who had married Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; and to him also was granted the dignity of Earl Marshal. Caerleon and Usk passed to Gilbert de Clare, by his marriage to Isabel, another of the co-heiresses, and who already was in possession of the town of Newport. Pencoed, which had been holden of Caerleon alone, was divided, and its owners subsequently rendered the service of half a knight's fee to the Lords of Caerleon, and a quarter of a knight's fee to the Lords of Striguil.

The chief result of these arrangements was that the honours of the houses of Gloucester and Pembroke were united, and the estates of Gloucester and Glamorgan fell into the sole hands of Gilbert de Clare, the descendant of the family who held large estates in the district before their diversion to the Marshalls.

This Gilbert, the first to hold the earldom of Gloucester and Hertford conjointly, was succeeded by Richard, who was not altogether unrenowned for his acts of valour in warfare. He was twice married, his second wife being Matilda or Maud, daughter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. That he resided at Caerleon seems evident from a somewhat curious letter still existing in the archives of

Westminster Abbey. It purports to be from Maud de Clare, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, and is addressed to the Prior and Convent of Westminster. It is dated from Caerleon, 8th July, but the year is not given. The countess, it would seem, had been in ill-health, and, in accordance with the superstitions of the age, had obtained from the convent one of their famed relics, in the hope that its presence near her would be effective in restoring her to health. The relic was accompanied by Friar Dan Henry, who was entrusted with its safe keeping. The restoration of the countess was not so speedy as desired, and as the relic was retained, some communication had been sent from Westminster respecting its return. The countess, in her reply, hopes the prior and convent will not take in ill part the long stay which their Friar Dan Henry is making with her, and adds that to let him leave with the relic, which they had allowed her to have for so long, before she was better than at present, would be a great discomfort to her, which she hopes none of them desire. What was the ultimate effect of the precious relic we know not, but the Countess appears to have recovered and survived her husband. In July, 1262, being then with King Henry in France, he was seized with fever, and died there. His body was brought home and buried in Tewkesbury Abbey, where upon his tomb is "written his noble acts."

It is recorded among the memorabilia of this earl, that a Jew having accidentally fallen into a common sewer on Saturday, refused all assistance to extricate him from his loathsome prison, lest he should profane the Sabbath of his nation. R. de Clare, lord of the manor, hearing of the circumstance and the man's obstinacy, gave orders that none should assist him on the Sunday, resolving to make him observe the Christian Sabbath with the same solemnity with which he had observed his own. But before Monday this strict observer of the ceremonies of the law had fallen a victim to his conscientious scruples.

Before proceeding further in the line of descent, it seems advisable to introduce the name of another

leading character of that age, and show how closely he became connected with the district of which we are writing. First we must recall the personage of Eleanor, the King's (Henry III.) youngest sister, who had been married to the second William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and left a widow, in 1231, when not more than sixteen years of age. So intense was her grief that she took the vow of perpetual chastity, and although she did not enter a convent, the Church claimed her as its own. In less than seven years, however, she gave her love to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and was married to him in the private chapel at Westminster, January 7, 1238, the king looking with the greatest favour upon the match, and himself giving away the bride. In the complicated state of affairs which arose after the death of Eleanor's first husband, the younger William Marshall, it is not easy to determine what advantages she derived from the large possessions in Gwent he left behind. The king, it is known, withheld them for a time from Richard Marshall, and again seized them during the tenure of the other brothers who succeeded. Eleanor always claimed a right to a share in the property of her former husband, and Henry was accustomed to pay her an allowance out of the great possessions which he retained from the Marshalls. But he always owed her money, and regarded her as a debtor does his creditor. The Earl of Leicester, on his marriage with Eleanor, naturally looked after her interests, and became piqued at the way in which Henry had treated her. The claims of Eleanor, too, occasioned a quarrel between her husband and the Earl of Gloucester, into whose hands the estates of the Marshalls had fallen. Without specific information as to the arrangements made, it is evident that Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, by his marriage with Eleanor, became interested in much property, and acquired much influence in this district.

The character and conduct of "the great earl," as he is frequently termed, form a prominent feature in general history, and his connection with this district being so close and interesting, it

becomes necessary to give an outline of his proceedings, and trace in detail many of his actions.

The weakness and vacillation of King Henry had given great cause to his nobles to rebel, but since the untimely death of Richard Marshall, who had been their leader, they had been less active in their opposition. The discontent among them was, however, not lessened, nor the desire to obtain a redress of their grievances. The exorbitant and repeated demands made upon the bishops and clergy by the Pope, who found an ally in the king, alienated the clergy, and rendered them as dissatisfied as the barons. The justice of their demands was so apparent that the Earl of Leicester could not refrain from sympathising with them; and neither his position nor his connection with the king prevented him from ultimately espousing their cause and becoming their leader. Leicester was supported at times by Richard, Earl of Gloucester, Earl Bigod of Chepstow, Roger Mortimer of Hereford, and other Lord Marchers, but their support was inconstant. When a combination was effected the malcontent barons lost no time in preparing to vindicate their privileges by seriously abridging the prerogative of the Crown, but occasionally the ill-feeling between the earls of Gloucester and Leicester would break out, and the designs of the barons remain in abeyance meanwhile. More than once Gloucester was induced to leave the ranks of the opposition, and to support the king.

At this period the condition of the Marches is described by Matthew Paris as being "terrible." The Welsh employed themselves in pillage, slaughter, and incendiarism, and only laughed and ridiculed the efforts made by the English for their suppression. He further states that the frontier was reduced to a desert, and the inhabitants fell by the sword; castles and houses were consumed by fire; woods were felled by axe and spade; and flocks and herds fell victims to the butcher, or died of starvation.

The truth of this general description is corroborated by the testimony of Peter de Montfort (father of the Earl of Leicester), who, being in command of the castle of Abergavenny by

appointment of Prince Edward, was an observer of the events which transpired in that locality. In a letter to the king informing him of his arrival, he states that he found the district in a very disturbed state; that there had been inroads incessantly made into the Lordship, which had been forced back, so that the limits of the domain under his control were grievously narrowed, on the side towards the Welsh, whereby they were brought into very undesirable proximity to his castle. A few days after the despatch of this letter, the Welsh made a sudden descent upon the town, "to burn and destroy," but the next day they were driven back to the mountains with great loss, 300 of them being slain. In the same year, 1257, the lands of the Earl of Leicester were overrun, and the king, who was at this time on friendly terms with the earl, arranged an expedition for the purpose of punishing the Welsh. The affair, however, seems to have been mismanaged. The army wantonly destroyed the crops, and many of the leading nobles of England who assisted the king were slain. As the Welsh raids continued, the king, in the following year, 1258, convened a Parliament, which met at Westminster April 10th, particularly to discuss Welsh affairs. The barons attended, but by advice of Leicester their leader, they all appeared in complete armour. When the king demanded the cause of their coming armed, and asked whether he was their prisoner, Roger Bigod made reply. He said, "Nay, my Lord King, but we ask that all the Poicteivens and all other aliens may be expelled from the country, for this is necessary for the honour and welfare of the country." A committee was formed to meet at Oxford to consider matters, and here the barons were still more menacing. The old baronial party were represented by the Earl of Gloucester, Hugh Bigod, Roger Mortimer, and others. Hugh de Spenser and Peter de Montfort were among the extremes. The proceedings ended altogether in the humiliation of the king's party.

The calamitous condition of the district already described was rendered still more severe by a great storm which occurred on the 23rd of June, 1258.

The whole of the crops on the banks of the Severn, the Wye, and the Usk were swept away by the floods. Many lives were lost, and much damage was done to the lands, the farmsteads, bridges, and towns on the rivers' banks. Strange to say, the event was regarded by the Welsh as an omen of good, seeing that its consequences fell heavily on those who had unjustly deprived them of their territories on the very lands which they had gotten by violence and wrong.

In 1260 matters again took a turn, and we find the Earl of Leicester once more in the king's favour. Being considered the most able and prudent general in England, he was selected to conduct the war which the king had organised against the Welsh. This appointment, with subsequent commissions given to him by the King, annulled the understanding that had obtained with regard to the military administration of the district of Gwent and Morganwg. For a long period this administration had nominally appertained to the Earldom of Gloucester, but when the rival power of Pembroke arose the rule over the English districts in Gwent fluctuated according to the military talents of the contending earls. In the person of Gilbert de Clare, who possessed both Newport and Caerleon, the two Earldoms were combined, but notwithstanding this the military command of the whole Marches was conferred upon the Earl of Leicester, and he was thus constituted chief of the whole district.

This supremacy of Leicester occasioned much jealousy among the other barons, and Roger Mortimer, being much infected with the lawlessness of the border, was one of those disinclined to endure it. Differences arose between him and Leicester, and in 1261 he deserted the barons. This loss of support to Leicester, however, was counterbalanced in the following year (1262), when Richard, Earl of Gloucester died. This earl was always wavering between Leicester and the king, but his successor, Gilbert, who was then of age, threw himself heart and soul into the cause which Leicester espoused.

The good feeling between Leicester and the king was not of long continuance. Disputes soon broke

out again, and a more than usually violent attack upon English territory, made by the Welsh, headed by Prince Llewellin, this year, was generally supposed to have resulted from a confederation between that prince and the Earl of Leicester. At all events, Leicester appeared in open hostility, and the king being intractable, all the compromises which were attempted lasted but a short time, and both sides prepared for actual war. While these preparations were in progress the whole matter in dispute between the barons and the king was referred by consent to the arbitration of Louis, King of France. His decision, known as the Mise of Amiens, was adverse to the barons, who refused to be bound by it, and within a fortnight of its being known hostilities commenced. There was, probably, unnecessary haste displayed in the early proceedings. King Henry was in France, and the Earl of Leicester laid by and inactive from a broken leg, when the Court issued an order to destroy the bridges over the Severn, except that at Gloucester, in order to cut off the barons, who had crossed the river, and also to prevent others from crossing to join Prince Llewellin. Leicester lost no time in taking steps in furtherance of his cause. A short time before this Leicester was mortified at having his estates in this quarter overrun by Roger Mortimer and his followers; and with a cherished desire to speedily avenge this misdeed he was stimulated, though unable himself to move, to direct his sons to go and lay waste the lands of Mortimer. It was in carrying out this project that the first collision between the opposing parties took place. Mortimer and his friends offered a stout resistance, but Leicester's forces were too strong. They took Radnor Castle, Worcester, and Shrewsbury, and then, moving eastward, with a view to attack the king, they entered Gloucester. Prince Edward made strenuous efforts to save the town, but failed, and very narrowly escaped being captured. It was not long before Leicester was able to take the field, and he immediately marched off and secured the city of London, and placed his son Simon and the Earl of Gloucester in charge of Northampton.

This place was attacked by the king, and young Montfort taken prisoner. The many important incidents of the war which followed is beyond the province of this work. It will be sufficient to state that in different parts of the country several engagements occurred, characterised by great ferocity, and at last the military strength of both parties was gathered in the neighbourhood of Lewes, in Sussex, where Leicester had pursued the king. Here it was hoped a final settlement of differences would be effected. A letter with offers of peace, signed by the Earl of Leicester and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, for the whole of the army, was sent to the king, but the offer was indignantly and contemptuously rejected, and the earls saluted as lying traitors were challenged to do their worst. On the following day, Wednesday, May 14, the fate of the country was decided. Leicester and the Earl of Gloucester (who had command of one division of the army) were entirely successful. The king, Prince Edward, and his brother Richard were captured, and Simon de Montfort figured as undisputed lord of England.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EARL OF LEICESTER AND EARL OF GLOUCESTER.—RENEWED CIVIL WAR.—RESCUE OF PRINCE EDWARD.—LEICESTER IN A DILEMMA.—ATTACKS MONMOUTH.—RETREATS TO USK.—CAPTURES NEWPORT CASTLE.—ATTEMPTS TO REACH BRISTOL.—HIS SHIPS DESTROYED.—RETURNS TO NEWPORT.—BURNS THE BRIDGE.—RETIRES TO HEREFORD.—IS SLAIN AT EVESHAM.

The proceedings of Leicester, subsequent to his defeat and capture of the king at Lewes, gave rise to much dissatisfaction. His ambition was equalled only by his avarice, and both were unbounded. Leicester took the king and his son about with him wherever he went, until he got possession of all the strongest castles in the kingdom. He appropriated to his own use the forfeited estates of eighteen barons, and refused to share with his associates the spoils of the war. Such conduct disgusted many of those who had assisted him, and was naturally resented. The Earl of Gloucester, above all others, was highly incensed thereat, and suspected that as Leicester still kept the king and Prince Edward in custody, he had some designs upon the throne; he also fancied that he saw in the cold and reserved behaviour of Leicester towards him a secret purpose to destroy him when an opportunity should offer. These reasons, with probably a mingled envy at Leicester's greatness, led Gloucester to countenance the proceedings of the malcontents in Wales, and many of the loyal Lords Marchers who had escaped from the battle of Lewes. When this was made known to Leicester, he recognised at once the necessity of destroying, if possible, the existence and influence of such an enemy, and issued an order that all those who had been in arms against him should be banished to Ireland. There was no desire on the part of the implicated barons to obey such an order, and instead of going to Ireland they flocked round the Earl of Gloucester, and his castles in Monmouthshire became very like hotbeds of rebellion. Leicester and Gloucester were now undoubtedly

the two leading spirits of the kingdom, and while the former, as having the greater power, would not tolerate any resistance, the latter would not recognise the superiority of a fellow subject. Foreseeing the probable issue of the quarrel, Gloucester left London before Parliament closed, and making his way westwards confederated with many of the Lords Marchers, especially with Roger Mortimer, now one of the staunchest loyalists, and took the precaution to fortify and strengthen his castles, which in this district included Newport, Usk, Monmouth, Trelleck, Cardiff, and Llantrissent. By the middle of March (1265) Parliament had broken up, and Leicester soon afterwards made his way towards this disaffected district. A proclamation was issued declaring the Earl of Gloucester a traitor, and it was the object of Leicester to go and punish him. A renewed civil war was evidently impending. Taking the king and Prince Edward with him, Leicester set out with a strong body of troops for Hereford, which he intended making his headquarters. He marched first to Worcester, where he found that the bridges had been broken down by his opponents, who were encamped on the other side of the Severn. He then went down to Gloucester and proceeded through the Forest of Dean, where it was contemplated by a project of the Earl of Gloucester, who was closely watching Leicester's movements, to surprise him while passing on his way, and rescue the king and his son. Nothing of the kind, however, was then attempted, and Leicester and his prisoners proceeded safely, taking up their quarters first at Abergavenny and then at Hereford. The design, however, of ultimately rescuing the prince was not abandoned. It remained only in abeyance, waiting a favourable opportunity, and this before long presented itself. While remaining at Hereford several of the royalist barons were allowed to visit the prince, their intercourse being greatly facilitated by Thomas de Clare, a younger brother of Gilbert, the Earl of Gloucester, who was the prince's constant attendant. Communication was thus kept up without great difficulty, and at length a project agreed upon between the Earl of Gloucester, Roger

Mortimer, and Prince Edward, and the immediate friends of each, was carried out in the manner particularly narrated by Matthew Paris. This writer states that Mortimer made Edward a present by a third person, of a prodigiously swift horse, acquainting him at the same time with the use he was to make of him, and with the design that was laid. To second the project the Prince feigned himself ill, and to want a little exercise, and desired leave to ride some horses. The Earl of Leicester, suspecting nothing, granted his request, though with a deal of precaution. Besides his usual guard, he ordered some gentlemen to keep always near him, and to have their eye upon him continually. Edward being come out into the field immediately breathed two or three of his attendants' horses, and then called for that one which had been lately presented to him; and, as if he had a mind to use him gently to his rider, walked him at some distance from his guard, still accompanied by the gentlemen who stuck close to him. When he was come to a certain place which he had already marked, and which seemed proper for his design, he laid the reins on the horse's neck, put spurs to his sides, and started, leaving his companions behind in astonishment. They, however, quickly rode after him, but soon met a troop of horse under the command of Mortimer, which the Earl of Gloucester had provided to favour the escape. Prince Edward proceeded safely to Ludlow, where Gloucester met him, and swore allegiance to him. His example was quickly followed by a great number of barons, officers, and soldiers, who tendered their services, and in a short time the Prince found himself at the head of an army superior to that which Leicester commanded. A contest between the opposing forces speedily followed. The Prince took Worcester, and ordered his troops to break down the bridges over the Severn, and seize all the boats upon the river. He next attacked the city of Gloucester, which surrendered towards the end of June after a brave struggle. Leicester thus found himself hemmed in behind the Severn, so that no help could reach him from the east. He found few friends among the Welsh, and in this dilemma,

despairing of succour, he joined Llewellin the Prince of Wales, who was only recently the ally of the Earl of Gloucester. Leicester made a still closer alliance with him, and induced the King to make concessions scarcely justifiable under any circumstances. He remitted many obligations which the Welsh had been bound to fulfil, gave up to them for a nominal sum all the lands and castles which they had lately re-taken, and even yielded others that were not in their possession. Such terms when generally known provoked great disgust in London and elsewhere, for an alliance with the Welsh was looked upon at this period as little less than monstrous. Leicester, having strengthened himself by securing Llewellin as an ally, acquired an amount of confidence, and moved from Hereford, down the valley of the Wye to Monmouth. The castle at this place had recently been fortified by the Earl of Gloucester, but Leicester made a successful attack upon it, destroyed it, and then devastated the country round about. Mathew Paris says generally, that Leicester entered the Earl of Gloucester's territory, and being met by Llewellin, the two chiefs together, with assistance, ravaged the whole country with fire and sword. The more detailed accounts of other writers show that Leicester was vigorously opposed at Monmouth by the militia, and compelled to retreat to Usk. Here again he found himself in unfriendly quarters. This castle belonged to the Earl of Gloucester, and the garrison was loyal to its possessor. Leicester soon perceived his danger, and proceeded towards Newport, with a view of crossing the Bristol Channel.

Newport castle also was in possession of the Earl of Gloucester's followers, but it was weakly garrisoned, and Leicester's forces, by rapid and unexpected movements, succeeded in occupying it by a *coup de main*. Leicester quickly discovered that his cause met with no sympathy in the district, and that he was shut in on nearly every side. He therefore lost no time in sending to Bristol for vessels to convey him and his army to that city, but here further difficulties beset him. The garrison of Bristol was hostile to him, and the friendly

citizens found no easy task in providing the necessary vessels.

In the meantime Prince Edward received information of Leicester's design, and arranged to frustrate it if possible. He selected a number of suitable ships, and arming them with all the available forces at his command, sailed forth from Gloucester and placed them near the mouth of the Usk. Here they waited the arrival of the ships from Bristol, and, as they appeared, intercepted and sank or dispersed the whole fleet. To this mortifying discomfiture Leicester had the misfortune to be a spectator; for being impatient to escape from a position of danger and to cross the water, he had left Newport and gone down the eastern bank of the Usk towards Goldcliff to hasten the embarkation. Escape having been thus cut off, Leicester returned to Newport, and Prince Edward following up the advantage he had gained by depriving Leicester of assistance, landed his forces and followed him with all speed, determined, if possible, to come to close quarters with his enemy. He failed to accomplish his desire, however, and found on reaching Newport that Leicester's troops, having made good their retreat across the river, had set fire to the bridge. The same night Leicester retired towards Hereford, whither Prince Edward and Gloucester speedily followed. They pursued him from place to place, and eventually forced a battle at Evesham on the 4th of August. Leicester and his son were slain, the King delivered from captivity, the confederacy of barons dissolved, and the royal authority once more restored.

The conduct of the inhabitants of Newport during this struggle was evidently loyal. It might have been exemplary and worthy of kingly recognition; but we have been unable to ascertain that there is any foundation for the statement that it was in testimony of his gratitude for this loyalty that King Henry caused the tower of St. Woolos Church to be built.

INQUISITION ON MORGAN AP HOWELL'S ESTATES.—MORGAN AP MEREDITH DECLARED HEIR.—REVOLTS AGAINST KING EDWARD.—HIS UNCERTAIN FATE.—KING EDWARD'S PROGRESS THROUGH WALES.—NEWPORT AND OTHER CASTLES ORDERED TO BE RESTORED.

It has already been made apparent that the articles of the truce between the King and Llewellin stipulating that the lands and goods which Gilbert Marshall had taken from Morgan ap Howell should be restored to him were not carried out, at least, to the full extent, by the fact that Gilbert, at the time of his death, still held the castles of Caerleon, Usk, and Striguil. This is singularly corroborated by an Inquisition post mortem, held respecting Morgan's property in 33rd Henry III. (1249), by which it is shown that Morgan died seised of only the commotes of Eddlogan and Llyfnydd. The former is a well-known manor near Pontypool. Llyfnydd is all that part of the Lordship of the Caerleon, which is in the level of Caldicot. The inquisition as to Morgan's estates is said to be the earliest proceeding of the kind extant held after the death of a Welsh nobleman, and is on several accounts extremely interesting. The jury consisted of twenty-three persons, an unusual number, and they were all Welshmen. They found that the deceased held the commotes named of the annual value of £40 of the King *in capite* by the service of attending the King in his army with all his men at the King's cost.

From other records it is known that Morgan held another manor in Mamhilad, near Pontypool, under the lords of Abergavenny, called from him Mamhilad Morgan. These estates, then, were all that was left to him of his original property, which had extended from the Wye to the Rumney, and from the Severn to Pontypool.

Morgan had died without male issue, and the object of the inquisition was to ascertain the lawful heir to the estates. Morgan's only child was a daughter, named Gwervil, who had married Griffith

ap Meredith Gething, who is said to have been a son of Lord Rhys. They had a son, named Meredith, whose legitimacy was disputed; but this having been satisfactorily proved he was declared to be the heir, and entered into possession of the property which his grandfather, Morgan ap Howell, had left, and which since his death had been in charge of Waleran Teutonicus, or Le Tyers, a well-known man in his time, and much employed by King Henry. The greed and envy of the Earl of Gloucester very soon again asserted itself, and about 1272 or 1273 he forcibly dispossessed Meredith of the manors named, and added them once more to the Lordship which he held, and of which they had always been considered members. This injustice was probably perpetrated upon the death of Henry III., and before the return to this country of Edward I., who was when his father died engaged in the Crusades in the Holy Land. There was apparently no recompense for Meredith and his son, called Morgan ap Meredith, succeeded to no part of the estates held by his ancestors, except the little manor of Mamhilad, on the outskirts of the Lordship of Abergavenny. Notwithstanding all this deprivation of rank and wealth, the Welsh heralds still did him the honour to style him Lord of Caerleon, a title the rights attaching to which he sought once more and for the last time to assert under circumstances which we will now recount.

We must pass over an interval of some years, during which King Edward had pursued, defeated, and slain Llewellyn; secured the possession of the Principality, and summoned a Parliament wherein it was resolved that henceforth Wales should be inseparably united to the Crown of England. In 1293, when Edward was engaged in the war with France, he tried the experiment of taxing the Welsh in support of the undertaking. Commissioners were deputed to visit Wales with power to levy one-fifteenth of all moveables, but this proceeding met with violent opposition. The Welsh had never been acquainted with such large contributions before, and, according to Powell, they stormed and exclaimed against it when the levy

was attempted to be enforced. It is easy to understand that Morgan, the descendant of native princes, and retaining some of the fiery disposition of his ancestors and namesake, chafed under the wholesale robbery and injustice which deprived him of his lands, even though a decade had passed away since Caerleon was filched from him, and, now that extortion was added to already existing evils, the suppressed fury burst into a flame.

When it was supposed the King had left for France an insurrection broke out in three different parts of Wales: that in West Wales was headed by Maelgwyn Vychan; a second rising took place in North Wales, under Madoc, and a third in Gwent, which was headed by Morgan. The King, who had not left Portsmouth, soon heard of the occurrence, and instead of crossing the channel made at once a fierce inroad into Wales to quell the disorder, which threatened to be of a serious character. Roger de Puleston, the tax collector, an officer in the King's favour, had been hanged with all his associates in the collection of the tribute; and the English who had assembled for their defence were ruthlessly massacred. Many of the vassals of the Earl of Gloucester joined with Morgan, seized several of the fortresses, and finally forcing the Earl to make his escape out of the country, took possesion of all the lands of which Morgan and his ancestors had been deprived, and which Morgan claimed as his inheritance.

Edward sent his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, and Henry Lacie into the Marches, and went personally against Maelgwyn, who, with all his accomplices, were taken prisoners, conveyed to Hereford, drawn at the tails of horses, and executed. Morgan was the last to give in, and submitted to the Earl of Warwick only on the condition that all the vassals in Gwent and Glamorgan of the Earl of Gloucester, who was regarded as a tyrant, should be permitted to hold their lands immediately of the Crown. This was apparently agreed to, and Carte states that in 1295 the King marched into Gwent to receive the homage of Morgan. Powell, however, whilst repeating the statement that Morgan was the last to be

quelled, adds that Madoc, having been vanquished, was received by the King on the condition that he would not desist from pursuing Morgan, and bring him prisoner. This was done and hostages given. The Iolo M.SS. corroborate the supposition that Madoc proved a traitor, and state that Morgan was "held prisoner by King Edward, and died many years afterwards at Cardiff Castle, where he had been crowned King of all Wales a short time before." As to the ultimate fate of Morgan, however, authorities differ, but as Edward, with a view to prevent the recurrence of revolt, confined in English fortresses the most powerful of Welsh lords, so it seems certain that Morgan pined his days in imprisonment, or as others suggest, was quietly put out of the way.

Morgan had married Grisli or Grissel, the daughter of David ap Meyric of Gwent, and by her had a daughter called Angharad, in whose honour the following englyn was composed :—

Prosperity to the beauteous maid of Caerleon,
Angharad, daughter of Morgan ; splendid as the gold ;
Of the wealth dispensing hand ; best of daughters ;
Of the hue of the drifted snow.

From this Angharad, by her marriage with Llewellyn ap Ivor, the family of the present Lord Tredegar has descended.

The complete subjugation of Wales which Edward effected naturally involved that of Gwent, but the native writers of the district claim for it the honour of being the last portion of the Principality to submit, and boast that though subject to the Roman yoke, the inhabitants were neither conquered by the Saxons, Danes, or early Normans. The author of the Secret Memoirs of Monmouthshire thus apostrophises :—

To thee, brave Gwent ! praise doth alone belong ;
Thou ne'er wor'st chains, impatient wert of wrong.
When Saxons, Danes, and Normans Britain swayed,
Thou scorn'st the servile yoke on others laid ;
With courage great most bravely did'st maintain
Thy rights so long enjoyed ; may they remain. &c.

When Wales had been completely annexed, King Edward made a progress to the southern part of the Principality, visiting the Earl of Gloucester in

Gwent, by whom he was nobly entertained. It was during this visit that Edward ordered to be erected or repaired and strengthened those beautiful castles in South Wales, the ruins of which at the present day are viewed with curiosity and admiration. The grand fortresses in Gwent, including Caerphilly, Cardiff, Newport, and Chepstow, seemed to engage his particular attention, and the improved ideas of architecture which he had gathered during the crusades he did not fail to carry into effect. In the list of castles thus given Caerleon is omitted, and as this was burnt in 1231, it must be presumed that no repairs were effected by Edward's orders, and that it was permitted to fall into still further decay.

ANCIENT DIVISIONS OF GWENT.—CREATION OF MANORS.—TENURES AND CUSTOMS OF LOCAL MANORS.

After the conquest of Wales, King Edward divided the Principality into counties and appointed sheriffs to hold their courts in each. Edward also abolished the statutes of Wales, and the more barbarous of the Welsh customs, and sent English justices to administer English law. He did not venture, however, to make any alteration in the limits of Gwent and Morganwg, or the territories of the Lord Marchers, who looked upon Edward's acts with great jealousy. The ancient British divisions into cantrefs and commotes, made perhaps in the time of Howel Dda (early part of 10th century) still obtained, and in fact became more clearly defined. We shall have presently to notice the many divisions and subdivisions of land effected by the Norman barons, and before doing so it may be well to give an idea of the ancient districts, which, to a large extent, are recognized to the present day.

In Powell's history Gwentlliu or Wentloog is described as forming a cantref of Morganwg, which comprised two or three commotes, viz., Y Rhardd Ganol or Yr ardd Ganol, in the north, and Eithaldyligion in the south; and, according to some writers, the central part was called Y Tref Berfed a canol. The name Eithaldyligion, or as it is generally written Edelygion, is supposed to be derived from the name of some ancient petty prince of the district, but no such name is found in the list of Gwentian reguli.

Gwent had three cantrefs, each having several commotes. Thus, Cantref Gwent comprised the commotes of Y Mynydd, Iscoed Llefnydd, and Tref y Grug. Cantref Iscoed comprised the commotes of Brynbiga (Usk) and Y Teirtref. Cantref Uchoed included the districts of Erging and Ewyas.

According to this description the River Usk formed the division between Gwent and Morganwg but Sir Edward Stradling was of opinion that the

ancient lordship of Glamorgan did not extend beyond the River Rumney. The town of Newport still remains in the hundred of Wentloog.

The subdivision of lands conquered by the Norman adventurers in Wales has been already referred to. The process was similarly carried out both by those to whom the King had granted special charters, and those who had none. "Those persons," says Chief Baron Gilbert, "who held their territories directly from the Crown were said to hold *in capite*; but those who held *in capite* had other chiefs, or lords, or barons, subordinate to them; they also granted to hold of themselves. These intermediate persons were denominated the Mesne Lords, of whom so much is spoken in our laws. Even these divided their lands among their followers; and every Lordship or Manor was itself the similitude of the kingdom at large. The Lord divided his Manor as the State had divided the kingdom into two parts; the one he retained for his own support, and was partly cultivated by his villains and copyholders, and was called his demesnes; the other part was parcelled out among his dependents, who returned him their services." Such was the history and such the multiplication of Manors in the times immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest. This system of Subinfeudation in England was prohibited by the Statute of *Quia Emptores* in the reign of Edward I. (1290), and as no Manor could be created since that date, it follows that all existing Manors must trace their origin from before that time. When the creation of Manors had ceased, a beneficent change soon commenced in the relations between the lord and those tenants who were bound to render him service. The slave remained, but the number of pure serfs gradually became smaller in proportion to other cultivators of the soil. He was still his lord's property. But even this class ultimately acquired defined rights of their own, and the amount of service became limited by custom. The claim of proprietors over peasants at last ended with the due rendering of their service in the cultivation of his demesne, and this service might be rendered either personally or by deputy. The extent of some

kinds of service rested wholly on tradition, but the number of teams, the fines, the reliefs, the heriots, which the lord could claim was generally entered on the court roll of the manor, a copy of which became the title deeds of the tenants, and gave them the name of copyholders. Copyhold estates are thus a relic of ancient feudalism in Wales, and form an exception to the general rule in England, where freeholds form the highest form of estate known to law.

Whilst the greater barons, nobler, and more powerful and wealthy knights usually inhabited the various castles and strongholds which they or their ancestors had built, the lesser lords and gentry dwelt in manor houses, which were erected on their manors, which thence obtained the name of manor houses, almost every manor having some chief house upon it, which was the residence of its lord and owner, and these were not unfrequently designated by the name of Ty Mawr, or the Great House.

The large number of manors now existing in this district show to what a great extent the process of subinfeudation had proceeded.

We now propose, with regard to the manors, to give some details respecting them, together with the tenures and customs still in operation.

The Great Lordship or Seignory of Wentloog extends from the Usk to the Rhymney, and from the Severn to a line drawn across from Llantarnam to Risca and Michaelstone-y-Vedw, and has no less than seventeen manors carved out of it, viz., Ebboth, *alias* Greenfield; Hencourt and Marshfield, Cogan Fleming, Cogan Pembroke, Sutton, Redcastle, Youlton, Pencarn, St Brides, Welsh Dowlais, English Dowlais, Duffryn, Bassalleg, Borough English division, Bassalleg, Gavelkind division, Rogestone, Malpas, Mendlegief. The latter included the part of Newport south of the Salutation Inn and Cardiff road.

The mesne manors in Wentloog are wholly freehold. None of the lands are pure copyhold, held at the will of the lord, but customary freehold. There are chief rents payable to the lord, and a heriot on the death of the tenant of the best beast, or in default of one 5s. There are also mises,

£66 13s 4d, to be collected from all tenants for the succeeding lord on the death of the ancestor.

Of the mesne manors all except Sutton and Redcastle have free tenants, and the freehold lands with one exception descend as at common law.

In some manors there is a fine payable on alienation of the freehold lands—generally 5s, but that is frequently only payable when the whole of the tenant's lands are sold.

In Ebboth, *alias* Greenfield (Maesglas) 5s is due on death for a heriot, and one year's rent upon every new entry in the name of a relief.

In the copyhold or customary manors the customs vary considerably. In Hencourt and Marshfield the customary lands descend to the eldest son, and in default of sons to the eldest daughter; in Welsh Dowlais to the eldest son or eldest daughter, or eldest next of kin; in Ebboth *alias* Greenfield, Cogan Fleming, Sutton, St Brides, and English Dowlais, the descent is to the youngest son of the first wife; in default, to youngest son of second wife (unless daughters by first wife, who are to take place in degree of age as before, in case any of the brothers were ever in possession of the land) for their custom is that *possessio fratus fecit sororem de integro sanguine esse heredem.* If no issue male by first wife, then issue male by second wife takes before the issue female. In Youlton, Pencarn, and Cogan Fleming the descent is slightly different, viz., to the youngest son of the first wife, and for want of issue male of the first wife to the youngest daughter by first wife, and for want of issue male or female by first wife, to the youngest son of second wife, and so on. In Cogan Pembroke and the Borough English Division of Bassalleg, the descent is not only to the youngest son or daughter as above, but extended to the next of kin. In the other division of Bassalleg and in Redcastle and Rogerstone, the tenure is Gavelkind, and the lands in Bassalleg descend to all the sons and all the daughters, or all the next of kin. Those in Redcastle are partable between the issues male, and in default between the issues female.

In none of the foregoing manors does the lord lay claim to either timber or mines.

The manor of Stow is now a freehold manor, situate principally, if not wholly, within the parish of St. Woolos, but at one time was probably a member of Wentloog. Its limits cannot be defined, but it is bounded by the manors of Rogerstone, Newport and Mendalgief. In this there are chief rents, payable by the tenants, and on the death of a tenant, a heriot of the best beast, or 5s.

Lord Tredegar is superior lord of the whole of the manors in the lordship of Wentloog.

The manor of Newport is another small and independent freehold manor, west of the Usk. This is wholly within the old borough of Newport, and to which a cattle toll upon Newport Bridge was attached. This toll has, however, been abandoned since the removal of the market from High-street, and the opening of the Cattle Market at Pill. To this manor the Newport Dead Meat and Poultry Market is still attached. The Duke of Beaufort is lord of this manor.

The Great Seignory or Lordship of Machen is a lordship marcher which extends from that of Wentloog to the top of the county, comprising the parishes of Abercarne, Machen, Bedwas, Bedwellty, Mynyddislwyn, and part of Henllis, Risca, Bassalleg, and Panteague.

Abercarne is a mesne manor which is wholly of copyhold and customary tenure, while that of the superior lordship is wholly freehold. The free tenants pay chief rents, and there is due on the death of a tenant, a heriot of the best beast, or 5s; also a small chief rent and an annual payment, in lieu of Cymorth (or a man's help in harvest.) In this manor the lord claims the minerals, but the right to do so has been the subject of litigation for several years.

The Lordship of Caerleon comprised, among other manors, those of Runston, Sudbrook, Goldcliff, Langstone, Llanvair, Pencoed, Magna Porta (Llantarnam), Llyfnydd, and Eddlogan.

The earliest subinfeudists, it may be mentioned, took their surname from the manors held by them. Thus we find the name of Sir Jourdan de Ryngeston (of Runstone Manor) occurs in 1262; and the family of De Southbrook was named after

the manor of Sudbrook, of which they held a moiety by the service of half a knight's fee of the Lords of Magor, and the remainder by one-eighth of a knight's fee of the Lords of Caerleon.

Runstone Manor was a mesne fee under the Castle of Caerleon, and Langstone was holden as one Knight's fee under the same Lordship.

The vast extent of the estates which these Norman Barons held *in capite* is apt to deceive us. In reading of a Baron who held forty or fifty or one hundred Manors, we are prone to say his wealth was something like what a similar estate would produce at this day. But the conditions under which Knights held their lands did not leave the seignory very lucrative, or give any right of possessory ownership over the land.

PRIVATE WAR BETWEEN THE EARLS OF GLOUCESTER AND HEREFORD.—MARRIAGE OF GILBERT'S WIDOW TO RALPH MONTHERMER.—HOW MEN AND ARMS WERE RAISED FOR THE KING'S SERVICE.

After the death of the Earl of Leicester, Gilbert, the Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Caerleon, was left the greatest and most powerful baron in the kingdom. In 1290, May 2, he had married Joan of Acres, the King's daughter, and then surrendered many of his manors in this district into the King's hands, taking a re-grant of them to himself and wife. The lands, however, held by Richard and Bartholomew de la More for their lives were not included, it being agreed that upon their decease these lands should return to the King.

Elated by his royal alliance, and still more by his own power, Gilbert was inclined to set himself above the laws of the realm. We have seen that his tyranny over the Welsh proved so intolerable that in the insurrection under Morgan he was driven from the district, the vassals praying of the King that they might hold their lands immediately of the Crown. The conduct of Gilbert was not more considerate towards his fellow barons, and he permitted and connived at his bailiffs and vassals, over-running and committing damage upon the lands of his neighbour, Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford. Remonstrances to Gilbert proving ineffectual, the Earl of Hereford prepared to retaliate. Acts of extraordinary violence were perpetrated, and there followed what is cited by Hallam as the most prominent instance recorded of what may be deemed a private war.

There was a peculiarity about these disputes that a claim was set up that they were lawful as well as customary. Regarding the custom there is a record in Doomsday Book which states that in the royal manor of Archenfeld in Gwent (now in Herefordshire) if one Welshman kills another it was the custom for the relatives of the slain to assemble and plunder the murderer and his kindred, and burn their houses until the corpse should be in-

terred, which was to take place by noon on the morrow of his death. Of the plunder the King received a third part, and the rest they kept for themselves. Hallam contends that these private feuds were not customary but an anomaly, and confined to the individual manor mentioned. As regards the right, King Edward purposely came from the north to quell the disturbance between his subjects, and, exercising his power, committed both the offending barons to prison, liberating the Earl of Hereford only after payment of one thousand marks; ten thousand marks being exacted from Gilbert, his son-in-law, as being the greater offender.

Gilbert died on Christmas Day, 1295, leaving his wife Joan, three daughters, and a son (born 1291) to survive him. Joan did not remain long in a state of widowhood, for in a year after Gilbert's death she married one Ralph Monthermer, an individual of whose position and ancestry very little is known. Some surprise has been expressed at this lack of information, seeing that by his marriage he became son-in-law to the King of England and the possessor of two powerful earldoms. In Notes to Rapin's History, Ralph Monthermer is said to have been a servant in the establishment of his wife's first husband, and if this were so, it might give a reason for the marriage being clandestinely celebrated, and looked upon as a mesalliance. Dugdale says that Joan sent her husband to her father, who had no knowledge of the marriage, to receive the honour of knighthood, but the King was so displeased that he seized all her lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and imprisoned the husband in the castle of Bristol. His Majesty soon relented, and in August, 1297, he restored all the lands he had taken, and afterwards conferred the title of Earl of Gloucester and Hertford and Lord of Glamorgan and Wentllwch upon Ralph de la Monthermer, giving him also the wardship of his wife's son, Gilbert, during his minority. By his title of Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Ralph was summoned to Parliament until his wife's death, which took place in 1307. When next summoned, in 1309, it was by his rank of baron only. He died

in 1326. By his marriage, Ralph de la Monthermer acquired the manor of Llanvair, the ancient residence of the Kemeys family, and this property descended to his son.

At the time of Ralph de la Monthermer's marriage the King was engaged in carrying on a war with France, and one of the conditions upon which he restored the lands which he seized from Ralph's wife was that she should at her own proper charges find one hundred men at arms with horses and harness to serve in the war, of which company she was to appoint some other captain than Ralph, her husband.

The records of this period preserve several instances illustrative of the manner in which men and arms were raised for the King's service. One curious agreement relating to residents of this district, still remaining in a perfect state, with the seal attached, has been translated from the Norman-French, in which the original is written, to the following effect:—

"In the year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Henry, one score and five, it was thus agreed between Sir John Bluet, knight, and William Martel; that is to say, that the said John Bluet acknowledges for himself and his heirs to be bound to the aforesaid William Martel, his esquire for the life of the aforesaid William, in sixty pence of silver in good and lawful money, to be paid yearly, and every year, at the two terms of Hockday (*i.e.*, the second Tuesday after Easter week) and Michaelmas, out of his manor in Langston, in Netherwent, that is to say, out of the lands and tenements that Walter le Sivon, John Fitz Thomas, Robert le Joevene, Ann le Swon, and Alice Ketyng, hold of him in the manor of Langston, so that the aforesaid William or his certain attorney may levy the said rent by distress upon the said tenants, in whosesoever hands they may be at their will and pleasure without let or hindrance from anyone, and such distress securely keep till such time as the said rent be duly paid; and also two robes yearly of the value of twenty pence from his chamber during the life of the said William, one at Christmas and the other at Easter, and to

maintain the said William as long as he lives in sufficient meat and drink as a gentleman ought to have, and his two boys (servants), and to find his two horses in hay and oats and shoes during the life of the said William; that is to say, each a muide and one [half a] bushel of oats. And for these advantages the said William Martel will serve the said John Bluet well and faithfully as an esquire ought to do, in the wars now waging between the King of England and the King of France, and also in England if war should break out there, which God forbid, and in Wales, and in all other lands either on this side the seas, or beyond the sea, wherever the said John shall be (except the Holy Land), and in tournaments in time of peace, with a great warhorse, which the said John will find him, and good and suitable armour, without any default on his part; and for the greater security for the due performance of the covenants above written, the said John Bluet binds himself and his heirs and executors, and all the lands and tenements in England and Wales which he holds on the day of the execution of this writing in his hands soever they may be in time to come; and also that he may be distrained upon by the stewards or marshalls of our lord the King of England or the bailiffs of the liberties of Caerleon, whosoever they may be, if he in any manner make default in the above-named covenants. And if any of the horses of the aforesaid William, either in time of peace or of war, should perish in the service of the said John Bluet, the said John Bluet binds himself, his heirs and executors, fully to restore them. In testimony of which the parties hereto have interchangeably affixed their seals. By these witnesses :—Sir John ap Adam, Sir Thomas de Cowdray (Coldra?), Sir John de Knoyville, Ralph de la Grave, John de Howet, and others.

"Given at Cilchester, on the Feast of St. Lawrence, in the year of the reign of our Lord King Edward, one score and five (August 10, 1297)."

Sir John Bluet, mentioned in the above agreement, had for arms, which appear on the seal mentioned, Or, an eagle displayed, gules. He

was a descendant of the old military lords of the district, one of whom received from Richard Strongbow, Chepstow, Tintern, and Raglan in consideration of soldiers, money, and arms furnished by him for the expedition to Ireland, of which Strongbow was the leader. Sir John held the manor of Langston, which is about four miles from Newport, as one knight's fee under the great lordship of Caerleon. The Martels were lords of Llanvihangel Roggiett, and Llanvaches, in the same locality. The three knights who were witnesses to the agreement were neighbours of the parties, and so were probably the others. As the deed was executed so far from home as Silchester, it is supposed that the persons named all belonged to a detachment of troops *en route* to France. Of their fortunes in the wars we have no chronicles preserved, and leaving them in oblivion we turn next to the events in which the leading nobles of the district were immediately concerned.

OPPOSITION OF BARONS TO THE EARL OF GLOUCESTER'S INFLUENCE.—DEATH OF THE EARL.—HIS ESTATES DIVIDED.—HUGH DESPENCER.—HIS RAPACITY.—THE BARONS DEMAND HIS BANISHMENT.—CIVIL WAR—ROGER MORTIMER IMPRISONED—HE ESCAPES TO FRANCE.

Gilbert, the young, Earl of Gloucester, and the last male of his line, became of age in 1312, and was accounted a strong partizan of Edward II., who had for about four years succeeded to the throne. It was soon seen that he was not of the same bent of mind as his father, and more disposed to waste his time and treasure with court favourites than on matters concerning the welfare of the kingdom. To Piers Gaveston, a French adventurer of talents and address, he exhibited a great attachment, and the most amicable feelings between the King, Gaveston, and the Earl of Gloucester were maintained by the marriage of Gaveston to Gilbert's sister.

Against the influence which Gloucester exercised at court, an armed opposition was arranged, in which Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Lord of Monmouth, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford embarked. All these nobles possessed considerable estates and influence in Gwent, as well as Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, who naturally was on the side of Gaveston, his brother-in-law. The people of Gwent were therefore once more divided, and experienced all the inconveniences of an impending civil war. The fall of Gaveston, however, put an end for a time to the jealousies of the barons. In the following year (1314) Gilbert followed the King into Scotland, and fell fighting at the battle of Bannockburn. Gilbert, of course, was not alone, but followed by a number of valiant men from his estates in Gwent, which still seemed to produce an unfailing supply of valuable warriors. It might be here mentioned, in connection with the Scotch wars in which Edward was engaged, that in 131 John de Hastings (second of the name) was charged

to raise two hundred foot soldiers from his estates in Gwent, which he did, and served with them under his maternal uncle, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.

Gilbert dying without issue, his estates became divided among his three sisters, the eldest of whom, named Eleanor, was married to Hugh Despencer, a young gentleman whose ancestor, Dispensator Robertus (as the name implies) was steward to William the Conqueror. The young Despencer was brought up in the service of the Earl of Lancaster, Lord of Monmouth, who in his changes of office had placed him about the court as a spy, but the project turned out against those who promoted it. Despencer, in addition to rank and connection, had the advantage of many graces of person and accomplishments, and soon fell into the dangerous position of being like the banished Gaveston, the favourite of the King. In this position he, like many others, abused the confidence of his master, created the envy of his equals, and stirred up a strong party against him. His rapacity, it is said, knew no bounds, and his influence with the King enabled him to obtain possession of estates which in justice should have been held by the sisters, who were the co-heirs of his wife Eleanor. Margaret, the wife of Hugh de Audley, obtained Newport and the castle, but was compelled to cede them to Despencer, who for some time seems to have resided here. He also obtained the castles and manors of Usk, Tregrug (Llangibby), Caerleon, and Liswerry. Ralph de Mortimer, who had married Joan, the late earl's mother, claimed Caerphilly, but Despencer kept him out of what he deemed his rightful title, did homage for it, and established himself in the castle. The King also conferred upon him the Earldom of Gloucester and the Lordship of Glamorgan. In addition to these estates, Despencer obtained the rich manors of Swansea, Penarth, Oystermouth, and Loughor in Gower, left to John de Mowbray, on the plea that it had reverted to the crown through Mowbray's neglect of feudal usage on entering into possession. This was exactly the sort of occasion for which the barons were on the watch. The whole Marches

were on flame, and the strong feelings against Despencer increased daily. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Thomas of Monmouth, Earl of Lancaster, and the two Roger Mortimers joined with other Lord Marchers in a common cause against him. The elder Despencer, who was known to exercise much influence over his son, proved equally as obnoxious, and it was not long before an appeal was made to arms. A message was sent to the King demanding the instant banishment or imprisonment of the young favourite, and threatening to renounce their allegiance and punish the minister themselves, if he did not. Scarcely waiting for an answer, Roger Mortimer the younger, who had been for fourteen years one of the most zealous and powerful adherents of the crown, set about plundering the lands of the Despencers. He discharged his commission in so violent a manner and with so little regard, that in a few days he did damage estimated at £60,000. The barons then joined their forces and marched to London, plundering on the way the manors of the elder Despencer, as they had done those of the son. The King was unable to withstand the bold and menacing position which the barons took up, and the issue was that in 1321 a sentence of attainder and perpetual banishment was passed against the obnoxious courtiers, and they were unceremoniously sent out of the country.

The next object of the barons was to obtain an indemnity for their conduct, and this the King sanctioned at the same Parliament held at Westminster. Having got this the barons disbanded their army and returned in fancied security to their own castles. Soon, however, there came a turn in the state of affairs. In 1322 the King held a Parliament at York, and levied an army wherewith he was enabled to quell the barons one by one. The Act of Indemnity was repealed on the ground that it was "sinfully and wrongfully granted," assent being given in dread of the great force which the Earl of Hereford and the other great confederates suddenly brought to the Parliament at Westminster. Proceeding on the same lines the exile of the Despencers was annulled, and Mortimer and many

of his associates put into prison. The barons again took up arms, and in the somewhat brief conflict which ensued the country was deluged with blood in such a manner as had not been since the Conquest. "Never," says an old writer, "did English earth at one time drink so much blood of the nobles, in so vile a manner shed as this."

The Despencers, after their return, soon obtained the summit of power in this country, but with all the favours showered upon them they were not satisfied. They speedily set to work to get rid of those still living who had in any way been opposed to them. Thomas of Monmouth, Earl of Lancaster, who had been taken a prisoner at the battle of Boroughbridge, was brought before the King and Despencers at Pontrefact, and ordered to be drawn, hanged, and quartered as a traitor. The King, however, remembering his connection (he was the King's uncle), ordered him to be beheaded only. Sir John de Wyllynton, who was implicated in the Earl's proceedings, had his estates seized, and Lundy Island, which he held, was given by the King to Despencer. Roger Mortimer was brought to trial, and condemned to death, but by the powerful intercession of the Queen (whose intimacy with Mortimer was regarded with much suspicion), the sentence was altered to perpetual banishment. While still in prison, he entered into new plots, one of which was to get possession of the Tower of London. The plot was discovered, some of his accomplices were sentenced to be hanged, and he himself had the sentence of death once more passed upon him. Soon after this, by making his guard drunk with a drugged liquor he managed to effect his escape and got away safely out of the country. He at once joined the Queen Isabella, who had recently left the King, and repaired to the Court of her brother, King Charles of France.

While engaged in concocting schemes to advance their own interests and overthrow the King, matters deserving attention were transpiring at home. The Despencers, whose estates had been ravaged by Roger Mortimer and others, brought the facts under the notice of the King and Parliament with a view of obtaining ample compensation for the

damages alleged to have been sustained by them. From the petitions and documents laid before Parliament their material wealth appears to have been enormous. One document states that Despencer the younger had flocks of 10,000 sheep, herds of 1,000 oxen and cows, and hundreds of pigs, with arms and armour for 200 men. The possessions of the father were about double that of the son. The destruction and damage is set forth in a petition recorded in the rolls of Parliament of the 21st year of the reign of Edward II., which states that Newport Castle, where Despencer was probably living at the time, with the castles of Cardiff, Caerphilly, Llantrissant, Talman, Llanblethan Kenfig, Neath, Drusselan, and Dynevor, were plundered and burned by the Earl of Hereford, Roger Mortimer, and his nephew of the same name, who were at the head of an army of 500 men at arms, 500 hobelers, and 10,000 foot men.

Among those who assisted Mortimer in committing these ravages were Sir William Deneford, who lived at Crick, near Chepstow; William de Mora, who held lands in the lordship of Caerleon; and Thomas de Huntley, who had estates at Monmouth. Proceedings were taken against these and other nobles, but that they received the King's pardon appears by a document still preserved in the archives of Westminster Abbey, of the date 15th Edward II., which purports to be a pardon to the nobles, &c., who had warred against the Despencers. It was probably prepared at the request of Parliament, and there is attached to it a label for the great seal, which has been affixed, but it exists no longer.

QUEEN ISABELLA WITH MORTIMER OPPOSES THE KING.—THE KING PURSUED.—THE ELDER DESPENCER BEHEADED.—THE KING TAKES REFUGE IN GWENT.—IS TAKEN, PURSUED, AND CONVEYED TO MONMOUTH.—CHARTERS GRANTED BY EDWARD.

The result of the intrigues of the Queen and Roger Mortimer in France was that an army was raised, which on September 22, 1326, made good a landing in England. It declared its opposition to the King, and met with such strong sympathy and support that his Majesty was compelled to retire with his favourites, the Despencers, into the West. The Queen followed, and as she advanced the friends of the King fell off day by day. One historian says: "Never was a miserable monarch so deserted by his people." On the 10th of October, when the King was at Gloucester, he found that the Queen was marching upon Bristol, and he sent the elder Despencer to undertake its defence. The Queen besieged it, and in a few days gained possession of the city, and took prisoner the elder Despencer. The old man was nearly ninety years of age; but notwithstanding this, the Queen, without trial had him immediately executed in his armour, and his body afterwards cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs. The younger Despencer and the King sought safety in flight, which furnished the Queen with a plea to assume his abdication, and appoint Prince Edward as Regent. The King at this juncture issued the offer of a reward of £1,000 for the head of Mortimer, but the offer was unheeded. Not a soul would stir for him. The Queen went to Gloucester in pursuit of the King, but his Majesty had already made his way towards Wales, from whence it was conjectured he would endeavour to escape into Ireland. On the 14th and 15th October he was at Tintern, and remained there, or in the vicinity of Chepstow, for a week. During this period the King's arrangements appear to have been modified, and the attention of his Majesty was called to Lundy Island as a desirable place of refuge, probably by his favourite

Hugh Despencer, who then held it, and who with his son accompanied the King in his flight. The island, from its inaccessible nature, was deemed easy to be defended against any of his Majesty's rebellious subjects, and the King resolved to proceed there. Sir Thomas de la Moor, a contemporary historian, narrates the circumstances, which are also to be found in Stow's Annals, where it is stated that the King, Hugh Despencer the younger, and Robert Baldock, the King's Chancellor, determined to flee into the Island of Lundy, in the mouth of the River Severn. Having come as far as Chepstow, the King took sea in a small vessel for Lundy, but a contrary wind prevented him from proceeding down channel, and having with difficulty escaped the severity of the weather, he landed in Wales, and took up his residence in Neath Abbey. From other sources we are enabled to fill up pretty correctly the details of this melancholy journey. The King seems to have left Chepstow on the 21st October, and on the 27th and 28th we find he was at Cardiff. During the interval he was in all probability exposed in the channel to the baffling winds and unfavourable weather, and, being driven back, sought shelter either at Newport or Cardiff. From the latter place, without even a rest for a day, his Majesty proceeded to Caerphilly—a stronghold which Despencer had secured, and which since the fall of Caerleon had come to be looked upon as the great barrier between English and Welsh territory. Tidings of the fugitives having arrived at Caerphilly soon reached the Queen, and a hostile army, commanded by her Majesty and Mortimer, took up position before it without delay. The force is said to have been ten thousand strong, while the beseiged were also a numerous body. Preparations were made for a battle, and the beseiged eagerly looked forward to be led by the King in person, but his Majesty felt safety in neither his cause nor the castle; and, remaining at Caerphilly only two days —the 29th and 30th October—he escaped further westward. The manner of his escape is variously told. One tradition says he disguised himself as a Welsh peasant, and for a time assisted with eager-

ness to pile wood on the blazing fires which lighted the beseigers while battering the walls of the castle. After five days—viz., November 4th—we hear of the King being at Margam, but how he got there is not precisely known. Some writers conjecture that he took water at Cardiff, but after his late experience, it is questionable if he would again venture upon so uncertain and unpleasant an undertaking. It is more probable that the King and the few friends with him made their way across the Welsh mountains, and five days would afford them ample time to complete the journey. A tradition given in Malkin says the King hired himself as a cowherd or shepherd to a farmer in the parish of Llangynwyd, but the farmer finding him an awkward and ignorant fellow soon dismissed him. From Margam the King went to Neath Abbey, and was there on the 5th November; but how long he remained is uncertain. His footsteps were dogged, and on the 16th of the same month he was captured with Despencer near the castle of Llantrissent, being then engaged, it is supposed, in an attempt to make their way back to Caerphilly. Their captor was Henry, Earl of Lancaster, son of Thomas, the late Earl, Lord of Monmouth, who was a strong supporter of the Queen, and who had been despatched by her Majesty in quest of the King. He at once conveyed the prisoners to Monmouth Castle to await further orders. When the Queen had received advice that her husband was in custody, she convened a Council, and it was decided as the first step to require the King to give up the great seal. The Bishop of Hereford was sent to Monmouth to demand it, and the King gave it up without any apparent resistance. A Parliament was immediately called to sit at Hereford, and the King and Despencer, still prisoners, were removed thither. Short and bloody work was made with Despencer, for he was here hanged on a gibbet fifty feet high. His servant, Simon Riding, was hanged on the same gibbet, only a few feet lower. The body of Despencer was afterwards beheaded, embowelled, and quartered. Despencer's wife Eleanor and her children were subsequently kept close prisoners in the Tower of

London. The ultimate fate of the King, and the fearful tragedy perpetrated in Berkeley Castle, are matters of general history.

Before finally closing the eventful period of the unfortunate Edward II., several facts should be brought to the reader's notice. It is of minor importance to state that at this period Madoc ap Reynolf ap Adam Gwent, sometimes called Madoc de Usk, was living at Crindau, adjacent to Newport, that he was an officer in the service of the king, and in a document of 12th Edward II. (1318) is styled *valettus regis*; and that in 1322, John de Hastings was ordered to raise four hundred men in Gwent, and three hundred men out of Abergavenny and Gwent for the king's service. Of greater interest are the charters granted by Edward. In the sixteenth year of his reign (1322-23) he granted the patronage of the Abbey of Caerleon to Eleanor, wife of Hugh Despencer, and to Gilbert their son, and in the seventeenth year of his reign (1323-24) he conferred the favour of freedom from toll to his favourite Despencer, his heirs and their burgesses in Usk, Caerleon, and Newport, in conjunction with other towns which formed part of Despencer's extensive estates. The charter is to the following effect:—

Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, Sovereign of Ireland, and Duke of Acquitaine, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, sheriffs, judges, superintending officers, and to all bailiffs and their officers, health; know ye that we of our special favour have granted and by this our chart have confirmed to our faithful and beloved Hugh le Despencer, the younger, that he and his heirs, and their burgesses, and others, the inhabitants of Cardyf, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Cowbrugge, Neeth, and Kenfig in Wales, of all their effects, goods, wares, as well merchandise as others, be for ever released from toll, wall toll bridge toll, ware carriage toll, stall or standing toll, piccage, tronage, wool weighing toll, kayage, wharf toll, tonage, lord's land tillage, and also of all other customs and duties throughout our whole kingdom and our Duchy of Acquitaine, and our Sovereignty of Ireland, and elsewhere throughout our dominions, the duties upon wool, hides, fleeces or sheep skins, and wines, due to us, and our heirs, successors, only excepted.

"Wherefore, it is our will, and we strictly enact for us and our heirs, that the same Hugh and his heirs and

their burgesses and others, the inhabitants of the aforesaid towns of Kerdyf, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Cowbrugge, Neath, and Kenefig in Wales, of all their effects and goods, as well merchandise as others, be for ever released from toll, wall toll, bridge toll, ware carriage toll, stall or standing toll, toll for breaking up the ground to fix stalls, standings or booths, wool weighing toll, wharf toll, lords land tillage, and also of all other customs and duties throughout our whole kingdom, and our Duchy of Acquitain, and our Sovereignty of Ireland, and elsewhere throughout our dominions, duties upon wool, hides, fleeces or sheepskins and wines due to us, and our heirs, successors only excepted as aforesaid; given with the attestation of the venerable fathers, with Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England; Bishop of Norwich, Bishop of Chester, Adomaro de Valencia, Earl of Pembroke, Edmund Earl of Arundel, John de Segrave, servior, William Martyn, Richard Dammory, stewards of our household, under our hand at Westminster, the 4th day of March, and the Seventeenth of our reign."

At this period the internal trade of the country was considerably oppressed, not only by the impositions referred to in the charter, but also by the arbitrary appointment by the King of fairs in various parts of the country. Some of the tolls named, the meaning of which has now become unintelligible, were exacted at every fair, and by every baron through whose domain the goods or persons chanced to pass. It will be seen, therefore, that the exemptions granted by the Charter were no empty benefit.

Of the status of Caerleon prior to this period we have already given ample testimony. Usk, too, had existed as a town from the days the Romans occupied it as a military station; but up to the time of the issue of this charter the records relating to Newport are confined to scanty allusions to the church of St. Gwynlliw (St. Woolos), and the castle, of which the founder is unknown, but in which one or more bloody tragedies had been perpetrated. The charter clearly indicates, however, that, in addition to the church and castle, a town had arisen of some importance, but by whose efforts or encouragement cannot be precisely stated. We take the opportunity, therefore, of making a few general observations as to the gradual formation of our older boroughs, from which, by inference and deduction, it will be seen how Newport progressed in the early days of which we are still treating.

It is to the Saxon times that we must refer for the first clear indications of those associations understood by the term boroughs. Although the word borough is not applied either to Newport or the other places mentioned, the word burgesses is used in reference to those persons in favour of whom the charter was granted, and both words have the same origin. Their etymology has been warmly contested, and is involved in much doubt; but it is not essential to prefer one interpretation before another. The original meaning of the word was a hill, a rising ground or heap of earth, and hence came to signify a fortification, or castle, as such places were constructed on elevated positions. Subsequently the term became applied to the aggregate of houses, churches, and other structures which usually gathered under the castle walls. Again, from the earliest times, when a district became inhabited, there would always be a locality where the inhabitants would, for the purposes of trade or protection, cluster more closely together than elsewhere; and especially would this be the case in districts possessed by and brought under the rule of a Norman baron. In many Lordships there would be justice administered, rents collected, customary services exacted, and fines and forfeitures received from the tenants. So there can be little doubt that from the time of the erection of the castle at Newport the town began to grow. The larger it became, the closer would the dwellers become bound in social ties to each other. By trade they would accumulate wealth, and under these circumstances the more onerous would the duty and service, which it was requisite they should pay to the lord, be considered. The burgesses were no doubt free from slavish services and from the arbitrary payments contingent upon tenures in villanage, and, though not as the immediate retainers and tenants of the lord, at his disposal, yet in some measure dependent upon him and under his governance. In Anglo-Saxon times the English boroughs were subject to the rule of an elective officer called the Portreeve, and the best authorities agree that the system experienced little alteration at the hands of the Norman conquerors. The spirit

of the Saxon policy was still allowed to prevail, and encouraged rather than suppressed. Instead of a portreeve, however, a bailiff was placed in the boroughs, who was allowed in the larger towns to assume the appellation of mayor. The duty of these bailiffs was to collect the rents, the fines, and forfeitures of the tenants, and the fees and tolls of the markets and fairs, which in many cases were burdensome and obnoxious. By these payments, however, the services which the tenant was otherwise bound to render to the lord gradually disappeared through disuse or omission, and the townsman was practically free. After a time the necessity for payment was not so rigidly regarded, exemption from servile duties on the part of the townsmen became general, and their privileges were widely extended. It was this concession of privileges, beyond those appurtenant to every borough by the provisions of general laws, that was the object for which charters were granted by the king and the great lords of the realm. By the close of the 13th century all the more important towns had secured the right of justice in their own borough courts, of self-government and self-taxation, and their liberties and charters served both as models and incentives to the smaller towns like Newport then struggling into life. The language of the Charter granted by Edward would lead to the inference that the town of Newport was at that period not of very recent growth, and that it was probably equal in importance to Caerleon, Cardiff, and the other towns mentioned as sharing in the privileges conferred. It is further evident that Newport must have been a place of commerce, or the numerous exemptions granted would have been of no effect or benefit.

At what time Usk, Caerleon, and Newport became first incorporated and obtained the privilege of municipal government as understood in modern days is unknown. The earliest reference to the Mayor of Caerleon is believed to be in the days of Owen Glendower (1410-15), when a letter from the "Mayor and burgesses of Caerleon" was sent to the "Burgesses of Monmouth," informing them of Glendower's proceedings in the town of

Carmarthen. This letter is still preserved among the Cotton M.SS in the British Museum, and has been published by Sir Henry Ellis. The names of two of the Mayors of Caerleon appear in documents of the reign of Henry VII. (1505). There seems to be with regard to Newport nothing more ancient than the Charter of James I. (1624), which, however, was granted to the "Mayor, bailiffs, &c.," indicating that the office of Mayor in the borough had previously existed. Usk is still governed by a portreeve, the remnant of an institution dating from Saxon times, and the exercise of which office in the town of Usk can be traced back for nearly 500 years, viz., to the year 1398.

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NEWPORT AND CAERLEON.

HISTORICAL

TRADITIONS AND FACTS

RELATING TO

NEWPORT AND CAERLEON,

BY A

MEMBER OF THE CAERLEON AND MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.



PART IV.

EDWARD III. TO MARY.

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HISTORICAL

TRADITIONS AND FACTS

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PART IV.

NORMAN AND MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.

ACCESSION OF EDWARD III.—ROGER MORTIMER APPOINTED PRIME MINISTER.—CREATED EARL OF MARCH.—IS ATTAINTED AND HUNG.—HIS ESTATES PASS TO THE EARL OF STAFFORD, LORD OF NEWPORT.—HE PROCEEDS TO THE FRENCH WARS, FOLLOWED BY THE MEN OF NEWPORT AND NETHERWENT.

The events resulting from the deposition of Edward II., and the accession to the Crown of Edward III. were of considerable interest to the district of Gwent. The King was but fifteen years of age, and therefore a regency was appointed, of which Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Lord of Monmouth, was declared the President. The Queen, however, having the power in her own hands, suffered none but her creatures to share in it, and one of her first acts was to appoint as Prime Minister her favourite Roger Mortimer, who was then enabled to manage the affairs of the kingdom at his pleasure.

On the attainder of Hugh Despencer his possessions fell to the Crown, and the Lordship of Gloucester, with those of Gwent and Glamorgan, were bestowed on Mortimer by the Queen. In the year following (1328) he was created by the King Earl of the Marches of Wales, or, as he is more generally termed, the Earl of March. In this

capacity he asserted such authority that he acted more like a Sovereign than a Minister, and beyond this, he converted the greater part of the immense fortunes of the Despencers to his own use. Such conduct aroused great jealousy, first on the part of the leading nobility, and at last in the mind of the King, who began to suspect the truth of the rumours that it was by Mortimer's private orders that the King, his father, was murdered; that his uncle was beheaded, and that it was by Mortimer, his mother the Queen was with child. Accordingly he agreed to plans whereby the Queen and the Earl of March were surprised in the castle at Nottingham, and the latter sent to the Tower. He was soon impeached, and being charged with the crimes of which the King suspected him, was condemned and hung as a traitor, November, 1330.

On his attainder his estates became once more the property of the Crown. Some of the estates in Glamorgan were granted to Eleanor, wife of the younger Despencer, who with her children were released from prison by Edward III. soon after his accession. The manor of Liswerry was retained by the Crown, and remains still among the list of Royal manors. The lordship of Newport was restored to Hugh de Audley, and conveyed by Margaret, his only daughter to her husband Ralph, Earl of Stafford, who thereupon was created lord of Newport and Wentllwch.

In 1337, King Edward renewed his pretensions to the throne of France, and for a period of ten years continuous wars resulted. Edward in his designs received the strong support of the barons generally, who freely contributed both men and money. Gwent and South Wales were not behind in providing their quota, as appears from the particulars preserved by Rymer. As soon as Edward had determined to send an army to France, he wrote (August 28th, 1337), to his chamberlain in Wales, ordering that one thousand men should be hastily furnished; and that no delay might be interposed on account of the difficulty of clothing, it was further ordered that the soldiers should be all clothed in cloth of one colour. This instance seems to be the first recorded of soldiers being dressed in

uniform. Before the order could be complied with, the King again wrote (September 24th) to the authorities to say that the soldiers need not be sent at present as the voyage had been postponed. Next year (1338) Wales was required to send one thousand archers and lancers to Ipswich to embark for Flanders; and a like number to Portsmouth from whence they were to embark for Acquitaine. Subsequent campaigns demanded a still greater drain upon the resources of the country, and from some particulars given respecting them, we learn the precise part which the men of this district took in them. In 1342, Ralph, Earl of Stafford and Lord of Newport and Wentllwch, volunteered to go himself to the wars, and to supply fifty men to go with him. Although the earl was a volunteer, we find that "fifty men with lances" were "impressed" out the Earl's lordship of Newport and Netherwent. These fifty men were only the rank and file; and no less than fifty others, being officers of different degrees, including the earl formed the complete company from this town and neighbourhood. These facts are borne out by the records of the King's military arrangements, in which details are set forth respecting the payment of the force. These details curiously illustrate the system pursued at that period for providing men for the military service, and the manners of the times. On June 25th the King ordered payment to be made to one Ralph Stafford, who had volunteered to go to the war with fifty men, and the payment was to be made as follows :—

2 knights bannerets were each to receive 4s. a day.
16 knights at 2s. a day.
31 esquires at 1s. a day.
50 bowmen on horseback at 6d. a day.

99

The earl himself made the number a hundred. The pay of an earl was generally 8s. per day; but it will be observed no payment is assigned to Ralph Stafford. He had "volunteered" to go to the war, and in all probability bore his own expenses.

In the crushing victory of Crecy, and the capture of Calais, which speedily followed, Ralph Stafford

and "his men from Newport and Netherwent" were in the first division of the army, and during the campaign performed such great military services that in recognition of them the earl was created Earl of Hereford, and appointed the King's Lieutenant and Captain-General of the Duchy of Acquitaine. It may be further noted that this same Ralph, Earl of Stafford, formed one of the party who, with the King, surprised Mortimer and the Queen at Nottingham; and that he was with a younger Roger Mortimer two of the twenty-six peers who were the founders (April 23, 1349) of the Order of the Garter. He is supposed to have founded the House of Refuge on Stow-hill, and his arms sculptured appeared on each façade of the old West Gate that formerly stood near the bottom of Stow-hill, in the town of Newport.

THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE DISTRICT.—THE ABBOT OF CAERLEON AND THE ABBEY OF LLANTARNAM.—QUERY WHEN CAERLEON BECAME ATTACHED TO THE DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF.

Amid the narration of a series of fierce and destructive wars in which England engaged, it were well to pause for a brief period, and transfer our thoughts to subjects of a peaceful character. In previous chapters we have shown that in the beginning of the 12th century a great religious movement went over the land, the outcome of which was a desire to erect large and costly edifices for religious purposes. Within the space of about a quarter of a century such buildings of more or less grandeur and extent were put up at Bassalleg, Malpas, Caerleon, Llantarnam, Usk, Goldcliff, Monmouth, Tintern, and Abergavenny. The ruins of Tintern still indicate the magnificence of design and wealth expended in its erection, but the majority of the buildings have long since become unnoticed, or entirely obliterated from the ground. Probably the rage for founding religious institutions soon spent itself, and the inevitable reaction had its influence upon the mind of the people. The various monastic orders, the introduction of which into England had been the means of stirring up the religious enthusiasm of the people, became less active: the members enjoyed the delightful solitude in which their abodes were chiefly fixed, and the rural delights by which they were surrounded: the pleasures of good living were open to them, and the charms of innocent and healthful sport within their reach. Admitting that many of the brethren spent their lives in the studies of literature and science, it is no wonder that the bulk of these communities allowed the masses of the people around them to remain in ignorance or to gather their religious instruction from witnessing the gorgeous ceremonies of the church's ritual, which was still kept up, and the scriptural pictures and sculptures which adorned the walls of these ecclesiastical buildings.

From the time of the erection of the abbeys and monasteries above named, until the middle of the 14th century, very little indeed can be found relating to them, but the facts available we produce here with a view of bringing the ecclesiastical history of the district down to the period last named. First, as regards Caerleon. Reference has several times been made in these papers to the Abbot of Caerleon, and of whose existence at the times spoken of there can be no doubt; but there is great uncertainty as to whether an abbey ever stood in the old city. There is no account of any such establishment either written or traditional. At the same time the old building now known as the Priory House leads to the inference that it was formerly occupied by some religious body. The late Mr. Wakeman investigated the subject, and we can give no better explanation than he has done. He says that the first monks for the Abbey of Llantarnam were probably placed in a house in Caerleon under a prior while the abbey was being built; and when they removed to their new residence, and the superior was advanced to the dignity of an abbot, he still continued his title of Caerleon, retaining his town house as an occasional residence, and when not using it leaving it in the occupation of a few monks, under the superintendence of a prior. This would account for the name of the Priory House. It still remains strange that in the valuation of the possessions of Llantarnam Abbey, made at the Dissolution, there is no mention of any property belonging to the abbey being in the town of Caerleon. It does not follow from this that there was none. Omissions are frequent in such documents, which were apparently made up from the rent rolls of the different monasteries. If the Priory House were at the time the valuation was made in the occupation of the monks, it might very easily be overlooked, not appearing in their account books; or it might probably have been included in the rents of their Manor of Magna Porta, where the parishes in which the several tenements are situated are not given.

Turning now to Llantarnam, we find the particulars of the foundation of the abbey there by

Howel, in 1178, clearly given, but it is strange that no further entry is known of it in the public records for several centuries afterwards. It is not mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas (1290), although the Abbot of Caerleon is rated at £18 18s. 4d. for lands in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. No allusion or statement either is made respecting the abbot, who, it might be supposed, would have taken his title from the place. In the one case—Llantarnam—we have an abbey without an abbot; and in the other case—Caerleon —we have the abbot, but no abbey. These anomalies have led writers to suppose that the abbey at Llantarnam was presided over by an abbot who took his title from the neighbouring town; and that when mention is made of the Abbey of Caerleon, it refers to the institution at Llantarnam. Both were of the order of Cistercians, and there seems to be no other possible explanation.

At one time an amount of laxity seems to have prevailed among some of the superiors in the institutions of the Cistercian order, and the statutes issued by the central authorities show the care they exercised in maintaining strict discipline even in their remotest establishments. In one of these statutes Caerleon is thus referred to :—

"De abbatibus de Carlein et de Valle Crucis et de Amberconem de quibus dicitur quod rarissime celebrant et abstinent ab altari committibur abbatibus de Forda et de Combremare ut accedant ad domus eorum, et diligentur inquirant de præmissis, et quod invenerint per litteras suas, sequenti capitulo fideliter satagant mintiare. Prædictis autem abbatibus auctoritate capituli, generalis præcipitur, ut ad sequens capitulum Cisterciun se præsentant omni occasione remota super oppositis responsuri."—Statuta anni m.cci.

By the efforts of the Historical M.SS. Commissioners some important documents have been unearthed in the archives of Westminster Abbey relating to proceedings between the Abbot of Caerleon and others as to the monastery being within the diocese of Llandaff. These papers, so far as we know, have not yet been published, but we anticipate that they will throw some light upon a point respecting which information is needed. Caerleon in the early days of the Christian era was

the seat of an archbishop; but St. David, on his appointment, removed the see from Caerleon to Menevia, still, however, retaining the old city within the limits of his diocese, although the see of Llandaff intervened between the one and the other. Caerleon is not mentioned in "Liber Landavensis." This book was written in the 12th century, and for the purpose of showing the superiority of Llandaff over St. David's. It would appear clear, therefore, that at the time this book was completed Caerleon was not included in the diocese of Llandaff, the boundaries of which, with the exception named, extended to the river Wye. The churches of Dinan or Dinham, Llangwm, and other places east of Caerleon are mentioned in the Bulls of Pope Honorius II., 1128 and 1129, as then belonging to the see of Llandaff. Dinham is supposed to have been one of the numerous places of which the diocese of Llandaff was despoiled by the Norman barons. Walter Fitz Richard de Clare, lord of Caerwent, is alleged to have seized and retained Dinham, and it was not until 1337 that Almeric de Lucy, the then lord of Caerwent, restored it to the church, along with Crick, Caerwent, and Llanfair.

How long Caerleon remained in the diocese of St. David, or when it became first attached to Llandaff is not stated in any writer that we have yet consulted. In 1323 the patronage of the Abbey of Caerleon was granted by royal charter to the wife and son of Hugh Despencer. After this date Mr Wakeman was unable to find any records relating to the Abbey.

The Priory of Goldcliff still flourished when the Taxation of Pope Nicholas was made, the entry in the record appearing thus :—

Ecclesia de Goldclivia cum capellis Ecclesia x P 1 „ de Petriston	£26 13s 4d	Prior de Goldclivia est rector	

In this valuation Christchurch, Llanbedr, and Catsash are included.

With regard to the Benedictine Priory at Bassalleg, founded in 1110, it was probable that it was soon forsaken, for Tanner says, in his "Monasticon," that the monks were recalled to Glastonbury in 1235, by Abbot Michael, who let to

farm the church at Bassalleg, which seems a convincing proof that no monks of the convent were resident there at that period. An old ruin in the recesses of a wood called Coed Monachty, is said to be the remains of the monastery.

The question of the religious houses at Newport has been exhaustively investigated by Mr Octavius Morgan and the late Mr T. Wakeman, and their researches show that so early as the beginning of the 14th century there existed in the town a church or chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, but by whom or when founded is not known. St. Nicholas has always been considered particularly the patron of children, but also held in great esteem by mariners. Hence churches dedicated to him are frequently found in seaports, and generally, as here, near the harbour. The site was close to the river, a little below the Bridge, and before the close of the century was used for the erection of a Friary, of which we shall say more hereafter.

WELSH BARDS IN THE 14TH CENTURY.—DAFYDD AP GWILYM AND IFOR HAEL OF MAESALEG.

Among the results which followed the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., there is none more prominent or remarkable than the discouragement of the national muse. The conquerors exerted their power to suppress an influence which was inimical to their interest, and the clergy in particular arrayed themselves in opposition to the bards. To all outward seeming Wales had become utterly barbarous. Every vestige of the older Roman civilisation had been destroyed by centuries of bitter warfare, and civil strife had kept the people from sharing in the general progress of more modern culture. The theme of the bard was no longer an aspiration for political freedom, but toned by the feelings of regret, despair, and revenge. The poetic fire was however suppressed only, and not destroyed; and now, in the middle of the 14th century, it broke forth in a new strain. Its former force and sublimity was no longer displayed, and it is questionable if the humour and vivacity apparent compensated for the qualities which had been lost.

One of the greatest poets of this period was Davydd ap Gwilym, on whom the appellation of Petrarch of Wales has with much propriety been bestowed. Davydd ap Gwilym's name is associated with that of Ifor Hael, and we give some particulars respecting them, both being personages of singular renown. Ifor was the patron of the poet, and in deep gratitude for the favours bestowed upon him the poet immortalised to all Welshmen the name and memory of Ifor for the kindliness of spirit and generous disposition which he ever exhibited to his fellow man. Ifor Hael was the second son of Llewellyn ap Ifor, of Tredegar, his mother being the beauteous Angharad, daughter and heiress of Sir Morgan Meredith, whose ancestry we have before spoken of. Ifor's elder brother was Morgan ap Llewellyn, of Tredegar, this being the patrimonial estate. Many writers represent Angharad as heiress of Tredegar, and her

husband as Lord of St. Clair; but the reverse of this is the case. Mr Wakeman states that Angharad was lady of St. Clair by inheritance from her father, who died, seized of it, as evidenced by Inq. post mort. 5 Ed. III., and Llewellyn ap Ifor became its lord by marriage and in his wife's right. According to a pedigree of the Morgan family now at Tredegar, signed by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux king of arms, in the reign of Elizabeth, "This Llewellin, being in Spayne, did there many deeds of arms, for the which he was honoured with the coat of arms, Gould, a griffin, salyant sable, which coate his whole familye have used sythence, leaving their ancient coate arg. three bul's heds sable."

Ifor Hael was termed Lord of Maesaleg, and his residence was at Wenallt and Gwern-y-cleppa, near Bassalleg. The buildings have long been in ruins, and give little idea to the visitor of the charms that obtained within their walls. It was in this locality with his patron that Davydd ap Gwilym spent most of his days, and by his presence and by his song converted every slope and glen and woodland into classic ground.

Davydd ap Gwilym is said to be the son of Gwilym Gam, and to have been born in 1340, under the following eventful circumstances, which are extracted from the Iolo M.SS.:—Dafydd's father fell in love with Ardudfyl, daughter of Gwilym Vychan, in Emlyn, but through some feud between the families neither side would consent to their marriage. The result of the indiscreet attachment of the young couple was, however, soon discovered, and Ardudfyl was by her father and brother turned out of doors at midnight in winter and during bitterly severe weather. At the same time they sent strict injunctions to all her relations that none of them should admit her under the shelter of their roofs. Being thus an outcast, she wandered about she cared not whither; but when Gwilym heard of her destitution he went after her, traced her out, and took her with him to Glamorgan, intending to proceed to the house of Ifor Hael, his maternal uncle; but others assert that he and Ifor were brothers in law. While pursuing their journey at midnight, and during a severe

tempest of wind and hail, Davydd ap Gwilym, their son, was born, a seven months child, under a hedge. Anxious to go on, they next day reached Llandaff, where they were married; but Ardudfyl died on that very day, and was buried there, the infant son having been christened on his mother's coffin. Having seen earth thrown over her face, Gwilym went on with his infant son to Gwern y cleppa, in Maesaleg, where he lived in high welcome and protection. After a time Gwilym returned to Cardiganshire, and married again. As Davydd, his son, grew up he became celebrated for his satirical propensities, and left home at an early age on account of the constant bickerings that took place between him and his parents. He is found enjoying the friendship and patronage of Ifor Hael at Gwern y Cleppa, and was appointed his steward. He also became instructor of Ifor's daughter, with whom a reciprocal attachment soon sprung up. The daughter was thereupon sent off to a convent in the Isle of Anglesey, but Davydd followed her, and, in the capacity of a servant in a neighbouring monastery, consoled himself by offering to the object of his love the tribute of his muse. Becoming weary of this barren enjoyment, he returned to his patron Ifor, who received him with his former welcome.

Soon after his return a grand eisteddfod was held, under Ifor's patronage, at Gwern y Cleppa. This eisteddfod was a most important one, and has been termed "one of the three regenerating bardic conventions," there being, it seems, at this time few who knew the art and knowledge of vocal song. At this eisteddfod the Cywydd metre was first admitted to chair privileges to which it had not previously been entitled; and a competition for the bardic chair of Glamorgan ensued, this prize being then something more than a mere nominal honour. It was won by Dafydd's force of genius and the purity of his diction, and the bard was invested with the designation of Dafydd of Glamorgan; but his more familiar title was Bard Ifor Hael.

The poetical reputation which Davydd acquired made him a welcome and almost necessary guest at the festivals of the great; and it was at these that

Davydd signalised himself among his bardic compeers. At Emlyn, the seat of his uncle Llewellyn, he encountered Rhys Meigan, between whom and Davydd a deep-rooted enmity had sprung up. The laurels in the encounter were awarded to Davydd; and it is recorded that so poignant was the satire wielded by Davydd that Meigan fell dead on the spot, being unable to endure it.

Relating to his association with the fair sex, a curious anecdote is related of him. Having an inclination to be diverted on one occasion with the four and twenty ladies whose favours he sought, he made an assignation with each, unknown to the others, to meet him under a certain tree in Tredegar Park at a specified hour. Before the time named Davydd went to the spot and ascended the tree, and watched them all arrive. When assembled, the trick played upon them was soon discovered, and gentler emotions gave place to expressions of indignant vengeance. Davydd from his seclusion beheld the gathering storm, and had recourse to the muse to allay it, or at least to divert it. Emerging from his hiding p'ace he pronounced an extemporary stanza, of which the following is an attempt at translation :—

> Among you all, the kindest jade
> Who oftenest meets me in this shade
> On summer's morn, to love inclined,
> Let her strike first, and I'm resigned.

The effect of this was to set the ladies accusing and recriminating each other, in the midst of which Davydd managed to escape almost unnoticed.

Among the ladies to whom Davydd was attached was one Morvudd, the daughter of Madog Lawgam, a gentleman of Anglesey, who reciprocated his love. She gave her hand, however, to another—an aged dotard, whose wealth was his only recommendation. From him Davydd induced her to part, and they ran away together. For this Davydd was fined and imprisoned, and in prison he might have ended his days but for the generosity of some of his friends in this district.

Among the bardic contemporary of Davydd ap Gwilym was Gruffydd Grug, a native of Anglesey, between whom and Davydd a sort of amicable

rivalry took place. Ultimately the contentions assumed a hostile character, and might have terminated in the extinction of their friendship, had not an ingenious stratagem averted the event. It is stated that the monks of Gwynlliw's Priory despatched a messenger to Mona with a letter stating that Davydd ap Gwilym was dead, whereupon Gruffydd wrote an elegy to his memory. But while yet on his way to Mona the messenger sent another back to Davydd with word that Gruffydd was dead, and, according to his wish, to be buried at Strata Florida, where, Gruffydd's information stated, that Davydd ap Gwilym was also to be buried. The same day was named for both funerals. Davydd proceeded there immediately, with an affectionate elegy to Gruffydd. There, however, he met that bard, with a kind elegy to him, and great was their astonishment and joy at meeting each other alive. Thenceforth to their death friendship existed between them.

Davydd is supposed to have died about 1400, and his remains lie interred at Ystrad Flur, Cardigan.

His poems have been published, and to these we would refer our readers, but we quote one or two having a local reference. Here is one respecting himself and patron, written evidently in the full enjoyment of manhood's health :

Honours great for me are stored
If I live from Ivor's hand,
Hound and huntsman at command
Daily banquet at his board.
(Princely baron !) At the game,
With his piercing shafts to aim,
And to let his falcon fly
On the breezes of the sky:
Dice and draughts and every sport
Of Maesaleg's joyous court
Will the host who governs there
Freely with the poet share.

Here is another celebrating Ifor's fame and worth :

Thou, Ivor, darling of the muse,
Who through the world thy fame pursues,
Proclaim thy worth in every clime,
While rapture fills her lay sublime,
And feel her thrilling soul expand
Whilst fostered by thy courteous hand.

Thy ample gate, thy ample hall,
Are ever opened wide to all;
And, warmed by Heaven, thy ample mind
Dilates in love to all mankind.
The poor from thee with joy return,
They bless thy name, they cease to mourn,
And bid the God who knows their grief
Reward the hand which gave relief.
As lately sitting at thy board,
Where every guest thy worth ador'd,
With grateful warmth I tu n'd my lays
And felt high transport in thy praise,
Whilst noble dukes and barons bold
Sprung from those heroes fam'd of old
United anxious to proclaim
The peerless glories of thy name.
Name far renown'd for worth complete—
The greatest of the truly great;
To sing thy deeds I often rove
Through stately Wenallt's verdant grove,
When May displays her floral hues
Invite to joy the tuneful muse.
I feast with thee, the shades among
On luxuries of ancient song,
Strive old Aneurin's heights to gain,
And emulate his lofty strain.
O! let me to poetic fame
Consign thy great, thy deathless name;
Thy princely stock was ever grac'd
With martial sons and daughters chaste,
The noblest virtues all combine
To gild the glories of thy line.
May every blessing from above
On thee descend in dews of love,
If ought excels in bliss divine,
May that selected meed be thine.

The next, we can well imagine, was written when Davydd's days were well-nigh numbered:

"Ivor is gone—my friend and guide,
And Nest, my patroness—his bride;
Morvyth, my soul's delight is fled—
All moulder in their clay cold bed;
And I oppressed with woe remain,
Victim to age and lingering pain.
My shapeless sin with dread I view
And tremble at the reckoning due;
I dread my folly's long career,
But, more than all, my God I fear."

To the custom of scattering flowers over the graves of deceased friends Davydd ap Gwilym beautifully alludes in one of his odes—"An Invocation to Summer."

O, whilst thy seasons of flowers and thy tender sprays thick of leaves remain, I will pluck the roses from the brakes; the flowerets of the meads and gems of the woods; the vivid trefoils; beauties of the ground, and the gaily smiling blooms of the verdant herbs to be offered to the memory of a chief of fairest fame. Humbly will I lay them on the grave of Ifor.

In the same piece Davydd ap Gwilym makes one of the earliest known references to the custom prevalent in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire of whitewashing the fronts of houses in the country. Some writers trace its origin to the year 1403, when all grass and leaves were eaten up by immense swarms of strange insects, and when the people, for protection, limed the walls and ground. Davydd thus alludes to the custom:—"With sunshine morn gladden thou the place, and greet the whitened houses."

Ifor Hael and Nest, his wife, are said to have died of the "black death," a terrible plague which visited this country about the middle of the 14th century. By this visitation London lost 100,000 of its inhabitants. In Bristol (1348) "the living was hardly able to bury the dead; and the grass grew several inches in length in the principal streets." The district of Gwent no doubt suffered also heavily by the calamity, though particulars are not preserved. At the time of their death Ifor Hael and his wife were staying, it is said, at the palace of the Bishop of Llandaff, then at Bishton, near Newport, and that the Bishop (Pascal) died at the same time and from the same cause. There is, however, a discrepancy here. The time of Ifor's death is stated as 1346, which would be the time the Black Death was raging, but Bishop Pascal's death did not take place until 1361, by which time the scourge in England had disappeared. It seems not improbable that some writers have mistaken the name of the Bishop, and that the prelate who succumbed to the fatality was John of Eaglescliff, whose death is recorded in the chronological series of the Bishops of Llandaff to have occurred in 1346, the same year in which Ifor Hael died.

Ifor Hael died without heirs, and his estate fell to his nephew, Llewellin, the son of Morgan ap Llewellin, who possessed Tredegar.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRIARY AT NEWPORT.

In previous chapters we have spoken of the institution of a Friary at Newport, and we now propose to give its history. From a document possessed by the late Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., of Middle Hill, a transcript of which is in the collection of Mr Octavius Morgan, it appears that the Friary was founded in the year 1377 by Hugh, son of Ralph, who succeeded his father as second Earl of Stafford, and Lord of Newport and Wentllwch, in 1372. It belonged to the Austin Friars, or, as they termed themselves, Hermits of St. Augustine. They claimed as the founder of their order not the Romish Apostle of the Anglo Saxons, but the eminent African bishop and Father of the Church. The friars were chiefly mendicants, and their buildings were seldom endowed; but, nevertheless many of them were large and stately, and connected with noble churches. To the town, especially, the preaching of the friars was a revolution; the older orders had chosen the country, the friars frequented the fair and the market-place, and their fervid appeals, accompanied by coarse wit and familiar story, roused an unwonted enthusiasm in the breasts of many whose religious instruction had been previously altogether neglected.

The Staffords were great patrons of the Austin Friars. Ralph, the first Lord of Newport, founded a house for them at Stafford in 1344, and it is likely that the house at Newport was considered as a cell to it, and that the first members of the order who established themselves at Newport came from the older house mentioned.

For the better understanding of what follows, it may be proper to premise that, as a preliminary step to the foundation of a monastery, it was necessary to obtain leave and license from the rector of the parish in which it was intended to be erected, as well as the consent and approbation of the diocesan. The abbot and monks of St. Peter's, in Gloucester, were appropriate rectors of the parish of St. Woolos (or, as it is termed in the document referred to, of Newport), and this instrument,

which is in the form of an agreement, comprising such license, under certain conditions and with the approval and confirmation of the Bishop of Llandaff, was enrolled in the Leger Book, or Chartulary of the Abbey.

It commences thus: "Know all men that it is settled, accorded and agreed between the reverend and religious men, Thomas, by the Grace of God, Abbot of St. Peter's, at Gloucester, and the convent of the same place, appropriate rectors of the parish church of Newport, in the diocese of Llandaff in Wales, of the one part, and Brother Henry Tesdale, Prior Provincial in England, of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, and Brother Thomas Locke, the prior, and the brethren of the same Order at Newport, in this way: that is to say, that the said abbot and convent for the promotion of Divine worship and contemplation, at the earnest request of the Lord Hugh, Earl of Stafford, their founder, have given to the said prior or guardian and the brethren of the said Order license and free liberty, as much as in them lies, to erect, build and construct an oratory or house of the said brothers, hermits, upon those thirty-one burgages, being in the parish of their said church of Newport, which the aforesaid Lord Earl, for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his progenitors, and of all the faithful departed, has given and granted them for the foundation of an oratory or house of the brethren aforesaid, and lest the said abbot and convent that now are, or that may be hereafter, or their church of Newport should suffer any loss in tithes and oblations, arising from the places so given to them, or from the inhabitants thereof, and likewise for the site of the chapel of St. Nicholas, and the area or land to the said chapel annexed and adjoining which belonged to the said abbot and convent, and which they have given and granted to the said brethren upon which they intend to build and construct their church, and for the indemnity and interest of the said abbot and convent and their vicar, and their successors, the prior or guardian of the said house of brethren at Newport, and their successors, being priors and brethren of the same house or place,

shall pay an annual pension of 13s. 4d. to the said vicar of their church of Newport aforesaid, and to his successors for ever, to be paid at the four terms of Michaelmas, the Nativity of our Lord, Easter, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist in each year, at the parish church of Newport aforesaid."

The remainder of this very curious document it is unnecessary to translate; it may suffice to state that the vicar was to have a power to distrain upon the premises for all arrears.

If it should happen that the house should be further endowed with any other lands in the parish a new composition was to be made under the award of the Bishop for the tithes and offerings thence arising with power to distrain as before. The Friars were not to usurp or retain any of the tithes or offerings due to the mother church upon any pretence, and to make immediate restitution if any such should come into their hands. The Prior, moreover, swore upon the Holy Evangelists to observe and keep all the conditions of this agreement, and undertook that his successor should take a like oath to the vicar for the time being, and administer a like obligation to each brother of his community.

If the Prior or his brethren contravened the agreement, and were convicted thereof before the Bishop, and did not make satisfaction within fifteen days, their house and church were to remain under interdict until they complied, which if not done in another fifteen days they would incur the penalty of the greater excommunication.

Moreover the Prior and brethren renounced all prescriptions, customs, papal rescripts of their order, devices, funds, nullities, indulgencies, appeals, and all other abatements in lands obtainable or to be obtained, whereby the agreement might be evaded.

Then follows the confirmation by Roger, Bishop of Llandaff, under his seal.

Two copies of this instrument were prepared and indented. To the copy retained by the Friars the seals of the Abbot and convent and of the Vicar were appended, dated in the Chapter House at Gloucester, 2nd July, 1377. The copy retained by

the Abbot and monks bore the seals of the Prior Provincial and that of the Prior of Newport, and bore date 18th July, 1377, and the confirmation by the Bishop was dated 10th September, 1377. The burgages given to the Friars by Earl Hugh should be 32, as that was the number they held in 1395, as appears by the records of the Lordship of Wentllwch, and at the same time they held *one free place*, by which it is supposed the chapel of St. Nicholas, and the land belonging to it was meant.

This endowment had produced to the Earl 32s 2d per annum.

From the same records we learn that Humphrey Stafford, grandson of Hugh, created Duke of Buckingham in 1445, gave them 22 more burgages before 1448. Henry, Duke of Buckingham, son of the last, gave them six more in 1482, which donation was confirmed by Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, in 1487. Thus it appears that the monastery was endowed with 60 burgage tenements and a small freehold at Newport. Whether this was all the property belonging to it or not, we have not at present any means of ascertaining.

A burgage tenement did not necessarily comprise a house. There were plots of land like what might be called town allotments, many of which were never built upon. Such, probably, was the case here, and that these burgages formed what half century ago was open meadow land.

ROGER MORTIMER'S SENTENCE REVERSED.—THE DESCENDANTS OF THE LORD OF CAERLEON BECOME KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Of the noble families mentioned as possessing estates in this district, it will not be necessary to say much in reference to that of the Despencers beyond the statements already made with regard to the fate of the principal members. The second Hugh Despencer, to whom, on the accession of Edward III., some of the Glamorgan estates were granted, died in 1349, without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Edward. The connection of his descendants with Newport and Caerleon ceased, and it is not our intention to follow up the history of events which have not a bearing upon these places.

Regarding Roger Mortimer, who for his many crimes and misdemeanours, was so summarily beheaded, it was not forgotten that he was condemned without witnesses having been heard, and without being allowed to make any defence, which formalities even in those times were prescribed by the laws and customs of the realm to be observed. On these grounds, the temper of the nation having changed, and the circumstances being favourable, Roger Mortimer's grandson sought for and obtained from Parliament an Act to reverse the sentence; and it will be found that the descendants of this Lord of Caerleon by the female line ascended the throne of England. This grandson of the "gentle Mortimer" of Edward's Queen married Philippa, only daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., and by this marriage became possessed of the Lordship of Usk, formerly held by Gilbert de Clare, who was slain at Bannockburn, 1324. Its descent was in this wise. At Gilbert's death Caerleon and Usk fell to his sister Elizabeth, who married John de Burgh. Their son, William de Burgh (third Earl of Ulster), married Maud, daughter of the Earl of Lancaster, and the daughter, Elizabeth de Burgh, was married to Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

Philippa, their only daughter, inherited the title of Countess of Ulster, and was also heiress of Caerleon and Usk. Edmund Mortimer, her husband, was constituted in 1379 Lord Deputy or Lieutenant of Ireland, and arrived in that country in the following year. He is said to have speedily reduced Ireland to a state of obedience, and during his short period of power to have transported thither "divers oaks of an extraordinary length from the woods of Penallt in the territory of Usk in Wales." The deceased earl died in Cork, and left issue three sons and two daughters.

Roger, the eldest son of Edmund Mortimer and Philippa, Countess of Ulster and heiress of Caerleon and Usk, was born at Usk in 1374, and of him it will be necessary to make special mention. Being descended, as we have shown, from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, he was by the Parliament of 1386 declared to be heir apparent of the Crown, Richard, the reigning King, having no children.

In 1395 this Roger Mortimer granted to the town of Usk a charter conferring upon the inhabitants the privilege of electing a Mayor. The deed is dated at his castle of Usk, and in it he styles himself Earl of March and Ulster, Lord of Usk, Caerleon, &c.

The existence of this charter is said to have proved highly beneficial to the inhabitants of Usk, in the latter part of the last century, under the following circumstances:—By statute of Elizabeth, Usk, in common with other parishes in the county, contributed to the repair of Newport and Caerleon bridges over the river Usk, but in 1792, Mr. Prothero, an attorney of the county, set up on behalf of the town of Usk a claim for exemption from these contributions on the ground that by virtue of a clause in the same statute of Elizabeth no "town corporate should be compelled to become contributory to the repairs of the bridges named, which was bound to make or repair any bridge over any main river." The proof of Roger Mortimer's charter was sufficient to establish the fact of Usk being a corporate town, and the exemption claimed was granted.

Early in 1399 King Richard resolved to go to Ire-

land and avenge the death of his kinsman Mortimer, who had been killed in a skirmish with some of the rebels in that country. He marched from Windsor to Bristol, and proceeded from thence to Milford Haven, from which place he sailed on the 29th May. This undertaking of Richard's proved most disastrous to his career through the intervention of one of his subjects very closely identified with the county of Monmouth.

During the boyhood of young Roger Mortimer there was born in a neighbouring town, of noble parents, probably in friendly relationship with the Mortimers, a child who in after years was to prove Roger's successful rival to the high honour of occupying the throne of England. It was in 1387, while the Earl and Countess of Derby were residing at Monmouth Castle, that the countess gave birth to a son. The birth of a subject is not always an event of national interest or importance, but the position of this infant was peculiar. His father was son to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who was known to court the throne, and to claim a title prior to that of Roger Mortimer, who had been nominated as the heir apparent. Roger Mortimer claimed his title through his mother, Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence: the Earl of Lancaster traced his descent from Edward III., entirely by the male line. It will be at once seen, then, that the birth of a son and heir to the Earl of Derby was, at least, likely to be of great local and family interest; and in the villages around Monmouth it proved so. A courier, tradition says, killed his horses or himself in his eagerness to bear the tidings from Monmouth to Goodrich; and when the father earl was hastening homeward, hurried thither by the news, the ferryman at Goodrich congratulated him upon the accomplishment of the expected event. The young infant was placed in a cradle, since become historical. During a period of five centuries it has been carefully preserved as a valuable relic; and on the recent visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Raglan Castle, the cradle was brought from Troy House and submitted to their Royal Highnesses' inspection as that in which the noble hero of Agincourt passed his early infant days in peaceful slumber.

Both father and son, we shall find, afterwards ascended the throne of England—the father as Henry IV., and the infant as Henry V., familiarly known as Harry of Monmouth. The father took the title of Earl of Derby, as being hereditary, and the King afterwards made him Earl of Hereford.

In consequence of a quarrel the earl had with the Duke of Norfolk, and a mutual intention on their part to fight a duel, the King condemned them both to punishment—the Duke of Norfolk for life, and the Earl of Hereford for ten years. The earl, however, made such a show of resignation that the King gave him a promise in writing that, in the event of the demise of his father, John of Gaunt, he should even while in exile obtain possession of his estates and honours. That pledge, however, like many others, Richard forgot as soon as it was granted, and John of Gaunt dying soon afterwards, the King took possession of his estates, including Monmouth, and retained them for his own use.

We must now bring our attention back to King Richard who we left in Ireland. No sooner had the King left for Ireland than the Earl of Hereford, who on his father's death took the title of Earl of Lancaster, and whose friends were both active and true, embarked from the Continent with a retinue of sixty persons, and landed on the 4th July at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. Very soon the escort of sixty was swelled to an army of sixty thousand persons, and the prospects of Richard became extremely gloomy. He was summoned from Ireland, and landed at Milford with twenty thousand men in his train; but no sooner had they set foot in England than his subjects and soldiers began to desert him rapidly. There had been in Wales a strong attachment to Richard, and when he landed at Milford he felt confident of meeting a large army to support him, but with the wholesale desertions Richard's heart sank within him. He had conferred on Thomas Despencer the Earldom of Gloucester and the Lordship of Glamorgan, but although the recipient of this favour the Earl deserted Richard's cause in the hour of need, and joined the party of Lancastrians. Richard dared

not venture into the district of Gwent, where the influence of the house of Lancaster was permanent and extending, but made his way to Conway in North Wales, and was there taken prisoner. Lancaster took him in a sort of triumph to London, where he was formally deposed by Parliament, and Henry of Lancaster, and Lord of Monmouth, recognised as King on the last day of September.

When Richard went to Ireland he took with him, as it were, a hostage, young Henry of Monmouth, who was about twelve years of age, but on his hasty return left him shut up a prisoner in Trym Castle. Young Henry was soon released, and arrived in London in time to see his father crowned at Westminster. Two months later, Oct. 13, he was himself created Prince of Wales. An eye witness of the ceremony, Creton, a French chronicler, says: "The King conferred on him the whole of the land of Wales; but I think he must conquer it, if he will have it, for, in my opinion, the Welsh will on no account allow him to be their lord, for the sorrow, evil, and disgrace which the English, together with his father, had brought upon King Richard." The old chronicler proved to be right.

INSURRECTION OF OWEN GLENDOWER.—OPPOSED BY HARRY OF MONMOUTH.—GLENDOWER DESTROYS CARDIFF.—HIS CONQUEST OF GLAMORGAN.—DEFEAT OF GLENDOWER AT MONMOUTH AND USK.

Wales at the end of the 14th century was in a most deplorable condition, and had gone from bad to worse. The Lords Marchers, paramount in their castles, which dotted the country, were surrounded by hosts of armed retainers, and dealt with the native people in the most domineering and unscrupulous manner. The sufferings of the people were great, and it is not surprising that they gave a most unwilling submission to the English yoke. Goaded at last to desperation, the old warlike spirit of the people was aroused, and thousands were ready and eager to take up arms to free their country from a thraldom which had become intolerable. Only a leader was wanted; and without design he at length appeared in the person of Owen Glendower, a descendant of a long line of ancient British kings.

In autumn of the year 1400, at Ruthin, North Wales, was struck the first blow of what proved a serious insurrection. Owen Glendower's primary object was to avenge a local wrong, but the affair soon spread, and the people throughout Wales made the cause of Owen their own, with the view of overthrowing their government by the English nation and restoring to the Principality a representative of its ancient royalty. Glendower at once assumed the title of Prince of Wales, which rendered him an object of great regard to the Welsh people. He had served under Richard, and thoroughly hated the Lancastrians.

The King at this time, being engaged in a war against Scotland, was unable to do much to repress the doings of Glendower, who was active in ravaging the estates which lay on the borders of the two countries. In 1401, however, a large force was raised to suppress the rebellion, at the head of which was placed young Harry of Monmouth, then only fourteen years of age. The King thought this commission to his son would give him excellent

military and political experience, and be a fortnight's easy work for him. In this result, however, he was somewhat deceived, the task of extinguishing this outburst of Welsh patriotism having cost Harry as many years as his father had allotted days.

Glendower soon made his way to Herefordshire, where he was resisted by Edmund Mortimer, brother of Roger Mortimer, Lord of Caerleon and Usk, who thought to do the King a signal service. Mortimer, however, had the misfortune at the battle of Brynglas to be taken prisoner, and many of his followers slain. It is to the incidents of this battle that Shakespeare refers, when he says (King Henry IV., Act 1, scene 1) :—

> The noble Mortimer,
> Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight
> Against the irregular and wild Glendower,
> Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken,
> And a thousand of his people butchered:
> Upon whose dead corse there was such misuse,
> Such beastly, shameless transformation
> By those Welshwomen done, as may not be
> Without much shame retold or spoken of.

Parliament now took up the matter, and instead of remedying the injustice of which the Welsh had complained, enacted laws of the most stringent character, and encouraged a system of reprisals. At a Parliament held at Westminster, in the 2nd Henry IV., complaints were made to the Commons of the ravages the Welsh had made, and the continuance of the practice of carrying off cattle, and arresting merchants. It was thereupon ordained that no Welshman should be permitted to purchase land in England; and that no "whole Englishman" should be convicted at the suit of any Welshman, within Wales, except by the judgment of English justices. To make the separation of the two nations complete, it was also ordained that no Welshman should be henceforth chosen to be citizen or burgess in any English city or town. Other laws enacted that no Welshman should bear arms nor defensible armour, and that no Englishman should wed a Welshwoman.

As the insurrection spread the King was necessitated to give it serious attention, and, raising a

large army, proceeded towards the Marches. By a writ dated at Worcester, 8th September, he made provision for fortifying and garrisoning many of the castles in the Marches, and assigned them to persons of supposed fidelity. Caerleon and Usk were entrusted to Sir Edward Charlton, of Powys; Caerphilly, to Lady Constantia Despencer; Abergavenny and Harold Ewyas, to Sir William Beauchamp; Goodrich, to Sir Thomas Nevil de Furnivale; Crickhowell, to John Pouncefoot; and Tretower to James Berkeley. The King soon retired, and left the brunt of the contest to be sustained by young Prince Henry.

In the summer of 1402 Glendower and his army burst into Gwent and carried destruction everywhere in their way, every fortress along their route in the possession of individuals inimical to Glendower's cause becoming a prey to his fury. Crickhowell and Abergavenny fell before him, and at length he reached Cardiff. This place, with the Glamorgan estates and honours, had been granted by King Richard to Thomas Despencer, who ultimately proved a traitor to his benefactor. Despencer was now dead, and the estates were once more in the hands of the Crown. Glendower, who had always been a staunchly loyal supporter of Richard had therefore under these circumstances, no consideration for the town other than a desire to ensure its destruction. The walls of the town and castle were well defended, but the persistent efforts of Glendower began to alarm the inhabitants, who sent to the King for assistance. This being denied, or at least delayed, the place fell to the mercy of its assailant, who sacked the castle and utterly burnt the town save one street then outside the walls called Crockerbtown, in which the monastery of the Grey Friars was situate. This was protected by Glendower as the monks had sympathy with his cause.

Leaving Cardiff in ruins, Glendower proceeded to Llandaff, and there burnt the bishop's palace and the archdeacon's castle, which were said to be extensive and stately edifices. Caerphilly did not escape attack, and the siege being feebly resisted, its defenders soon succumbed, and the Castle being

taken possession of by Glendower, was partially dismantled. Glendower speedily obtained Dunraven and other castles, and his conquest of Glamorgan became complete. For a year and more his success continued, and the prospect of establishing the position he had taken up was so great that the French King concluded a treaty with him as "Owen, Prince of Wales," and sent him assistance.

In the spring of 1405 Henry, having resolved if possible to destroy Glendower, made great efforts to accomplish his purpose. His son still remained doing chief duty at Hereford, and on the 11th March a division of his army, commanded by Sir Gilbert Talbot, obtained a considerable victory over a body of Glendower's forces at Grosmont (Graig Hill, it is conjectured). The English general had only a comparatively small number of soldiers at his command, but the Welsh numbered over eight thousand, and lost nearly one thousand of that number in the conflict. The victory had no decisive result, but it was supposed that it was during this battle that Glendower's son, Griffith, was made prisoner. The Prince, in informing the King, his father, of the event, writes :—"Victory is not in a multitude of people, but in the power of God." The Prince further writes :—"Prisoners there were none taken, save one, a great chieftain among them, whom I would have sent to you, but he cannot yet ride at his ease." This expression seems to show that the Prince was as kind as he was brave. In another despatch the young Prince bears high testimony to the courage of his opponents, and states that the people of Gwent were especially expert with bows and arrows, and rivalled the English in their use. Their pikes were so pointed that they could pierce through a coat of mail.

A couple of months later (May 14) an engagement took place in or near the town of Usk, brought on, it is said, by Glendower's desire to release his son from captivity, and retrieve his lost position in the field. The attempt was unsuccessful, and of the Welsh forces about 1,500 were slain. According to Carte, Prince Henry commanded in person at this battle.

Writers differ as to the battle in which Glendower's son was captured, some asserting it to be be the first and others the second. The entry in the Iolo M.SS. is as follows:—In 1405 a bloody battle, attended with great slaughter, that in severity was scarcely ever exceeded in Wales, took place on Pwll Melyn Mountain, near Usk, where Griffith ap Owen and his men were taken, and many of them imprisoned; but many were also put to death when captured; whereupon all Glamorganshire became Saxons except a small number which followed their lord to North Wales, where they resided and had issue.

Tudor, the brother of Owen, is said to have been left dead in the battle-field at Usk. The historian relates that so great was the personal resemblance between Owen and his brother Tudor that when the dead body of the latter was discovered it was immediately reported that Glendower himself had fallen, and that with the death of their leader the Welsh must necessarily abandon the contest. On closer examination it was found that the exultation thus spread through the English camp was premature; for although the resemblance of the brothers was very striking, it was observed that a wart over the eye—a mark which distinguished the "Great Owen"—was not to be found on the dead body, and it was then admitted that Tudor, and not Owen, had fallen in the conflict.

Soon after this event Glendower received assistance from France, 10,000 troops from that country having landed at Milford Haven. They took possession of Carmarthen, and then marched through Glamorgan and Gwent, seizing the principal fortresses in their way, until they reached Worcester.

King Henry gradually succeeded in regaining them, and in 1408 the insurrection was so far subdued that the House of Commons considered the war terminated, and petitioned the King to give public thanks to Prince Henry for his conduct in the direction of it. Glendower, however, continued to give trouble both to the King and his son until his death in 1415.

Illustrative of the intelligence and condition of

mind of the people at this period, we may refer to the belief among the Welsh in predictions of the bards. A letter from the Mayor and burgesses of Caerleon to the burgesses of Monmouth, written concerning the events then narrated, presents a remarkable case. They say, "Furthermore we do you to understand that Owain, when in the town of Carmarthen, sent after Hopkyn ab Thomas, of Gower, to come and speak with him upon truce; and when Hopkyn came to Owain he prayed him, inasmuch as he held him to be master of Brut, that is, able to interpret Myrddin's vaticinations which formed part of Geoffrey Brut, he should do him to understand, and in what manner, it should befall him; and he deliberately (wittliche) told him that he should be taken within a brief time; and that the taking should be between Carmarthen and Gower, and under a black banner . . . And we do you to understand that all these tidings are sooth, without doubt."

During Henry's reign, in the year 1403, there occurred, according to the Iolo M.SS., a contention in sports between thirty men of Glamorgan and the same number of the men of Gwent, in which the men of Glamorgan proved triumphant; whereupon the Gwentians became enraged, and drawing their daggers insisted that the men of Glamorgan had taken from them their property in money and clothes, and they killed more than one hundred persons, including men, women, and children. This cruelty impelled the men of Glamorgan to master them in all feats and sports. The said circumstance gave rise to the adage, "Glamorgan thieves," in Gwent; and "the blood hounds of Gwent," in Glamorgan.

King Henry IV.'s death took place in 1413, previous to which he ratified and confirmed to the town of Newport the charter first granted by Edward II.

The King's death seemed to admit of an opportunity of treating the Welsh people with less severity than hitherto. We have already mentioned of the harsh laws enacted, but there were still others enforced which must now be regarded as cruel in the extreme. A Welsh man marrying an

English woman was subject to severe penalties, and no Welsh child was permitted to be apprenticed to any trade in any town in the kingdom. The good old custom of Cymmortha—that is, a meeting together of persons to assist each other in harvest or other agricultural work—was strictly forbidden, and the assembling of bards, who were designated rymours and minstrels, and classed with vagabonds, was declared illegal. Agriculture was necessarily neglected during the period of Glendower's insurrection, and the people generally were lawless and violent. The only method of revenge practical to them, that of making raids into English territory, was continually resorted to, and the Lawrudd or murderers were among the favourite retainers in the households of the rich.

It was time that a milder regime should be inaugurated, or the Welsh would naturally have resisted until every man was exterminated.

CHARACTER OF HARRY OF MONMOUTH.—WARS OF THE ROSES—PEOPLE OF GWENT DIVIDED INTO LANCASTRIANS AND YORKISTS.—THE DUKE OF YORK LORD OF CAERLEON.—OWEN TUDOR IMPRISONED IN NEWPORT CASTLE.—CHARTER GRANTED TO NEWPORT BY HENRY VI.—INFLUENCE OF EDWARD IV. IN GWENT.—CASTLES DISMANTLED.—EARL OF PEMBROKE ACQUIRES THE CHIEF LORDSHIPS.—DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM REWARDED.—HIS ESTATES ESTREATED.

The character of Harry of Monmouth has been grandly treated by Shakespere. His younger days gave little promise of good qualities, but—

> The breath no sooner left his father's body
> But that his wildness mortified in him
> Seemed to die too; yea, at that very moment
> Consideration like an angel came
> And whipped the offending Adam out of him,
> Leaving his body as a paradise
> To envelope and contain celestial spirits:
> Never was such a sudden scholar made,
> Never came reformation in a flood
> With such a heady current, scouring faults;
> Nor never hydra-headed wilfulness
> So soon did lose his seat, and all at once
> As in this King.

The Welsh displayed less aversion to him than to his father, and when he proceeded to the French wars no more gallant and loyal men followed him than those from the district of Gwent. At the battle of Agincourt—with which the fame of Henry V. will ever be associated—the men of Monmouthshire particularly distinguished themselves. Warburton, in a poetic sketch, delineates the position in which the men of each county occupied, and thus describes those of Monmouth:—

> The men of Monmouth (for the ancient love
> To that dear country neighbouring them so nigh)
> Next after them in equipage that move
> Three crowns imperial, which supported were
> With three arm'd arms, in their proud ensign bear.

During the battle Henry was struck down by the Duke of Alençon, when David Gam, a native of Oldcourt, in Monmouthshire, interposed, and

received in his own breast the sword which was intended for his sovereign's.

Henry V. completed a reign of ten years, and died August 31st, 1422, leaving a son, who bore the same name, to succeed him.

With the accession of Henry VI. began the disputes arising out of family claims, whose wars fill one of the most bloody and, at the same time, romantic pages of the country's history: we allude to the Wars of the Roses. That the county of Monmouth felt a deep interest in the prolonged and sanguinary struggle must be evident, when it is remembered who were the leading spirits in the contest. The newly-crowned King was son of Harry of Monmouth, whose father and grandfather had held large possessions in the county. The claimant to the throne was Richard, Duke of York, grandson of Edward III., and the son of Anne Mortimer (heiress of Caerleon and Usk), by her marriage to Richard, the Earl of Cambridge.

The title of the Duke of York to the Lordship of Caerleon is supported by a curious deed cited by Dugdale. It runs thus: "Titulas Ricardi ducis Ebor, ad Dominum de Karlyon et patronagium Prioratus de Goldclyffe." This deed enumerates the Lords of Caerleon from Owen Wan to Elizabeth, sister of Gilbert de Clare, the last Earl of Gloucester, from whom Richard, Duke of York, lineally descended.

It will be thus seen that Gwent was divided regarding the question in which the country took so deep an interest. It is said by historians that during this contest there were no neutrals within the realm, and it is not likely the partizanship was less intense in Gwent than in other parts. The upper portion of Gwent, including Monmouth, was under the influence of the Lancastrians, whilst the lower portion, including Newport, Caerleon, and Usk, was under the Yorkist influence. Both parties, in fact, largely recruited their armies from this district.

In the course of these eventful wars (1460) Owen Tudor was taken prisoner by the Yorkists, and confined in Newport Castle, where his fate appeared inevitably sealed. But the heroic action of his

friends and countrymen averted his doom for a time.

On the capture and imprisonment of Owen Tudor becoming known, a powerful sensation was created in North Wales, and a hundred gentlemen formed themselves into a band and volunteered their service to rescue him or perish in the attempt. Placing themselves under the command of John ap Meredith, they travelled southward with all speed until they reached Newport Castle, when they rescued their countryman whom they bore off in triumph. By what means they effected their purpose is not recorded. As they were not sufficient in number nor possessed of the necessary means to take the Castle by storm, it is presumed that they bribed the garrison, or contrived some ingenious stratagem. The triumph which they achieved, however, was well nigh being defeated by an incident which occurred soon after their return journey commenced. They passed safely through Caerleon, but after proceeding about two miles further on the road they suddenly found themselves opposed by a superior number of Yorkists drawn up in order of battle to intercept their retreat. John ap Meredith comprehended his position in a moment, and with great coolness arranged for a sudden and desperate onset, as it appeared to him that the only chance of escape was by cutting their way through the midst of their enemies. After addressing a few inspiriting words to his party, he placed himself and his sons in the van and rushed forward, the whole party following his example. Strange to say, they escaped without losing a man or suffering any material injury, except to the chief himself, who received a sabre cut in the face.

Owen Tudor continued a zealous partizan of the House of Lancaster, but what rank he held, or by what means he was introduced into military life, is not on record, but it is supposed he fought in the first instance as a volunteer, and won subsequent promotion. Although he married the widow of Henry V., and supported the King's cause, he received no honours, but his sons, who were half-brothers of King Henry VI., were created earls,

Edmund becoming Earl of Richmond, and Jaspar, Earl of Pembroke, who subsequently became possessed of the lordship of Glamorgan.

In the year 1455, with a view, probably, of gaining favour or influence in this district, King Henry VI., by charter, granted certain privileges to the burgesses and other inhabitants of Newport, Caerleon, Usk, Cardiff, and other towns. There is this peculiarity about the charter that the privileges of freedom of toll throughout the kingdom, the Duchy of Acquitaine and the Lordship of Ireland had already been granted by charter by Edward II., and confirmed by Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. Why Henry VI. should have granted a new charter instead of confirming the the existing one is not clear, and it is also strange that the charter of Henry VI. should have been subsequently set aside, and the older one renewed when Elizabeth came to the throne—a century later, viz., in 1558. In the charter of Henry VI., however, special privileges were conferred upon the inhabitants of Cardiff, beyond those granted to the inhabitants of the other towns named. Thus it is recited that "for the loyalty and true regard which the burgesses had for the King and his ancestors, and for the great labour, charges, and expenses they had incurred in fortifying the town with walls, towers, gates, and ditches; and further, because they had incurred and received great indignities, and the hatred of those living in foreign parts, the King granted to the burgesses and inhabitants that none of them should be impleaded, molested, disturbed, or aggrieved in any place for any felonies, trespasses, or contracts, &c., done out of the town of Cardiff, except before the constables of Cardiff, and the bailiffs of the town for the time being."

At this time the Lord of Glamorgan, including Cardiff, was Richard Nevill, the great king maker, whilst Newport, Caerleon, and Usk was held by Richard, Duke of York, who in the same year, but probably after the granting of the charter, took the King prisoner at the battle of St. Albans.

The unhappy state of feeling which existed throughout the country was not lessened in the

district of Gwent when Edward IV., as the representative of the triumphing House of York, came to the throne. The estates held by Henry VI., including that of Caldicot, was transferred to Edward IV. by Act of Parliament, and the honours conferred by his predecessor on his supporters were annulled, and awarded to those who had, through the late trials, proved themselves partisans of Edward. Throughout England was then witnessed a duplicate set of nobles, and thus William Herbert, of Raglan, for his great services against the House of Lancaster, was made Earl of Pembroke in the place of Jaspar Tudor, who had been created by Henry VI.

One of the earliest acts of Edward was to dismantle all the Lancastrian castles in the district, and render them untenable for military occupation. Among the castles thus treated was that of Caldicott, which the King then granted to the Earl of Pembroke, who held it until 1469, when it again reverted to the Crown. By the grants made to him by the King, and his acquisitions in other ways, the Earl of Pembroke became possessed of the chief lordships, and was the great landowner in the county of Monmouth.

On the death of Edward IV., the old factions again broke out, and they were both sufficiently powerful and vindictive to sow the seeds of much confusion and crime. The late King's son, 13 years of age, was on the death of his father immediately crowned as Edward V. His uncle Richard, the Protector, whose base designs upon the throne are well known, found a ready and active supporter in the person of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, whose possessions in this part we have already mentioned. Buckingham is said to have deeply participated in the views as well as the crimes of Richard, and as a reward he was speedily made (by deed dated 13th July, 1483) the possessor of the lordship and castle of Caldicott, and of which latter he was made constable. Subsequently he was further rewarded by being appointed as constable, steward, and receiver of the Lordships, Manors, and Castles of Caerleon, Usk, Monmouth, and of all the towns, castles,

manors, lordships, lands and tenements which had been parcels of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Marches. We assume that the lordship and castle of Wentlooge, with the town and castle of Newport, were included in these rewards, as, although not specifically mentioned in the records we have referred to, are known to have been held by Edward Stafford, his son, the third Duke of Buckingham. Notwithstanding all these honours, Buckingham was one of the first to desert Richard's cause, and embark in an insurrection against him. He raised an army in Gwent, and proceeded towards England, when an unforeseen disaster befell him and his soldiers. He had reached the neighbourhood of Gloucester, when he found that owing to the recent heavy rains the river had become swollen, and the face of the country presented the appearance of a huge lake. Buckingham, under these circumstances, was unable to push forward, and could not find subsistence for his force where he was. The soldiers, therefore, disbanded themselves and returned home. Richard hastened to meet Buckingham, who was betrayed into his hands, and soon led to execution at Salisbury. Newport, Caerleon, Usk, Monmouth, and other estates possessed by the duke then once more estreated to the Crown, and were apparently so held for 16 years, until 1499, when Henry VII. restored them to Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who did homage for them.

In the time of Richard, the constable of Usk Castle was John Edwards, a member of a family then living at Crindau, near Newport.

The estates mentioned above remained in possession of the Buckingham family until 1521, when the then duke, in consequence of the unguarded language in which he ventured to condemn the pageantries and follies of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was attainted and perished on the scaffold.

The estates were seized by Henry VIII., and the possession of them may have facilitated the subsequent proceedings of Henry in bringing the Marches more directly under the government of English laws.

LIVES OF BRITISH SAINTS.—ST. GWYNLLIW, FOUNDER OF ST. WOOLOS CHURCH.

Before we proceed to indicate the local events relating to the period of the reign of Henry VIII., we must redeem our promise, to narrate the lives of some of the ancient British Saints, and particularly the life of St Gwynlliw, the founder of St Woolos Church. The appended biographical notice of this holy man is taken from a MS. in the British Museum, and a fac-simile of the introduction to which has been published in the works of the Welsh M.SS Society. This record gives the earliest definite mention of which we are aware of the precise spot upon which the church and town of Newport now stands; and though upwards of thirteen centuries have passed away the spot first rendered sacred by Gwynlliw is still preserved, and dedicated to the purposes of Christian worship. We shall append to the life of St. Gwynlliw an account of the life of St. Cadoc, and extracts from the lives of several saints of lesser note, chiefly because they furnish further particulars of the life of Gwynlliw (though apparently in some points at variance with the written life of the saint himself), and also because of the intrinsic interest the narratives possess, illustrating as they do the supposed condition of society in very early ages, and the state of religious mind some centuries later when these biographical notices are believed to have been written for the edification of the faithful, and the promotion of religion and virtue. The Lives of these Saints were probably written from materials collected from the most ancient writings of the country, and incidentally they exhibit information to be sought for in vain elsewhere. As a fact it must be remembered that no books were printed or circulated in the British language from the time of the Norman Conquest to the end of the fifteenth century, except the Legends of Saints and some heraldic poetry. These Lives of Saints are, therefore, of great value from many points of view.

The M.SS referred to, containing the Life

Life of St. Gwynlliw, commences as follows :— Here beginneth the Life of St. Gwynlliw, King and Confessor—1. *Of the Division of the Inheritance.* Glewys, a most noble King of the Southern Britons, begat his son and successor, the eminent Gwynlliw, from which word the country was for some time named Gwynllywawc [Wentloog]. This son, when a boy, flourished as a blossom, and when a youth as a flower in a flower-garden ; the flowers flourished, the laws increased as fruits from flowers; his youthful years were spent in regal warfare. He was eminently descended from both lines ; for that of his celebrated mother was very noble, for such as was the family race of his father, was that of his mother ; nor was it strange that he should shine more brilliantly than golden metal, when such was his descent on both sides. After the decease of this very eminent father, each of his sons endeavoured to bear rule ; the inheritance was divided among the brethren in seven portions, constituting districts ; he, an appropriate divided in the company of his brethren, had no share, but was a partaker by hereditary right. Being the eldest he might take to the whole, but he would not oppress his brethren ; not an oppressor, but a nourisher, he elevated those descended from the same stock. All his brothers obeyed his government, and he the Prince and Governor was worthy to bear rule. He reigned over the seven districts of Glamorgan [Monmouthshire] on account of himself and his brothers. All the inhabitants were obedient to the laws ; no one there dared to injure another. If anyone committed an injury he would suffer judgment :—for bribery he would justly lose his patrimony. Peace being confirmed, there were no contentions in his time ; he was a pacific King, and a liberal governor in his court. The royal court is situated in the highest place, surrounded with woods, and adorned with a promontory, and in a different place, on an elevated situation ; but he was higher who sat on the throne of its hall. He was a very celebrated triumpher in war, but after triumph was pacific ; he, a victor, was never conquered ; his countrymen gloried in such a lord; they frequently returned bounteously enriched on

the annual anniversaries. His family was so numerous as not to be fixed at a certain number, and could not be lodged in the halls and houses, but tents were usually fixed in the fields for placing them.

Of the Betrothing of his Wife.—When by the common advice of the inhabitants he was desirous to get married, he sent ambassadors to Brychan, King of Brychiniog, for he had heard of the gentleness and beauty of his daughter, Gwladys. She being requested as a bride and promised, was given that he might enjoy legal nuptials. After marriage, the bride conceived, and after conception she happily brought forth a son, Cadoc. The stages of the good disposition of the person born greatly improved; such as was the first, such was the last, and the best was not unlike. The sanctity of the very holy man was brilliant; he was super-eminent in miracles above all his contemporaries. He endeavoured to admonish his parents that they should set aside transitory things; and being admonished by the words of their son, they proposed to despise all perishable matters.

On a certain night while they slept, an angelic voice addressed them, and, after some spiritual exhortation, commanded them to leave the secular things which they possessed, and further informed them as follows:—"About the banks of the river is a certain mountain, where a white ox is to be seen; one black spot in its high forehead, beneath its horns, is a good mark whereby it may be distinguished by those who meet it. The land which thou wilt possess is now uncultivated; it will be tilled by oxen, it will be called thy territory, for the reasons that have been adduced." Awaking in the morning he recalled the dream to his memory, and related minutely to his attendants what he had seen; these particulars having been heard, and all mournfully grieving, he departed from the royal palace [at Caerleon], and having resigned the Government, he committed to his son Cadoc the charge of governing. Going from thence, he travelled until he came to the mount predicted by the angel, where it was appointed for him to reside. A white ox with a

black spot high on its forehead, as predicted by the angel, met him coming to the place; he therefore gave the name Dutelich to the territory, from the blackness of the forehead of the ox which met him. As the name was thus given by him, so it was continued by his successors, and the place is still called by the same word. [The locality here indicated is stow Hill.] The holy Gwynlliw having seen the ox rejoiced, and was confirmed that the heavenly messenger had predicted true things; his mind was strengthened. He loved good, whom he ought to love. He held cheap this transitory world, which more injures than profits. Therefore he said, "This agricultural ox designates that the country is to be cultivated. Performing agriculture, it gives signs to those who cultivate lands. Sea coasts with fields and a wood with high groves are seen far and wide. There is no prospect in the world such as in the space where I am now to dwell; a fruitful place, and inhabiting it, I shall therefore be more happy." Having said these words, by the divine appointment and the concession of Dubritius, bishop of Llandaff, he there remained and built an habitation, and subsequently marked out a burying place, in the middle whereof he built a church with boards and rods, which he diligently visited with frequent prayers.

Of the Penance of Gwynlliw and Gwladys his wife.—Gwladys, his most noble wife, and a most chaste woman, being in the same manner devoted to the Catholic religion, would remain near the habitation of the holy Gwynlliw, not farther off than one furlong. And departing to the Lord and proceeding, she came to the bank of the river Ebod*

* The habitation of Gwladys is not easy to identify. In the life of Cadoc she is said to have erected a church at Pencarn, which is about three miles from St. Woolos, and a mile and a half from the nearest point in the river Ebbw, and the nearest approach of the river to St Woolos is upwards of a mile. The distance mentioned must be incorrect. The nearest church on the Ebbw is at Bassalleg, rather more than two miles from St Woolos. It is possible that the lady may have been the founder of the two churches, one here and another at Pencarn.

The parentage of this devout lady, as here given, is

[Ebbw], where she dwelt, and erected buildings which most were necessary for both God and man. They both lived religiously and abstemiously, and fasted on all the times appointed for the purpose. The following penance was enjoined upon them—first, that they should wear a hair cloth, and partake of barley bread, and ashes with water mixed therewith, a third part in quantity, every ninth hour, and the fountain sedge was to be for sweet pot herbs, but they were most sweet, because they led to rewards. The countenances of both of them became pale, as if they suffered from illness; it was not weakness, for health strengthened them inwardly; they were accustomed to restrain the desires of the body by washing themselves in the coldest water; and they did not more seldom wash themselves in the frosty season of winter than in the heat of summer. They rose from their beds in the middle of the night, and after a bath returned to the coldest apartment, put on their clothes and visited the church, praying and kneeling before the altar until it was day. Thus they led an hermitical life, enjoying the fruits of their own labours, and taking nothing which belonged to another.

Of the admonitions of St. Gwynlliw.—Holy Cadoc, Abbot of Nancarban, holding both the government and the abbacy of the Nancarban Valley, frequently visited his parents, whom he comforted and admonished with divine sayings.

Of his renewal of the blessed Gwynlliw and Gwladys.—Mentioning these and such like things, he would not that they should be such near neighbours to each other lest carnal concupiscence should through the persuasion of the unseen enemy pervert their minds from inviolable chastity; therefore he exhorted his mother to leave the first place of her residence; and, admonished by the advice of her son, she departed, leaving there to serve God seven nuns, consisting of virgins and chaste persons. Then he went to a mountainous desert, dis-

attended with some difficulty, as her father is said to have died in 450. Mr Rees suggests that probably it was a granddaughter. Three Brychans are recognisable, and there may have been more.

tant about seven furlongs from the place where he chose the place for his habitation, and, having marked out a burial place, built a church in honour of the Holy Mary. There he saw none but his attendants and the brute animals; he fasted, he prayed, because no adversity opposed. The things that were necessary were sent to him.

Of the breaking out of a Spring of Water at the Prayer of St. Gwynlliw.—The venerable St. Gwynlliw complaining on a certain day of the dryness of the mountain land where he inhabited, namely, because he wanted spring water, the most High auditor heard his complaints and prayers. In the meantime, while he sat in a field on a certain day, he was very thirsty, and desirous of quenching his thirst he pierced the dry ground with the point of his staff. After this was done he saw a most clear abundant stream flowing in the place, which now remains and will remain without intermission. From whence it had the name and was called Gwynlliw's Well, which God granted to the prayer of the holy man.

How St. Dubritius, Bishop, and Cadoc, visited Gwynlliw in his last illness, and of his Decease.—When the most holy Gwynlliw began to be sick, and the end of his life approached, he sent for his son Cadoc and for Dubritius, Bishop of Llandaff, and they came to the sick person and gave him penance, exhorting and comforting him with salutary doctrine. After this was given, the Bishop pronounced absolution and apostolical benediction. These things having been done reverentially, according to order, the soul of the blessed Gwynlliw departed from the corporeal chamber, where it remained shining with angelic brightness on the 4th of the calendar of April, and was accompanied through the skies that he might remain in eternal rest. Afterwards his body was buried in the pavement of the church, where angelic visitants are frequently seen, and persons sick of divers diseases are cured of any complaint.

Of a certain Composer of Verses on the Deeds of St. Gwynlliw.—A certain British poet, versifying in the British language, composed verses respecting his nation, and writing laudable things in the British

tongue respecting the life of the most holy Gwynlliw, and the miracles which God from his love to him enabled him to perform. The verses were not as yet completed by the composer, for the fourth part of the composition was wanting, and he sought matter for proceeding therewith, but had not the power of genius to compose readily. In the meantime a great overflow of the sea with raging violence covered the plain, and all the inhabitants of the buildings. Horses with oxen, and oxen with horses were swimming in the water. Mothers held their children in their hands, and waves seized them and they could not proceed farther, and great was the distress and misery. Those who were then living became dead carcases. No living person came to the road between the church of the holy Gwynlliw and the Severn, but the aforesaid composer, through the favour of the most holy Gwynlliw, for when he saw the great flood approaching he remained between the sea coast and the Severn, and dreading to be overwhelmed began to compose the fourth part of his verses. When he commenced the country was covered with waves, but afterwards he got on a higher beam, and the swelling wave again followed him the third time on the roof of the house, but he ceased not to describe his laudable acts. These things having taken place, the British poet escaped, and propping the house he secured it, but the other houses were overwhelmed and demolished by the waves.

Of the revenge and the pirates who robbed the church of St. Gwynlliw.—Griffith, King of North Wales, being driven by war from the borders of Britain, and greatly dreading the plots which his enemies were laying against him, and William, the old King of the English, having conquered and subdued them reigning, hastily sailed to the Orcades Islands to avoid his cruel victorious enemies, being desirous to be safe and enjoy protection, and there remain; he would rather commit robbery than erect buildings, and preparing to inflict revenge for his banishment he excited many of the islanders to commit piracy and procure deadly gain, and effect invasion. Being craftily gathered together and united, and twenty-four large ships being filled

from the collected invaders, they sailed under the command of Griffith on the Irish sea, and after a long and dangerous voyage they came to the Severn Sea, which washes the banks of Glamorgan; then, sailing along the sea, they very greedily went for plunder to the mouth of the River Usk, and cast anchor.* The fleet being secured, they took their hatchets, and, armed with lances, hostilely invaded the fields and woods. From these invasions they collected much prey; the inhabitants, who were cautious, escaped through watching; but the incautious were taken to the fleet by their impious hands. The very wicked pirates, observing that the church of St. Gwynlliw was locked, and thinking that valuable articles were therein for safety and protection, broke the lock, and, after breaking which, entered, and whatsoever they found valuable and useful they took away, and after the sacrilegious robbery left the plundered church. Then they returned burdened to their ships, heavier with crimes than with burdens. The weight of their wickedness appeared very great to those who carried away the plunder, and sweet and agreeable to the gainers, but was about to be bitter, yea, most bitter, to the transgressors. Having loosed the anchors and hoisted up the sails, they, rejoicing, went to the Island of Barry. There neither joys nor comforts were received, but the most grievous sorrow after the robbery. When they began to raise the sails, and return to the Orcades Islands and Ireland, they saw a terrible man riding by day and night, and pursuing them in every part; that terrible horseman was the holy Gwynlliw, who was sent from heaven to oppose the sacrilegious persons. The ships had their sails raised, but those sails could not resist the raging violence of the winds, as much as by rowing they would gain of the course, so much would the current force them contrariwise, and the naval instruments were shattered. The trembling sailors said,

* This probably refers to the second invasion of Harold, about 1062. Harold's ally, however, was not Griffyth ap Llewellyn, King of North Wales, but Griffyth ap Rhydderch, King of Gwent, who at the time held his Court at Caerleon.

"Wickedness here appears: we oppose things that are adverse, and the contention of the unjust does not prevail!" Some of the ships were broken on the rocks, and every one who was saved therefrom by human exertions rushed against each other. Before they came to the wished-for shore, the whole of the fleet, except two ships, was overwhelmed, their circumstances deserving it. Those two escaped, and were able to record the danger; because King Griffith owned them, and was present, and would not destroy nor yet be a partaker of the robbery; neither did he enter the church, but with his companions waited on the shore the coming of the pirates. After some time he made peace with William, King of England, and related the miracles which he had manifestly seen performed for the sanctity of the most holy Gwynlliw.

13. *Of the Anchor placed in the Church and not seen, and of the bloody Cheeses.*—In the time of Griffith, the valiant King of all Wales, Edward, being King of England, merchants frequently came from England and exchanged merchandise in the harbour at the mouth of the river Usk. After the business was accomplished they paid toll, for if they did not pay the accustomed tribute, they were not to have any more leave to come and traffic in the harbour. It happened that at one time they did not pay; this having been heard, Rogut, son of Ivor, and grandson of King Griffith, went to the harbour in a rage and full of indignation ordered the debt to be paid, but they, although commanded, would not pay it. Afterwards, for the disgrace of the Englishmen, and in derision of their kingdom, he cut the ropes of their anchor and caused the loose anchor to be carried to the Church of St. Gwynlliw. The sailors, returning to the merchants, related to Earl Harold the disgrace and derision with which they were treated. The malevolent Earl, being moved with great anger, and desirous to revenge, collected an army, which being gathered together, he rushed upon Wentloog, being hostilely disposed to burn and lay waste to the country.* This commotion having been heard, the inhabitants brought their

* Harold took possession of this District about 1060, and banishes Caradoc, son of Griffydd ap Rhydderch.

provisions, and many valuable things. These being seen, like most greedy wolves they stole everything they saw in the Church. The anchor aforesaid, which was the cause of the robbery and plunder, was covered, and not seen by any one, but was, notwithstanding, in an inner corner of the Church. The cheeses were divided by the robbers; when cut they appeared bloody inside; the whole army was amazed, and with ready hands restored everything that they had stolen. Besides, Earl Harold being pricked among the first with painful compunction, offered on the altar on behalf of his soldiers. Then he returned, and dreading greater punishment, promised that he would never violate the refuge of the venerable temple. Soon after, in the following month, for that wickedness and other crimes, he was conquered in the battle of Hastings by King William, and slain.

14.—*Of the supplication to those who were about to violate the Church of St. Gwynlliw, and the taking away of the Vestments.*—Ednoweni, from North Wales, a very intimate friend of Caradoc, King of Glamorgan, being excited by the persuasions of the Devil, one night broke the lock, and got into the Church of the Holy Gwynlliw, and after his wicked entrance—to his loss, not to his gains—stole the cup and the ecclesiastical vestments. From thence he returned with his dishonest burden, and travelled back his very wicked journey, and on the way he saw the sea flow towards him, and higher than his head, so much that at length he turned from beholding what was taking place, with respect to the sea, until he came to the threshold of the violated church. Being silly, he went in and before the altar dressed himself in the sacred vestments, and the robes fastened around him as iron chains. In the morning one of the priests entered the church with a lighted candle. He saw an unseemly form dressed in the manner that ought not to be. Seeing this he trembled very much, and signing himself with the mark of the cross, he comforted his trembling priest. Being affected with fear he went back to the door, and thence, with a loud voice, called the clergy. When the clergy came, and were surprised at such loud

calling, he was questioned, and he related the following circumstances:—"There is a certain unknown person in the church, not dressed in low clothing, but with sacred vestment. I know not how it happens, and whether he is there with benevolent mind or remains for some bad purposes." Having heard these things, the clergymen went in, and saw the same silly person, and he forthwith laid hold of him when seen, and took him, confessing his fault, to be judged in the court of King Caradoc. Some there adjudged him to be deprived of his eye; others recommended both his hands to be cut off; but Herwald, Bishop of Llandaff, who was there assisting, would not allow such a thing to be done; for God, the true Judge, had done rightly, that he should have just judgment; and heavenly judgment was given to the sacreligious person, for the transgressor was rendered dull, without common sense. This having been said, the malefactor, agreeable to the judgment of the Bishop, was released from the royal prison, and ended his miserable life in idiocy, because he had violated the privileges of the church of the saint.

15.—*Anger of King William towards Caradoc the Sub-regulus.*—The legitimate knights born in Normandy were reported to have formed a plot against William the old King of England, after he had gained a victory over the English in the first contest. This having been discovered, the King would take and imprison them, and being taken they either confessed the execrable crime or altogether denied it. These things being resolved on by the King, they recalled to their remembrance their very great crime, and unwilling to wait to be taken, they fled to Caradoc, King of Gwent; he received them honorably, and promised that he would never by command of the King injure them, although he should lose all that he held of the King. The King, hearing that these plotters had for the crime laid to their charge fled and gone to Caradoc, the Regulus, and that he had unjustly made such an arrangement as aforesaid against his lord, sent ambassadors commanding Caradoc either to return the prisoners, or expel them from his dominion,

for so would he govern in his inheritance. But Caradoc, being a benevolent man, more dreading and avoiding infamy than the King his lord, would neither take nor expel them from his dominion, but keep and honour them as his own sons. These things being related by the ambassadors to King William, who being enraged and very angry and excited with indignation, sent his son, William Rufus, a brave young man and warlike, with immense force and armed force, to Gwent, which was laid waste and burnt, and deprived of money. The army being therefore fatigued on their return, rested a certain night in fixed tents, about the Church of the most blessed Gwynlliw, the town being empty of men, who had fled to the woods for safety from their enemies. The houses were full of divers kind of corn, whence they fared abundantly, but the reverse was in the horse pastures; for there was not any pasture, but odious famine, no horse would take the oats, and Almighty God would not open the closed houses. Holy Gwynlliw prayed, whom the Deity heard. This miracle having been seen, William Consul, among the first, offered valuable gifts to God and the Church, asking mercy and pardon for demolishing the houses. The whole army subsequently knelt before the altar, offering wtth penitence and fear, and promising that they would not any more violate the land of St. Gwynlliw, and that such things as they had before done they would never do again. Then with reverential fear they returned to England and related in magnificent terms the noble intercession of St. Gwynlliw.

16. *How by the assistance of St. Gwynlliw a Dean, without his knowledge, passed through an impassable river.* —A certain layman laid a claim unjustly to a portion of land, which clergymen of the most blessed Gwynlliw held of right, and for which claims, very often made, they appointed a day for pleading respecting the said land, that through means of judgment discord might be done away. In the mean time the Dean of the Church visited the Court of Lisacers in Lower Gwent, to partake of a royal banquet, such being customary at that time throughout the country. On the last day of the

feast, before the said day of pleading, towards night, he brought the pleas of the following day to his mind, and he grieved much, fearing that he should lose the claimed land through his delay, and which would surely be lost if he did not come on the appointed day. Therefore he kept on his way by riding in the dark night opposed by rain and storms, and invoking the sanctity of St Gwynlliw whilst he passed through the dangerous river which was impassable for human beings and horses' feet, except with swimming, without knowing that he had by Divine assistance until he came to the brink. Then wondering, he praised the Divine power, for he knew by the great stone, which was one of public road, and immoveable. Early in the morning, after the celebration of Divine service, the Dean attended on the appointed day, and by a judicial sentence obtained the claimed land from the layman, which afterwards belonged, and should of right of it, to belong to the Church of St. Gwynlliw.

LIFE OF ST. CADOG.

The life of St. Cadog affords some further particulars respecting the personal history of the patron saint and founder of St. Woolos, and we make the following extract from Rees's "Cambro British Saints":—

There reigned formerly on the borders of Britain called Dimetiæ, a certain regulus named Glewys, from whom all the country of the district, in all the days of his life was called Glewysyg. Glewys is said to have had ten children, the eldest of whom was called Gwynlliw, from whose name the country which he governed was after the death of his father to the present day called Gwynllwyg (Wentloog). After a long interval of time, Gwynlliw desired to be joined in wedlock to a certain young lady, for her very high reputation, who was elegant in appearance, beautiful in form, and adorned with silk vestments. Her name was Gwladys, and she was the daughter of a certain regulus named Brychan. Brychan refused to betroth his daughter, and sent the messengers back. Gwynlliw, raging with anger, armed as

many as 300 slaves, and came to the country of Brychan, at Talgarth, and finding the lady sitting with her sisters before the door of her residence, immediately took her by force and returned with speed.

Brychan, seized with grief of heart, and mourning the loss of his dearest daughter, called to his assistance all his friends, and with horse pursues his enemies. Brychan pursued Gwynlliw and his followers. and killed 200 of them, on the boundary between the two counties which is called in the British tongue Bochrhiw (in the north part of the parish of Bedwellty). Gwynlliw, when he arrived over the border, found three brave heroes sitting upon the top of the hill, and playing with dice. These were Arthur and his two knights, Kai and Bedwor. Arthur was immediately siezed with love for the lady, and made known his thoughts to his friends, but they forbid him, and said, "Let us render assistance, that this contest may be terminated." Finding they were in the territory of Gwynlliw, they gave him assistance and drove back the enemies.

Gwynlliw then married Gwladys, who conceived, and, wonderful to relate, four lamps were seen shining every night with great brightness in the four corners of the house where she remained, until she brought forth her first-born son.

On a certain night some of Gwynlliw's thieves came for the purpose of committing a robbery at the town wherein dwelt the religious Irishman. The thieves stole the poor man's cow, that was the best in all the district. On the night on which this crime was committed, Gwladys brought forth her first-born son.

In the same night a voice from heaven announced to the father of the infant that the holy man would come to purify his son. His name was to be called Cathmael, and when seven years old was to be given up to the same regenerator to receive instruction from his learning.

On the same night an angel appeared to the holy man, and told him to get up early and go to Gwynlliw to look for his cow, and to baptize the son of the King. He did so, and received his cow

back. On this visit he performed a miracle in causing a fountain to spring up, and other wonderful works, which fountain, after a year, was turned into mead, both in taste and colour; and in the second year preserved the sweetness and colour of milk. A dispute arose, and the people fought dreadfully with each other on account of the fountain, and one hundred countrymen were killed and many wounded. Therefore, God became angry and caused the liquor to return to its natural insipidity.

When seven years of age Cadoc went to be instructed by Meuthi, or, as he is called in some accounts, Tathai, an Irish name, equivalent to Dewi or David

[Llanvaches is called in the records Llandathi, and this is supposed to be the place where Cadoc was educated, and also the place referred to in the preceding narrative as having been plundered. As Gwynlliw and Cadoc lived about the sixth century, the anachronism of making it appear that they lived contemporary with King Griffith of Wales and King William I. of England will be at once apparent, and be a sufficient proof that the narrative could not have been written earlier than the latter part of the 11th century.]

Further reference to Cadoc is made in the Iolo M.SS under the form of a Fable: entitled Revenge. In this fable the father of Cadoc is called Cynlais, instead of Gwynlliw, and it is to be explained thus: The Latin writers rendered the old Welsh word Gwynlliw as Gundleus and Gunleus, the name thus appearing in the Romish calendars, and the later Welsh writers, re-translating the name into their own language, corrupted it into Cynlais. The fable is as follows :—

FABLE—REVENGE.

When Cynlais, the son of Glewys, was Lord of Glamorgan he had a son named Cadoc, an exceedingly pious man, and a saint of the college of Iltyd. One day as he was in his father's house a tinker came by, and requested to be allowed to burnish the gold and silver jewels of the Lord Cynlais, and after finishing his work, his pack being open, a young woman, a servant there, took a silver cup

and put it in the tinker's pack, concealed beneath his tools; and so the tinker shut up his pack and departed. Cadoc chanced to see all that was done. After missing the cup, the tinker was pursued, and the cup was found in his pack, and he was put in prison. But Cadoc thought within himself thus, that God who is altogether just would not permit the innocent and unoffending tinker to be punished, but would cause him to be delivered from the punishment and the disgrace. However, the time of trial came, and the tinker was found guilty and hanged; and when Cadoc saw this, he thought that there was no God, or else that he was not just for allowing the innocent and faultless tinker to be hanged. Therefore, he fell into unbelief respecting God, and goodness, and set his mind upon the pleasures and enjoyments of the world in every way it could be obtained, without regarding religion or law.

And after all his property was spent, he took a horse and arms, and went into a wood, through which there was a highway, along which wealthy persons often travelled, with the intention of robbing all who should come that way; and after taking up his station in the wood, he saw as it were an aged and wealthy nobleman coming armed along the road. But Cadoc, being a daring man, in the prime of manhood, went to meet the nobleman, and demanded his gold and silver without delay. "Thou shalt not have them," said the nobleman, "although thou art young and I old. I will contend with thee for my property by force of arms and courage." "Very well," said Cadoc, "I am ready." "But," said the old man, "first of all let us dig each his grave, in order that there may be a place ready to bury the one that is slain, so that there may be nothing more heard of him." "With all my heart," said Cadoc. So they set about digging each his grave, and by digging there were found in each of the graves a man's bones. "Behold," said the old man, "these are the bones of two men, who were murdered for their property by the tinker who stole thy father's cup; and one of them was the father of the girl who put the cup in the pack;

and by this see that God is just, and that He will not suffer the wicked to escape unpunished; but the most tardy vengeance is that of God, and the completest vengeance is that of God. Thou didst see the putting of the cup in the pack, but thou didst not receive power and permission of God to mention it, because it was his will to punish the tinker. And henceforth understand this instruction, namely, that thou canst not perceive the manner in which God brings into operation his justice, nor his wisdom, nor his mercy; leave God to his own wisdom, for it is not for man to judge Him in the exalted wisdom of his arrangements and His incomprehensible knowledge; and behold His mercy in saving thee from punishment by sending me to rescue thee, and to teach thee when thou didst deserve nothing but the gallows on which the tinker was hanged. God is too bright for man to look upon Him and see Him, and so are His works and His providence." And with these words Cadoc could see him as a young man of most comely aspect, and the most beautiful he had ever seen, and by that he knew he was an angel from heaven.

He then returned home, and after becoming possessed of wealth he made compensation to all for the wrong he had done them, and gave liberally to the poor, and relinquished the lordship, and built a college in Llancarvan for 300 students, and they were greatly celebrated for their piety and almsgiving, choosing the service of God before all wordly happiness and enjoyment, counting the wealth and honour of the world as nothing in comparison with God and Godliness.

To St. Cadog was attributed, in common with many other saints, the power of working miracles, and many of his wonderful works are narrated in the records of his life. Those only which have a local reference, we think it desirable to annex. The first states that a certain malicious sergeant lived in the town of Gwynllwg, a relative of the pious Cadoc, who, during his peregrinations, through envy slew his cousin Cynfelin. When he discovered that the holy man had returned, he was seized with great fear, and quickly fled from his presence. Cadog followed him, and he vanished

before his eyes, by direction of God, as dust or smoke before the wind.

[The town of Wentloog here referred to was probably St. Woolos, where Gwynlliw, the father of St. Cadog, had taken his habitation. Cynfelin is several times mentioned in the Book of Llandaff as having been living at the the time of Bishop Oudoceus, about the sixth century.]

A certain brave general of the Britons, named Ligessawc, son of Elmian, slew three soldiers of King Arthur. Arthur pursued him everywhere, and no one for fear of Arthur ventured to protect him. Being wearied by continual flights, he came a fugitive to the man of God, and remained with him in the country of Gwynllwg, without the knowledge of Arthur, for seven years. He was then betrayed, and Arthur came with a large force of soldiers to the river Usk for the sake of pleading in a trial at law, for he dared not contend with violence against the man of God. The matter was referred to skilful judges, who assembled on the banks of the great river Usk. There the parties disputed with bitter words from both sides of the river for a length of time. After an intermission in the altercation some of the judges decided that Arthur ought to receive for the redemption of every one of his men who was slain three very good oxen. Others, however, fixed that one hundred cows should be given as the price of every person who had been killed. This was accepted, but Arthur insolently refused cows of one colour, but would have those with the fore part red and the hind part white. There being a difficulty in procuring such cows, Cadoc ordered the young men of his company to bring him one hundred heifers of any colour, and when they were brought they were immediately turned into the colours required. There was further consultation and difficulty how they were to be transferred to Arthur, when it was decided that, "It is right that thou shouldest drive them in a flock to the middle of the ford." Therefore he drove them until Arthur and others, who were sitting on the bank of the river, met them. They took the cows by the horns, and pulled them to the river's side, but immediately

they were changed into bundles of ferns, which being seen by Arthur, he entreated Cadoc, and pardon was granted him. The council being finished, the cows were found safe in the stalls of their owners.

[NOTE.—Llyngessog, supposed to be the same as Legessawc above, appears in the Book of Llandaff as witness to a grant of land by King Meurig to St. Oudoceus.]

How St. Cadog preserved the people of Wentloog from the violence of King Maelgwn.—A certain King Maelgwyn (Maelgwn Gwynedd) reigned over all Britain, sent some of his young men to the region of Gwynllwg to receive tribute. They came to the house of the steward of Cadog, seized his very beautiful daughter, and took her away with them. The men of Gwynllwg assembled together, pursued them, and killing some and wounding more, the rest escaped to their master. The King became excited and collecting his troops formed a camp in the district of Gwynllwg, near a fountain called Ffynon Brithon, that they might the next day plunder all the country. The inhabitants were much frightened and related the circumstance to the man of God. Cadog, with three clergymen, followed the messenger by night until they came to Gwynllwg, and heard of the danger they were in. He then went near the camp of his enemies, and prayed apart from his disciples. When morning came, lo, a pillar of cloud covered all the tent and the troops, and the day was as dark as night to them, so that no one was able to see another. In the middle of the darkness Cadog found his way to the King, the result of the interview being that the King confessed his sin, and promised to return to his own country. Cadog said, "Thy very great crimes are forgiven thee," and while he was speaking the light of summer spread all around, and instantly shone with brightness on all the camp.

[NOTE.—Maelgwn is said to have been elected King of the Britons upon the death of Arthur, and made several incursions into Gwent.]

In the course of some years afterwards Rhun, son of the afore-named Maelgwn, came from the north to rob the southern Britons. Maelgwn cautioned

him not to disturb or injure St Cadog, but Rhun's men went and demanded some refreshment, which, being refused, they took firebrands and tried to put a barn on fire. The barn would not burn, but only smoked. Rhun at the time was playing dice with his eunuchs in his tents; the smoke went from the barn in a direct course to the tent, and deprived of sight all who were in the tent. The King ascertained what had been done, and sent for St. Cadog, and implored him to restore his sight, which he did, and received, as a matter of course, certain advantages in return.

Of the death of Gwynlliw, father of St. Cadog.—Therefore it happened that Gwynlliw, the father of St. Cadog, was ill with a mortal disorder, and he sent one of his servants named Istan for his son Cadog that he might come as soon as possible to him; who proceeded quickly until he came to the Taff, which at that time was of such depth and breadth that no person on horseback or on foot could pass across without a boat. The messenger could not find a boat to cross, and therefore called aloud on a certain unmarried hermit named Tylyuguay, who lived on the other side of the river, to go to St Cadog and inform him. Cadoc came and stopped at Tylyuguay's house, and who miraculously caught twenty-four fish for supper, and by Cadog's directions struck the earth with the end of his stick, and caused a fountain of clear water to issue forth for their need.

Next morning Cadog and his companions went down to the river, and according to the instructions of an angel which had appeared to him during the night, he struck the river with his staff three times, and it immediately divided, the upper part towards the mountains, and the lower part gliding downwards like Jordan. Cadog and his company passed through dryshod, and was departing, when Tylyuguay called after them, and asked Cadog to close up the river before he went, so that he might catch fish as before; and also, if possible, diminish the river in depth and breadth, so that it could be passed on foot. This, of course, Cadog did.

The venerable man then, departing, came to his

sick father, who, rejoicing greatly on his arrival, said to him, "I have sent for thee to me, that at the end of my life thou mayest hear my confession."

Gwynlliw having received the sacrament, bequeathed all his possessions to Cadoc, and then died. He was buried in his own monastery, which from his name is called in the British language Eylwys Gwynlliw; and Cadoc, having performed the funeral rites of his father, returned home with his clergy. [The spot which tradition regards as being that where the tomb of St. Woolos is situated is on Stow Hill, immediately over the railway tunnel, and is marked by a cairn of stones erected by the late G. B. Gething, Esq., on whose land the tomb is enclosed.]

Another miracle not less wonderful Divine mercy designed to perform by the merits of His faithful Cadoc. When his sheep depastured in the Island Echni (Flat Holmes), two wolves from England by swimming came to that place. Having torn many of the sheep and slain some with their rapacious mouths, they attempted to swim towards the British sea, but when they were come to the middle they were changed by Divine judgment, because they had slain and irritated the sheep, into stones, and in the British language were called Cwnbleid, that is Wolf Stones [known as the Wolf Stone Rocks.]

Of the Conversion of Gwynlliw.—Gwynlliw was given up to carnal allurements, and frequently instigated his guards to robbery and plunder, and lived altogether contrary to what was just and right, and disgraced his life with crimes. When Cadoc, the man of God, saw the wicked acts of his father, deeply sighing he grieved on his account, and sent faithful messengers of his disciples, namely, Finnian, Guavan, and Elli, that they might convert him from the errors of his malice and wickedness, and dispose him to Divine obedience. They met and exhorted him to renounce his wickedness, and confess his sins. Which his wife Gwladys hearing, and stimulated by the Holy Spirit, said, "Let us trust to our son, and he will be a father to us in heaven." Gwynlliw consented, and following the advice of Cadoc, became a holy man.

After an interval of some time Gwynlliw and his wife, by a vow, went from home to Shebech, and a messenger came from God to Cadoc directing him to come to his parents, and advise them how they might perform true repentance for their crimes, who, quickly obeying the divine orders, exhorted his parents by holy admonitions to perform it. And, therefore, his mother, Gwladys, built for herself a church in Pencarnou; Gwynlliw also soon erected another monastery, and there instituted divine service. Afterwards, both parents invited Cadoc, and gave to him the said churches which they had built for themselves, and also gave up all that they had to his authority. Of those churches there was to be no governor, but of the family of Cadoc, the man of God, or with his consent and permission.

[Note.—Pencarnou is probably at Pencarn, in the parish of Bassalleg. There are three farms—Upper, Middle, and Lower Pencarn—but no traces of a chapel on either now remain.]

Of the land Pencarnou, which Gwallower gave to St. Cadoc.—Be it known that Gwallower gave to God and St. Cadoc the land Pencarnou for his soul for ever, until the day of judgment. Gwallouer also gave this village to his son Iddon, that he and his heirs might supply the family of Cadoc with the produce of the land on their account; the rent of which is nine tierces of ale, bread, flesh, and honey. So that whenever the clergy of Cadoc would eat and drink, namely in Bassalleg, or in Pencarnou, the aforesaid Iddnon was to bring meat and drink to them, as we have before mentioned. The witnesses to this agreement are Paulus, Abbot of Nantcarban; Guenlion, his brother; Thuiuc, Canopoi, Tanet, Nierbrith Merhitr, Concuni. Whosoever will keep it, God will keep him; and who will break it, he will be cursed by the Lord.

Of part of a field which Retoni gave to St. Cadoc—It is to be observed that Retoni gave to God and St. Cadoc, to be possessed by perpetual right, the half part of a field, near the city of the Legion. (Note: Llangattock-juxta-Caerleon, no doubt), which fell to him by hereditary right, and what had devolved to Herbic, he bought the same of him,

and gave it to God and Cadoc. Of which thing the following are witnesses: Herbic, Curunet, Cogale, clergymen; of the laity, Gournet, Guedguon, Gwedgui, Sonus, Alderreg. Whoever will keep it may be blessed; who will violate it may be cursed. Amen.

Of King Maelgon being deprived of sight.—Maelgon the Great was King of the Britons, and governed all Britain, from which he was paid annually at 100 cows with as many calves, of the sort he chose from each township. Therefore the tax gatherers of Maelgon came to collect tribute as far as Gwynllwg, and seized on a very beautiful girl named Abalcem, daughter of Guiragon, superintendent of St. Cadoc, and took her away with them; on which account the relatives of the girl became angry, mounted their horses, and sounded their horns, which being heard by all the warlike men of the city, they arose and pursuing them, slew 300 men, one excepted, who informed the King of what had been done. Which having been heard, the King, raging with furious anger, came with a big army for the purpose of revenging himself, to the place which is called Grucglas; and St. Cadoc, with all the the inhabitants of Gwynllwg, arose to meet the King, and went down to the place where is the fountain Brution, and here he fasted with all his attendants accompanying him. Maelgon therefore sent his messenger Argantbad to the blessed man, ordering him to pay at Rhiwcari the price of the men who had been slain, who answered that he would not by any means pay anything except by the judgment of God and man. The King refused the judgment, and early in the morning moved his camp to commit slaughter, and immediately he was deprived of sight, and knew not how to direct his steps. He therefore sent for St. Cadoc, and asked him if he would deign to restore his lost sight, but the man of God refused until he came to confess. Then the King came to him and granted all the things which he asked of him. Therefore blessed Cadoc, being permitted by the King, requested that refuge should be given to him in the city of Gwynllwg similar to the refuge of St. David in the Valley of Rosina; and he gave to the

blessed Cadoc the refuge he requested, and granted to him the horse and sword wherewith he was girt, and also the golden vestments wherewith he was clothed, and received him as his governor. And King Maelgon made an eternal agreement with St. Cadoc and his successors, saying, "If any one of my race will break this he shall be cursed, and may the last of my progeny assist your family at Gwynllwg as his last brother." King Maelgon with his nobles, and the blessed Cadoc with his clergy, blessed all who keep this agreement, and on the other hand unanimously cursed all who should not keep it. Therefore, the man of God shewed to the King what he was to deliver to him, namely, three hundred and fifty cows, the price of the several nobles of his progeny, and said, "Whatsoever any one of my stock of Gwynllwg shall obtain from the King as an eternal inheritance, may he have it without any rent. Whosoever shall buy anything of my stock in the country of Glywysyg, beyond the boundaries of Gwynllwg, may he have the right of perpetual inheritance, and a price and rent be paid to him." And the King, on the other hand, shewed his pledge to the blessed man, and said, "Who shall kill any of my stock, may his land be given to the parents of him who was killed, and his price be paid to his children. If any one strike a stranger who shall flee to the refuge of Gwynllwg, he shall pay one hundred cows according to judgment; but should he deny, he must give the oath of sixty men."

Also St. Cadoc appointed the space of his refuge to be seven years and seven months and seven days, and a night's lodging in the house of every man in the town, and afterwards he was to be dismissed from the refuge of Gwynllwg to any other place of security he might wish.

St. Cadoc bore witness again, saying, "If any one of my progeny be taken without the consent of the leader of his race, he shall be dismissed unhurt with his property; but should he be taken with the consent of his leader, he is to be retained in custody until he will release him. No tribute shall be paid to the King by my stock except in

assessment of cattle after seven years, when the latter is to reserve to himself one-third part, and the other two-thirds he is to contribute to the King; and if any one should hurt a leader of a generation of Gwynllwg or shed his blood, the person committing the offence shall not be restored but by the giving of land, gold, or animals. And whoever shall pay to the King the price of the death of any one of my race, if he should be struck his price shall in like manner be paid to the King. Should any of the men of my race be hurt or slain, a cow with a sheep shall be paid as the price of his soul. Also if any of the progeny of Britons should be slain in the refuge of Gwynllwg, the price of his soul shall be paid as in his own land, and should he be an exiled person of the stock of Gwynllwg, it shall be paid in like manner." And St. Cadoc commanded his relatives "If a leading man should break this testament of agreement, dismiss him and choose another of his race. Should he keep it, and for such account pay the fine, choose from another race."

[NOTE.—The discrepancies and anachronisms in all the accounts of St. Cadoc is accounted for, by supposing that two or three individuals of the same name have been confounded. In the Achau Sant there is one the son of Brychan, the other the son of Gwynlliw, but all the legends are referred to the last. In the Roman Catholic calendar are three Cadocs: one styled an Abbot, commemorated 24th January; the second, a Bishop, whose feast is 24th February; and the third, a Priest, on the 31st March.]

EXTRACT FROM THE LIFE OF ST. CYBI (KIBBY).

Cybi, after a journey to Jerusalem, came to the region of Edelygion, and King Etelic was there living at the time.

[NOTE.—Edelygion is the name of one of the Commots of the Cantred of Wentloog.]

Saint Cybi went down into the meadows and spread his tent there. And King Etelic sent a certain man to see who and what man had got down to his meadows. That man, returning, said, "They are enemies," and immediately Etelic arose

with his household to eject the enemies from his land; and Etelic forthwith fell from his horse, and his horse immediately died, and Etelic and all his household became blind. Then Etelic prostrated himself on his face, and gave his body and soul to God and St. Cybi; and immediately by the prayer of St. Cybi the attendants of Etelic and himself and horse were cured. Then Etelic gave for ever to St. Cybi two churches whereof one is Llangybi and the other Llandavenguni. [Panteg is suggested as that adjoins Llangibby.] And there Cybi left a small vari coloured hand bell. Then St. Cybi blessed King Etelic, and departed from thence to Menevia, the city of St. David.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIFE OF ST. TATHAN.

Tathan was first president of a college or monastery at Caerwent. By angelic instruction, he came from Ireland with his disciples accompanying him. At the sea coast they found a little ship unsupplied with naval instruments, but rejoicing, they went together on board, and without a sail or an oar, proceeded wherever the blowing of the wind directed them, and with the power of God prosperously sailed to the British Severn.

At last, having gone the length of the sea, they approached Gwent, and landed in a port called with the addition of the name of the country. The eight persons went to the shore and left the ship without fastening a rope, and were like to the eight virtues in number with which they were adorned from their earliest age. A certain rich neighbour having prepared himself to bathe on the Sabbath day as was his custom, saw them coming weary from their journey and voyage; and seeing them he would not bathe until the strangers, who were more worthy of bathing, had first bathed. After they had come and entered, they were honourably received by a domestic, as strangers ought to be received. Whilst the rested one was sent to the harbour that he might fasten the loosed ship with a rope. When he went and came to the margin of the shore, he saw a stag, after the manner of men, holding the rope with his feet lest the ship should be overturned and lost. Admiring, and greatly

astonished, he speedily returned and related to the master and the others what he had seen with admiration.

The stag was loosed, brought back with a cord, and ordered to be killed for dinner on the morrow; no one dared to hurt him. God forced the beast to lie down and stretch its neck to be killed.

Caradog (King of the Gwenti) hearing of the fame of Tathan, sent for him to come and govern the institution for study. Tathan was obedient, and went to the next city, and began to govern the college for study, and scholars from all parts flocked to him.

On a certain night thieves came from the district of Gwynlliw to Gwent and stole a cow, in connection with which certain miracles had already been performed. Taking the cow to the city, they killed her, and having cut her up, put the flesh into a pot, but the more it was cooked, so much the more did it become bloody in the pot. On the morrow, the venerable man of God, being informed by the shepherd of the cow having been taken away, found a trace of her near the city, marked in a wonderful manner on the stone: then the very holy man said, "This stone, which is trodden on, and whiter than salt, has fixed thereon marks received from the foot of a cow." Therefore, knowing, with his companions, the way on which the thieves went, he traced the footsteps of one cow, and of only one, until he came to the door of the palace of the King. Gwynlliw, who as yet was wicked, saw the innocent man and his companions coming, and ordered his servants to place a kettle full of hot water, and cover it with bulrushes, and put thereon a linen cloth, to form a deceitful seat. The most just man, as he ordered, was placed by such contrivance over the kettle which formed a heavenly seat. When the deceitful knaves expected he would fall into the hot water, the seat was solid, as if made of stone. The King, seeing that the lover of God was guarded by divine protection, fell on his knees beseeching him to grant his mercy for his very wicked deceit. And he after the manner of a very religious man, for his part, forgave the crime on the condition that his servants should not

repeat their robbery. These words being said, they put the flesh and bones on the skin, and those being so placed, the cow came to life, and, rising before them all, returned in company with them.

[Note.—The memory of St. Tathan is preserved in the name of the church now generally called Llanvaches, but in the records it is named Llandathan, alias Llanvaches, near Caerwent. It has the latter name from Maches, a virgin and martyr, who was probably the same person as Machuta (of a legend) who was murdered, and a church founded to her memory, under the floor of which she was buried. Some accounts say Tathan was confessor to Ynyr Gwent; others that he was patronized by Caradog, son of Ynyr Gwent.]

CONDITION OF THE MARCHES.—LAWLESSNESS OF THE PEOPLE.—HENRY VIII. ASCENDS THE THRONE.—POWER OF THE LORDS MARCHERS CURTAILED AND FINALLY ABOLISHED.—THE MARCHES FORMED INTO COUNTIES.—WAS MONMOUTHSHIRE ADDED TO ENGLAND.

The early part of the 16th century was a period during which social and political changes of great magnitude were effected in comparatively a short time. In fact, the 38 years of the reign of Henry VIII. witnessed greater changes in the Government of the country and the condition of the people than had been brought about during previous centuries of destructive warfare and ineffective legislation.

As regards the condition of the people at this period, we are told that it was most peculiar and unsatisfactory. The extent of their criminality and lawlessness was almost incredible, and probably worse than in any other portion of the kingdom. Many of the leading men still kept up large establishments of retainers, and could not forget that the blood of the Welsh princes or chieftains ran in their veins. The notions they held of freedom and independence rendered a submission to the restraints of law altogether incompatible. The lower classes were imbued with the spirit of those above them.

There were no schools of importance in the Principality, and therefore, none in the district of Gwent. Whatever education the people received they must have acquired within the walls of the abbeys, and other religious houses, at the hands of some of the monks. It is related of Owen Tudor that, when introducing to his wife (the widow of Henry V.) some of his friends from Wales, they remained speechless, being unable to understand or speak the English language, upon which the dowager queen remarked that they were the handsomest dumb creatures she had ever seen.

In matters of religion the priests were altogether inactive. They had, in fact, become unpopular, and there existed between them and the bards a great amount of antipathy, if not a mortal feud;

but neither the bards nor the priests sought to influence or improve the mental condition of the people around them. Even the bards themselves were fiercely disputing with each other regarding "the order and regulation of the science of song," and so continued until 1529, as we find from Turner. In that year a congress of bards from Morganwg, Gwent, Ewyas, and Carmarthen assembled at the Castle of Cardiff, under the protection and license of Lord William Herbert, and there judgment was given in the matter, and peace restored.

Many of the leading gentry no doubt endeavoured to live honestly by the lawful pursuit of agriculture, but many others spent much of their time and energy in raids and expeditions with a view of benefitting themselves and followers by the abstraction of their neighbours' property. Froude says they were surrounded with the sentiment of pseudo-terrorism, and revelling in the conceit of imaginary freedom, disguised from themselves and others the plain prose truth, that they were but thieves and rogues.

Their acts of lawlessness, though not of the sanguinary nature which characterised those of earlier days, could not be continued by one party or borne by the other without occasional reprisals by the English, and consequent disorder.

The raids, however, which seem to have been conducted with most impunity were those to which for a long time, the people of the district had been addicted of crossing the Severn to plunder the worthy people of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and then returning with their booty to the Forest of Dean and Monmouthshire, where they were secure from punishment, and the robbed went without a remedy.

Such was the state of things when, in 1509, Henry VIII. ascended the throne, an event which soon proved of the greatest importance, not only to this district, but to the whole of the Marches. Young, brave, handsome, and educated, as Henry was, the most sanguine expectations were formed as to the prosperity which must attend his government. The first act of his administration

did not tend to destroy this illusion; for, by the advice of the Countess of Richmond, his grandmother, he chose the tried friends of his father as his first counsellors, the most distinguished of these being Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan, in right of his wife, daughter and heir to Sir William Herbert. This distinguished statesman, by his abilities, deservedly attained to great wealth and honour under Henry VII., and continued in the same high offices under the new sovereign.

Changes became apparent in the district immediately upon Henry's accession. It may be here remembered that the Lordships of Newport, Caerleon, Usk, and Monmouth had been restored in 1499 by Henry VII. to Edward, Duke of Buckingham; but it is shewn by the Calendar of State Papers that within a month of Henry VIII.'s accession to the throne—viz., 18th May, 1509—that Thomas ap Herbert was appointed "to be receiver-general of the Lordships or Manors of Uske, Caerleon, and Treleck; also constable of Tregrike (Llangibby), and bedell and coroner of Edlogan." On the 5th September, the same year, John ap Morgan was appointed "keeper of Caerleon Park, in the Lordship of Usk, being parcel of the Earldom of March." A few months later—viz., 1st February, 1510—there is this entry: "William Edwards to be approver of the Lordships of Uske, Caleon, and Trellek, and beadle of Usk during pleasure." Subsequently the following entries appear: "1511, 12th March, Thomas Robert and John Pergent to be auditors of the lands of William, late Earl of Huntingdon, in the Manors of Uske, Caerlion, and Narbath;" "1511, 10th October, Thomas Palmer to be coroner of the Lordships of Usk, Llybenyth, and Trelek, constable of Caerleon Castle, approver, beadle, castle reeve, and court clerk of the Lordship of Usk." Then in 1514, 6th May, we find a grant to Charles, Earl of Worcester, and to Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert, his heir in successorship of the offices of steward of the Lordships of Uske, Kaerleon, and Trillek, in Wales, and of the constable of the Castle of Usk, on the death or surrender of Sir William

Morgan. It will thus be seen that the House of Somerset was already beginning to acquire that influence in the district which, in a later reign, was so powerfully displayed

To assert that the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth are more indebted to King Henry VIII. than to any other sovereign of England for the privileges they now enjoy as citizens, is to state that which, however true it may be, will receive but unready credence. Nevertheless, we venture to make the proposition, and believe it will be well supported by the facts hereafter adduced.

The district now called Monmouthshire was up to the time of Henry's reign constituted of no less than twenty-four Lordship Marches. These were beyond the jurisdiction of the King's Court, each was governed by its own ancient laws and customs, and administered by its own lord, in his own court. The despotism of the early Norman barons had no doubt been in the course of three or four centuries considerably mitigated. Townships had been formed, and the burgesses by the grace and favour of the Lord, or by payment or demands had obtained successive charters exempting them from many feudal services, and the payment of obnoxious tolls. They were, too, permitted to exercise the first principles of self-government, but they still remained to a large extent subject to the disposition and caprices of their over lord. The benefits which followed from the union of Wales to England by Edward I. were not extended to the Marches. The rights which the conquering barons had acquired in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were never, excepting in some few cases, surrendered to the King of England, but handed down from lord to lord without interference from the Sovereign of the realm, and maintained in tact, excepting where concessions were made in consideration of money payments or special services rendered, or when the continually increasing power of the burgesses found voice and demanded it. The advantages of one supreme jurisdiction and the administration of equal justice contemplated by the union of Wales with England were never realised, and each of the Lordship Marches was as a city of refuge

for criminals from every other. The man who committed robbery, rape, or murder in one Lordship (and all these offences were frequent) flew to another Lordship, and so avoided punishment. Under such circumstances it is easy to imagine that disorder was rife, and neither life nor property secure. There was another point in which the Marches stood at a great disadvantage compared with other parts of Wales. When Edward conquered the country he formed eight counties, and (1322) issued a writ directing that 24 persons from South Wales and the like number from North Wales should attend a Parliament at York. Though no records exist of the result of the summons it may be regarded as a certainty that neither the district of Monmouthshire nor any portion of the country constituting the Marches shared in the privilege. It might, however, be incorrect to say they were altogether unrepresented. In most cases the Lord Marchers were powerful barons accustomed to meet in the King's Councils, but they formed no part of that assembly, which speedily became so popular, and has been ever supposed to represent the people of England. The inhabitants of the Marches remained in a state of vassalage; they possessed no Parliamentary franchise, and could not make their voice heard in the affairs of their country, though they had always shown themselves ready to shed their blood and die in its cause.

To bring about a better condition of things seemed to have been one great object of Henry's reign, and it is said that, next to the Reformation, no question occupied so great a share of the King's attention as the condition of the Marches.

The great religious question, however, in the time of Henry and his immediate successors so overshadowed all other matters that the effect of Henry's policy in Wales was overlooked, and even now is very little known.

One of the first Acts passed by Parliament, tending to improvement, and preliminary to others more important which followed, was that intended to put down a system of licensed brigandage which existed throughout all the districts of the Lord

Marchers, and especially within the boundaries of their extensive forests and wastes. The statute recites that—Whereas, in Wales and in the Marches there are many forests belonging either to the King or to the Lords Marchers, wherein sundry actions have been committed for a long time, contrary to the law of God and man, insomuch that if any person entered the said forests without a token given him by any of the foresters as a license to pass, or unless he was a yearly tributer or chanser, he was forced to pay a grievous fine, and if he should chance to be found twenty-four feet out of the highway, he was then to forfeit all the gold or money which was found on his person, and likewise a joint of one of his hands, unless he was fined for the offence at the discretion of the forester or farmer of the same; and whereas, likewise if any cattle strayed into the said forests, it was the custom of the foresters to mark them for their own with the mark of the forest, &c.

In 1534 the council of the Marches was established (or, rather, probably reorganised, it having been first established by Edward III.) to assist and strengthen the hands of the remarkable Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who was termed Lord Warden of the Welsh Marches. A number of his letters are extant, containing details of his administration on either side of the frontier line from Chester to Chepstow. His powers were extensive, and he did not use them sparingly. In 1537 he wrote to Secretary Cromwell stating that "through the influence of a council a number of offenders had been committed to prison, but that the grand juries had found murders to be manslaughters, and riots misbehaviours. The council had consequently called the grand inquest before them, and committed them to ward for their lightness in the premises." Lee, thinking it probable that complaint would be made of his straitness and hard dealing, reminds Mr. Secretary Cromwell that if he would have the country in as good order and stay as we have set other parts, there must be punishment done, or else they will continue in their boldness. The conduct of the Bishop was approved, but Cromwell impresses upon him that "indifferent

justice must be ministered to poor and rich according to their demerits, and gentlemen concerned in riots and robberies were not to be spared on account of their position.

It is quite clear that the anomalies and abuses which existed, and the influence the Lords Marchers exercised, required no less imperious a monarch than Henry, backed by the universal will of both English and Welsh peoples, to cope with. The endeavours hitherto made to restrict the privileges which the Marchers continually abused, and to prevent their continued injustice and cruelty, had but little effect, so Henry resolved to abolish them altogether, and bring the country more under control.

To put a stop to the organised gangs of robbers which continually crossed the Severn into Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, Henry obtained an Act prohibiting owners of ferries and keepers of passages across the estuary from conveying anybody from one side to the other during the night time, under a fine and imprisonment, unless such persons and their habitations were known to them. By another Act justices of the peace were appointed, who were to administer justice in the same way as was done in English shires.

But the crowning act of Henry's policy was that which divided the whole of the Marches into counties, and incorporated them for once and for ever with the realm of England. As the statute is an important one, and respecting the effect of which much uncertainty still exists, we quote the words of the principal clause, by which the great change was effected, so far as it relates to Monmouthshire:—

"All the residue of the said Lordship Marches *within the said country or dominion of Wales* shall be severed and divided into certain particular counties or shires, that is to say:—The county or shire of Monmouth, the county or shire of Brecknock, the county or shire of Radnor, the county or shire of Montgomery, the county or shire of Denbigh, and that the lordships, tounships, parishes, commotes, and cantredes of Monmouth, Chepstow, Matherne, Llanvihangel, Magour, Goldcliffe, New-

port, Wentlouge, Llanwerne, Caerlion, Uske, Trelecke, Tinterne, Skynfreth, Grousmount, Witecastell, Raglan, Calicote, Biston, Abergevenny, Penrose, Grenefeld [Maesglas ?], Maghen, and Hochayslade, *in the country of Wales*, and all and singular honours, lordships, castells, manours, lands, tenements, and hereditaments lying or being within the compas or precinct of the lordships, tounes-hips, hamlets, parishes, commotes and cantredes, and every of them in whose possession soever they be or shall be, and every part thereof shall stand, and be from and after the said feast of all sainctes guildable, and shall be reputed, accepted, named, part and members of the said shire of Monmouth; and that the said towne of Monmouth shall be accepted, reputed, used, had and taken, head and shire towne of the said county or shire of Monmouth. And that the sheriffes', county and shire courte, of and for the said shire or county of Monmouth, shall be holden and kept, one time at the saide towne of Monmouth, and the nexte time at the towne of Newport, in the same county or shire, and so to be kepte in the same two townes alterius vicibus, and according to the Laws of this realme of England for ever and in none other places."

The exact meaning, force, and effect of this enactment has lately given rise to considerable discussion, it being contended on the one hand that the county of Monmouth, on being formed, was added to and made one of the counties of England, while on the other hand it is held that the district always was and still remains an integral part of the Principality of Wales. Another widespread notion still exists that a Welsh county is added to England every century, Monmouthshire being the last addition. It is difficult to imagine, and impossible to trace, how such an error could have arisen. No new county has been constituted since the Marches were divided, now more than three centuries ago, and there is no question about the county of Monmouth having been then created: but there is a difference of opinion as to whether Monmouthshire was annexed to England, or permitted to remain a portion of the Principality of Wales. The matter is one of historical interest,

and we shall therefore refer to the principal facts and arguments adduced by the advocates of each side.

Of modern writers, the late Dr. Nicholas was, perhaps, more successful than any other in disturbing the prevailing and settled opinion that Monmouthshire was an English county, and his facts and arguments were convincing to many persons who had not previously given the subject any consideration or study.

It is almost unnecessary to refer to its ancient, natural, and geographical boundary, or to its ancient history, which clearly shows that down to early Norman times it had its own native rulers, who sometimes were tributary to the King of Wales, and sometimes to the King of England. It is sufficient for the argument to refer to the Act 27th of King Henry VIII., which expresly states the district to be a part of the "country or dominion of Wales." In defining what parishes, townships, or districts shall constitute the county of Monmouth, very precise words are used. The places are specifically mentioned, and it is declared that all and singular, and every one of them shall be reputed, accepted, and named part and members of the said shire of Monmouth. No such definite language, however, is used in declaring the county so constituted shall be separated from the country to which it then belonged, and added to that of which it is now contended it forms a part. Few persons, we think, can doubt that had it been the intention of the King and Parliament to sever the district from Wales, some enactment in words of unquestionable meaning would have been framed for the purpose in a matter of such great importance.

Mention is made in the Act that the new shire was to be governed according to the laws of the realm of England, and it would appear that upon this slender basis, and this alone, the contention is founded that Monmouthshire ceased to be a part of Wales. The same argument might be applied with equal force to other counties which still remain attached to the Principality.

The opinions of contemporary writers must not be overlooked in this matter, and when it is found

that those best acquainted with the circumstances state, not only incidentally, but most emphatically, what they recognised as a fact, that Monmouthshire still remained a part of Wales, it seems conclusive that the Act of Henry never had and was never intended to have, the operation which it has been tacitly assumed to have had.

The Act in question is chap. 26th of 27th Henry VIII. (1535), and we find that in 1549, Edward VI., Henry's successor, granted a charter to the burgesses of his burg and town of Monmouth, which is then described to be "in the Marches of Wales."

Humphrey Llwyd, in his "History of Cambria" (1568), describes South Wales as consisting of seven counties, of which one was Monmouth.

Churchyard (1587), in his "Worthiness of Wales," includes Monmouthshire in that country.

Drayton, in his "Polyolbion" (1613), does the same.

Camden, and his subsequent editor, Gibson, after giving an account of 39 English counties, refers to 13 more in Wales, of which Monmouthshire is one.

Enderbie (1666) writes "there had been in Wales eight several shires or counties, besides the county of Monmouth, which was the ninth. By the Act of 27th Henry there were erected in Wales four other shires, so that there are now 13."

Later, in the seventeenth century, the deed of Leoline Jenkins' executors with Jesus College (1685) corroborates the opinion that Monmouthshire was still in Wales.

Sir John Doddridge, in his "Historical Account of the Princes of Wales" (1714), numbers the shires in Wales as thirteen, including Monmouthshire as one.

Oldfield, in his Representative History, says Monmouthshire continued to be considered as a part of Wales until near the end of the reign of Charles II., when it began to be reckoned as an English county, because the Judges then began to keep the assizes here in the Oxford district.

Grose, who is the last author we shall quote, says Monmouthshire continued a part of Wales until the reign of Charles II., when it was included in the circuit of Oxford.

It will thus be seen that a succession of writers of eminence from the time of Henry VIII. to the present century do not question the fact that Monmouthshire had always been, and still was, a portion of the Principality of Wales.

We must add that Monmouthshire still continues attached to Wales for census purposes, and in all returns of the Registrar General. It is still a division of the Welsh collection of the Inland Revenue, and remains a portion of the Welsh diocese of Llandaff. The Welsh people, too, resident in Monmouthshire, still imagine themselves residents in Wales, and speak of crossing the Bristol Channel as going to England, and vice versa. This idea was even more prevalent a quarter of a century ago than since improved railway communication has been established between Monmouthshire and South Wales.

Dr Nicholas, therefore, in asserting that the idea of Monmouthshire being an English county has no historic or legal foundation, had strong grounds for so doing, and in further maintaining that it is a geographical blunder first conceived by error, received without examination, and settled at last by an indolent consent.

On the other hand, there are persons who claim Monmouthshire as an English county, and assert that the fact might be inferred, if it be not expressly declared, by numerous Acts of Parliament, beside that of the 27th Henry VIII., which in one section (4) enacts that the sheriff "shall use and exercise his office according to the laws and statutes of the realm of England in all and everything as the sheriff be obliged and bounden to do in all and every other shire of this realm of England."

The 34th and 35th Henry, cap. 26, sec. 11, enacts that the Principality shall thenceforth be divided into twelve shires, of the which "eight have been shire of long and ancient time" (*i.e.*) the shires of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Flint, Anglesea, Merioneth, and Carnarvon; and four be newly made by 27th Henry VIII. (*i.e.*) Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh, over and besides the shire of Monmouth, and divers other dominions, lordships, and manors in

the Marches of Wales, united and annexed to the shires of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, as by the said Act appears. The same statute also enacts there should be one custos rotulorum in every of the said twelve shires of Wales.

The language is confessedly ambiguous, and whilst some contend that by it Monmouthshire is excluded from Wales, it seems only just to say that this idea would have been strengthened if no mention whatever had been made of that county. From the very fact of its being named, it might be inferred that it was still connected with Wales, although constituted a new and independent county.

The Act of 5th Elizabeth, chap. 25; 18th Elizabeth, chap. 25; 18th Elizabeth, chap. 8; 27th Elizabeth, chap. 9; 5th William and Mary, chap. 4, mention twelve counties of Wales without including Monmouthshire, but this is only negative testimony that it forms in any way a part of England, and does not upset the theory that Monmouthshire still remains a portion of Wales with an independence which it has always possessed distinct from other portions of the Principality.

Upon a review of the whole facts we come to the conclusion that Monmouthshire never was, nor was it ever intended that it should be by any express statute, separated from Wales and annexed to England, but for the better administration of the law it came to be treated as an English county; and the English Legislature from time to time proceeded upon the assumption that it was an English county. Hence the notion gained a firm hold among English people, which was still further promulgated by finding its way into the school books in common use. To claim Monmouthshire now as a Welsh county may evince a spirit of patriotism, but the contention henceforth must for all purposes be practically useless.

Monmouthshire took its name from the chief town, Monmouth. The county is bounded on the north by the river Monnow, which separates it from Herefordshire. In the east it is divided from Gloucestershire by the river Wye; in the west by the river Rumney from Glamorganshire and Breconshire; and on the south it is wholly washed by the Severn Sea.

APPOINTMENT OF SHERIFFS.—THEIR DUTIES.—LIST OF SHERIFFS SINCE 1541.

When the county of Monmouth had become constituted by the Act of 27th Henry VIII., cap. 26, as already mentioned, one result which almost immediately followed was that the office and duties of sheriff became operative in it in a similar manner to that which obtained in the counties or shires of England. How the duties had been performed prior to this period is a matter of some uncertainty. The office of sheriff had its origin in the Saxon period of our country's history, but the Saxons never introduced into or imposed upon the Principality of Wales the office of sheriff, and there seems every probability that its chief functions were performed by the direct jurisdiction of the Welsh princes. The Normans made little or no change in the municipal or administrative institutions founded by the Saxons, and none in that of sheriff in England, but as the barons usurped the position and powers of the Welsh princes, so did they also exercise their former powers of government and administration of the law. In 1354, King Edward III., at his Parliament holden at Westminster, ordained and established that all the Lords of the Marches should be perpetually attending and annexed to the crown of England, and that the sheriffs of the counties should be removed every year out of their offices, &c. From this record it is contended by some writers that there were sheriffs of Welsh counties and also of Monmouthshire at that early date, but the absence of a single name of any person who filled the office during nearly 200 years prior to the time of Henry VIII. seems conclusive that no such officer was ever appointed, and that the enactment remained a dead letter.

Not only is the office an ancient one, but it is also highly important, though now shorn of many of its former functions. Until the establishment of the present County Court system the sheriff did much which the judges of those courts now do. Formerly he had to make *post mortem* inquiries into

the affairs of persons of consequence in his county, and to render a return of their possessions to the Crown. The Probate Court has relieved him of this duty. He also possessed a criminal jurisdiction, which has been transferred to Courts of Quarter Sessions. His judicial functions are now almost entirely executive, and relates to judgments which have been allowed to go by default, and to the assessment of damages. Most of his present duties are done by deputy; and the chief among them are to conserve the peace of the county; see justice done by returning juries; take charge of prisoners; execute convicted criminals; preside at the election of knights of the shire, and coroners; receive, attend, and lodge the judges on Assize, and carry out civil judgments pronounced by the Courts. During his year of office he is the first person in the county, even taking precedence of the Lord Lieutenant, and he must always possess land sufficient to prove security for his duly accounting to the Exchequer for all sums collected by him for the Crown.

Although the Act of Henry, dividing the Marches into counties, was passed in 1535, some delay seems to have taken place before it was completely carried into effect, notwithstanding that the Act itself prescribed that it was to take eefct from the Feast of All Saints then next ensuing. It is not clearly known why this was not done, but it appears that a commission was directed to issue for the purpose of dividing the new counties into hundreds. The returns to this commission are not to be found, and the researches of the late indefatigable Mr. Wakeman proved in this respect vain. He found, however, on the Memoranda Roll, Hilary Term, 33 Henry VIII., 1542, that "Charles Herbert, the late High Sheriff of Monmouthshire, had deposited in Court two rolls of extracts from the Hundreds," which were probably the returns in question, but the rolls themselves could not be found, and therefore it is impossible to say what they contained. The entry however, is evidence that Charles Herbert was High Sheriff of the county of Monmouth in the year 1541, and no earlier Sheriff of Monmouthshire than this is known.

Several lists of the Sheriffs of Monmouthshire have been from time to time published, but all have been more or less inaccurate. In "Fuller's Worthies," there is a list of one hundred Sheriffs of Monmouthshire, commencing with Charles Herbert, 1541, and ending with Nicholas Moor, 1639. Fuller seldom gives the residence of the individual, and appears to have fallen into the very common mistake of supposing that every one of the same surname belonged to the same family, in consequence of which he is almost invariably wrong in the arms he has attributed to them. Mr. Wakeman corrected Fuller's list, and published it with additions down to 1864, but it still remains very faulty. Another list was published by the late Dr. Thomas Nicholas in the "Annals of the County and County Families of Monmouthshire." This also is incorrect, and there are many omissions in it. We purpose annexing a list, which, we believe, is the first that has been compiled direct from the Exchequer Records, and is certainly the most complete that has yet been published. Although the list is somewhat lengthy, we think its importance justifies its publication.

It will be noted that for some time after the passing of the Act, the Herberts and Morgans were frequently called upon to serve as Sheriffs; and it may also be observed that on two or three occasions the law providing that the same Sheriff should not serve for two successive years was waived. The presumable reasons were that the families in the county possessed of sufficient means, who could be called upon to supply Sheriffs were few in number. We gather as much from "Leland's Itinerary," where, in setting down the "Gentlemen in Wentloog," he gives only three family names, viz., Morgan, Kemys, and Lewis, as furnishing members who could in his opinion be so described.

LIST OF SHERIFFS.

Temp. HENRY VIII.

1541—Charles Herbert, Troy (afterwards knighted and served again in 1550).
1543—Walter Herbert, St. Julians.
1544—Walter ap Robert, Pantglas (also in 1556).
1545—Henry Lewis, St. Pierre.

1546—Richard ap Howel, Perth-hir (Reynold ap Howel —Wakeman).

EDWARD VI.

1547—John Henry Kemys, Newport (John Henry Lewis, Mathern —Wakeman ; see 1567).
1548—Anthony Welshe, Llanwern (also in 1555).
1549—Sir Thomas ap Morgan, Knight, Pencoed (also in 1560).
1550—Sir Charles Herbert, Knight, Troy (see 1541).
1551—William Morgan, Tredegar.
1552—William Herbert, Colebrook (see 1564).

MARY.

1553—Walter Herbert, Skenfrith (natural son of Sir Charles Herbert, of Troy).
1554—William Herbert, St. Julians (also 1565).
1555—Anthony Welshe, Llanwern (see 1548).
1556—Walter ap Herbert, Pantglas (see 1544).
1557—William John Thomas, Treowen.
1558—Rowland Morgan, Machen.

ELIZABETH.

1559—Henry Lewis, St. Pierre.
1560—Sir Thomas Morgan, Knight, Pencoed (see 1549).
1561—Thomas Herbert, Wonastow.
1562—George James, Abergavenny.
1563—Roger Williams, Llangibby.
1564—William Herbert, Colebrooke (see 1552, 1572).
1565—William Herbert, St. Julians (see 1554, 1581).
1566—Thomas Morgan, Tredegar (William Morgan—Wakeman).
1567—John Henry Kemys, Newport (see 1547).
1568—William John ap Rogers, Abergavenny. (See 1579)
1569—William Morgan, Llantarnam.
1570—Christopher Welshe, Llanwern (see 1577).
1571—Rowland Morgan, Llanvedw.
1572—William Herbert, Colebrook (see 1563).
1573—Thomas Herbert, Wonastow
1574—William Morgan, Werngochen (?), Wakeman.
1575—Milo Morgan, Tredegar.
1576—Rowland Kemys, Vaendre.
1577—Christopher Welshe, Llanwern (see 1570).
1578—Richard Morgan (see 1587).
1579—William John ap Roger, Abergavenny. (See 1568)
1580—William Lewis, St Pierre.
1581—Sir William Herbert, Knt., St Julian (see 1565)
1582—Thomas Morgan, Machen.
1583—Edward Morgan Pencarn.
1584—Edward Morgan, Llantarnam
1585—Mathew Herbert, Coalbrook.
1586—William Lewis, Abergavenny.
1587—Richard Morgan (see 1578).
1588 -John Jones, Treowen.
1589—Henry Morgan, Pen Llwyn (see 1604).

1590—Henry Herbert, Wonastow (see 1599).
1591—Nicholas Herbert.
1592—Edward Kemys (Edward Lewis, the Van—Wakeman).
1593—Walter Vaughan, Caldicot.
1594—Rowland Morgan, Bedwellty.
1595—Walter Jones, Magor.
1596—Walter Herbert, Colebrook.
1597—Matthew Pritchard, Llanover.
1598—Andrew Morgan, Llanvihangel.
1599—Henry Herbert, Wonastow, (see 1590. H died during the year—Wakeman). William Morgan, Friars.
1600—Henry Billingsley, Penhow.
1601—Richard Kemeys.
1602—Edward Kemys, Kemys.

JAMES I.

1603—Edward Morgan (see 1626).
1604—Henry Morgan, Penllwyn (see 1589).
1605—John Gaynsford.
1606—Rowland Williams, Llangibby.
1607—Valentine Pritchard.
1608—William Price, Llanfoist.
1609—*Walter Montagu, Pencoed.
1610—Charles Jones, Dingestow.
1611—Henry Lewis, St. Pierre.
1612—William Rawlins, Tregare.
1613—Sir William Morgan, Knt., Tredegar.
1614—Roger Batherne, Penhow.
1615—Giles Morgan, Pencraig.
1616—William Jones, Trewern.
1617—Thomas Vann, Coldra.
1618—Thomas Morgan, Ruperra.
1619—George Milbourne, Wonastow (see 1636).
1620—William Hughes, Cil Uwch.
1621—Thomas Cocks.
1622—Walter Aldy, Chepstow.
1623—Robert Jones, Grondre.
1624—William Walter, Persfield.
1625—David Lewis, Abergavenny.

CHARLES I.

1626—Edward Morgan (see 1603).
1627—Charles Somerset, Troy.
1628—Sir Charles Williams, Knt., Llangibby.

[*Coxe states that Walter Montagu by his will dated 1614 left an estate to found an hospital for ten or twelve poor persons, and £10 a year to a clergyman for performing divine service at the chapel of Pencoed Castle once a month. The hospital was founded, but no chaplain was appointed. Buried in Llantarnam Church.]

1629—William Kemys, Kemys.
1630—William Thomas, Pertholey.
1631—John Walter, Persfield.
1632—William Barker, Abergavenny.
1633—Nicholas Kemys, Llanfair.
1634—Nicholas Arnold, Llanvihangel Crucorney.
1635—Lewis Vann, Coldra.
1636—George Milbourne, Wonastow (see 1619, 1645).
1637—Henry Probert, Pantglas.
1638—Thomas Morgan (William Morgan, Tymawr.—*Wakeman*).
1639—William Herbert, Colebrook.
1640—Nicholas Moore, Crick.
1641—John Milbourne.
1642—Edmond Morgan.
1643—Thomas Morgan, Llanscar. (Philip Jones, Treowen.—Wakeman.)
1644—Thomas Price, Llanfoist.
1645—George Milbourne (see 1636) (Sir Edward Morgan, knight, Pencoed.—Wakeman.)
1646—William Herbert.
1647—William Herbert.
1648—William Morgan, Pembridge.

COMMONWEALTH.

1649—Henry Vaughan, Caldicott.
1650—Christopher Catchmay, Esq.
1651—Roger Williams, Newport.
1652—Thomas Williams.
1653—William Blethin.
1654—Edward Kemeys, Pertholey.
1655—Henry Baker.
1656—John Price.
1657—Charles Herbert (Hardwick ?)
1658—Roger Oates, Cefntilla (see 1671)
1659—Charles Vann, Coldra.

CHARLES II.

1660—Charles Vann, Coldra.
1661—Thomas Morgan, Machen.
1662—William Jones, Llanishen (allowed to live out of the county, "having no convenient residence therein").
1663—George Gwynne, Itton.
1664—Roger Williams, Newport (Kefnila—Wakeman).
1665—Philip Cecil, Duffryn (see 1704).
1666—James Morgan (Walter Morgan, Llantilio Pertholey—Wakeman).
1667—Christopher Perkins, Pilston (died during year).
1667—Thomas Lewis, St Pierre.
1668—William Herbert, Colebrook.
1669—John Arnold, Llanvihangel Crucorney.
1670—John Scudamore, Ballingham.
1671—Roger Oates, Cefntilla (see 1658).

1672—Philip Jones, Llanarth (see 1688).
1673—Thomas Herbert, Usk
1674—John Walter, Persfield.
1675—John Gwynn, Llangwm.
1676—Rowland Pritchard.
1677—John Loof.
1678—William Kemys, Kemys.
1679—James Herbert, Colebrook.
1680—Thomas Morgan, Penrhos.
1681—William Jones, Llantrissey, Abergavenny.
1682—Edward Nicholas, Trelech.
1683—John Gabb, Grosmont.
1684—Walter Evans.

JAMES II.

1685—Robert Gunter, Abergavenny.
1686—Nicholas Jones, Magor.
1687—Richard Roberts.
1688—Philip Jones, Llanarth (see 1672).

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1689—Thomas Morgan, Tredegar.
1690—David Evans (Chas. Price, Llanfoist—Wakeman).
1691—Edward Fielding, Tintern.
1692—John Floyer.
1693—Thomas Jones.
1694—Edward Kemys, Kemys.

WILLIAM III.

1695—Edward Perkins, Pilston.
1696—John Morgan, Machen.
1697—Theophilus Reynolds. (This name is omitted in Wakeman's list, and the preceding six names are a year late.)
1698—George Lewis, Penhow.
1699—George Kemys, Llanwere.
1700—Edward Morgan. (Edmund Morgan, Penllwyn.—Wakeman.)
1701—Thomas Morgan, Llanrumney.

ANNE.

1702—William Lewis, Abergavenny. (On the 18th November he was taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms for neglecting to make due return of the writ of election for the county.)
1703—Lewis Morgan, Penylan. (David Lloyd, Hendre.—Wakeman.)
1704—Philip Cecil, Duffryn (see 1665). (Lewis Morgan, Penylan.—Wakeman.)
1705—Thomas Evans, Llangattock-vibon-avel.
1706—John Curre, Rogerstone Grange.
1707—Vere Herbert, Caldicot.
1708—John Springet, Grosmont.
1709—David Lewis.
1710—Christopher Perkins, Pilston.

1711—Thomas Price, Llanfoist.
1712—Walter Cecil, Duffryn.
1713—Giles Meredith, Llanelen.
1714—John Walter, Persfield.

GEORGE I.

1715—Christopher Price, Llanfoist.
1716—William Jones, Usk.
1717—James Hughes, Gellyweg.
1718—Charles Vann, Llanwern.
1719—Lawrence Lord, Kemys.
1720—Edward Thomas.
1721—Charles Probert, Monmouth.
1722—Henry Morgan, Bedwellty.
1723—John Jones, Pantygoitre.
1724—Matthew Powell, Llantilio Crossenny.
1725—Matthew Morgan, Llanrumney.
1726—Richard Lewis, Court-y-Gollen.
1727—Edward Gore, Langstone.

GEORGE II.

1728—David Miles, Llanderval.
1729—Robert Jones, Grondre.
1730—Lewis Morgan, Newport (John Gwynne, Tyverie—Wakeman).
1731—Thomas Jenkins, Goytre He died during year, and Solomon Jones succeeded. (Henry Nash Nash—Wakeman).
1732—Edmund Bradbury, Crick.
1733—William Rees, St Brides.
1734—Henry Morgan, Penllwyn.
1735—Richard Lewis, Court-y-gollen.
1736—William Bonner.
1737—Anthony Morgan, Llanethly (Llandewi Skyryd—Wakeman).
1738—William Seys, The Gaer, Newport.
1739—Paul Morgan, Chepstow.
1740—Thomas Evans, Llangattock-vibon-avel.
1741—Francis Jenkins, Caerau.
1742—Richard Clarke, The Hill.
1743—Edward Perkins, Pilston.
1744—James Tudor Morgan, Llangattock Lingoed.
1745—William Aldy, Hardwick.
1746—Thomas Jenkins, Glascoed.
1747—John Day, Dinham.
1748—Aubrey Barnes, Monmouth.
1749—Sydenham Shipway, Caldicott.
1750—Philip Fisher, Monmouth.
1751—Evan Jones, Llanfrechfa.
1752—Thomas Parry, Grosmont.
1753—William Jenkins, Goytre (Glascoed—Wakeman).
1754—John Chambers, Llanfoist.
1755—John Jones, Graigwith.
1756—Daniel Tregose, Tregirog.

1757—John Lewis, Landilo (Llantillio Crossenny—Wakeman.)
1758—Rowland Pytt, Raglan.
1759—William Morgan, Bryngwyn.
1760—William Curre, Ifton.

GEORGE III.

1761—William Phillips, Whitson.
1762—John Roberts, Abergavenny.
1763—Allan Lord, Kemeys.
1764—William Lloyd, the Hill, Abergavenny.
1765—Solomon Jones, Llantilio Pertholey.
1766—William Winsmore, Pantygoitre.
1767—Thomas William Medlicott, Monmouth.
1768—Richard Lucas, Llangattock juxta Usk.
1769—George Duberley, Dingestow.
1770—Charles Milbourne, Abergavenny.
1771—Thomas Fletcher, Monmouth.
1772—Thomas Tydell, Chepstow. [During this sheriff's year of office, the jail fever broke out at Monmouth, and the Assizes were held at Chepstow, the sheriff's dining room being adapted for Nisi Prius business while the trials of prisoners took place in a bark warehouse on the Back.]
1773—Morgan Lewis, St. Pierre.
1774—James Davis, Chepstow.
1775—William Nicholls, Caerleon.
1776—Philip Meakins, Hardwick, Monmouthshire.
1777—Edmund Probyn, the Cayo.
1778—Charles Price, Redbrook.
1779—William Addams Williams, Llangibby.
1780—Thomas Hooper, Pantygoitre.
1781—William Jones, Nash.
1782—Edward Thomas, Llanarthen.
1783—Elisha Biscoe, Dixton.
1784—Christopher Chambre, Llanfoist.
1785—William Rees, St Brides.
1786—Robert Salusbury, Llanwern.
1787—Thomas Lewis, Chepstow.
1788—George Smith, Piercefield.
1789—Thomas Lewis, St Pierre.
1790—William Dinwoody, Abergavenny.
1791—William Harrison, The Ton, Raglan. [Wakeman states that he was the inventor of the time-piece for discovering the longitude, but this is wrong. The eminent mechanic who obtained the reward of £20,000 offered by Parliament for the invention was John Harrison, who died in 1776. William Harrison, the sheriff, might possibly have been his son.]
1792—David Farmer, Monmouth.
1793—John Hanbury Williams, Coalbrook.
1794—John Rose, Duffryn (John Rolls—Wakeman).

1795—Richard Morgan, Argoed.
1796—Henry Barnes, Monmouth.
1797—Thomas Stoughton, Pontypool (Thomas Hough ton—Wakeman).
1798—Joshua Morgan, Llanwenarth (Robert Morgan Kinsey, Abergavenny—Wakeman).
1799—Capel Leigh, Pontypool.
1800—Benjamin Waddington, Llanover.
1801—Thomas Williams, Tidenham, Chepstow.
1802—Thomas Morgan, The Hill, Abergavenny.
1803—George Jones Salusbury, Magor.
1804—William Addams Williams, Llangibby.
1805—Joseph Price, Monmouth.
1806—William Phillips, Whitson.
1807—William Partridge, Monmouth.
1808—William Morgan, Mamhilad.
1809—John Kemys Gardner Kemys, Pertholey.
1810—Thomas Pilkington, Hilston (William Pilkington —Wakeman).
1811—Hugh Powell, Llanvihangel Crucorney.
1812—Charles Lewis, St Pierre.
1813—Samuel Homfray, Pendarren.
1814—Sir Samuel Brudenel Fludyer, Bart., Trostrey.
1815—Samuel Bosanquet, Dingestow.
1816—Sir Henry Prothero, Knight, Llantarnam Abbey.
1817—Sir Robert Thompson, Tintern Abbey.
1818—Nathaniel Wells, Piercefield.
1819—George Buckle, Chepstow.

GEORGE IV.

1820—Sir Robert Jones Allard Kemys, Knight, Malpas.
1821—Charles M. R. Morgan, Tredegar Park.
1822—James Jenkins, Chepstow.
1823—Joseph Bailey, Nantyglo.
1824—John Partridge, Monmouth.
1825—James Proctor, Chepstow.
1826—Benjamin Hall, Abercarn (afterwards Lord Llanover).
1827—William Addams Williams, Llangibby.
1828—William Morgan, Pantygoitre.
1829—Thomas Fothergill, Caerleon.
1830—William Jones, Clytha (Iltyd Nichol, Usk—Wakeman).

WILLIAM IV.

1831—George Hollis, Shirenewton.
1832—Sir Mark Wood, Rumney.
1833—William Vaughan, Courtfield.
1834—John Buckle, Matherne.
1835—Charles Marriott, Dixton.
1836—George Rook, Llandogo.
1837—Philip Jones, Llanarth.

VICTORIA.

1838.—John Jenkins, Caerleon.
1839.—Colthurst Bateman, Pertholey.
1840.—Summers Harford, Sirhowy.
1841.—Samuel Homfray, Bedwellty.
1842.—John Etherington Welsh Rolls, the Hendre.
1843.—Sir Digby Mackworth, Glen Usk.
1844.—William Jones, Clytha.
1845.—William Phillips, Whitsun.
1846.—Thomas Prothero, Malpas Court.
1847.—William Mark Wood, Rumney.
1848.—Edward Harris Phillips, Trosnant (C. J. Kemeys Tynte, Cefnmabley—Wakeman).
1849.—John Arthur Herbert, Llanarth (Edward Phillips—Wakeman).
1850.—Crawshay Bailey, Llanthewy Court.
1851.—Ferdinand Hanbury Williams, Coldbrook Park (Crawshay Bailey—Wakeman).
1852.—William Hunter Little, Llanvair Grange.
1853.—Henry Bailey, Nantyglo.
1854.—Thomas Brown, Nantyglo.
1855.—John Russell, Wyeland, Chepstow.
1856.—Edward Bagnall Dimmock, Pontypool.
1857.—Thomas Gratrex, Court St. Lawrence.
1858.—Godfrey Charles Morgan, Tredegar Park.
1859.—Edward Matthew Curre, Itton Court.
1860.—Hon. William Powell Rodney, Llanvihangel Crucorney.
1861.—James Proctor Carruthers, the Grondra.
1862.—John Best Snead, Chepstow.
1863.—Henry Martyn Kennard, Crumlin.
1864.—Henry Charles Byrde, Goytre House.
1865.—Arthur Davies Berrington, Pantygoytre.
1866.—Frederick Cotton Finch, Blaenavon House.
1867.—George Relph Gresnhow Relph, Beech Hill, Usk.
1868.—Frank Johnstone Mitchell, Llanfrechfa Grange.
1869.—John Lawrence, Crick House, Chepstow.
1870.—Edward Lister, Cefn Ila, Usk.
1871.—Thomas Cordes, Brynglas, Newport.
1872.—James Charles Hill, the Brooks, Abergavenny.
1873.—John Jeffreys Stone, Scyborwen, Usk.
1874.—Crawshay Bailey, Maindiff Court, Abergavenny.
1875.—John Allan Rolls, the Hendre, Monmouth.
1876.—Edward Kennard, Blaenavon House.
1877.—Charles Henry Crompton Roberts, Drybridge.
1878.—John Capel Hanbury, Pontypool Park.
1879.—James Murray Bannerman, Wynastow Leys, Monmouth.
1880.—Charles Edward Lewis, St. Pierre, Chepstow.
1881.—James Graham, Hilston Park, near Monmouth.
1882.—T. P. Price, Priory Court, Abergavenny.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF MONMOUTHSHIRE.—LIST OF MEMBERS.

The same Act of Parliament by which Monmouthshire was constituted a county, and by which the office of Sheriff was instituted in it, gave also the privilege to the county and its chief town to be represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, giving proof, if that were wanted, that however arbitrary and despotic King Henry might have been, he was desirous that no part of the kingdom subject to English laws and parliamentary burdens should be without its due representation. Henry, however, never lived to see his Act in this respect carried into effect, for as in the case of the appointment of Sheriff there was considerable delay, so also was there in the election of members to serve in Parliament. The Act was passed in 1535; no Sheriff of Monmouthshire is known to have been appointed until 1541, but it was not until 1547, twelve years after the passing of the Act, and in the first year of the reign of King Edward VI., that the first election of members to serve in Parliament for the county of Monmouth is supposed to have taken place. The occasion of the delay has never been explained, but as the records for both the county and borough commence in the same year, it seems certain that no representative from Monmouthshire was sent to Westminster before the time named, though Cardiff and Glamorganshire returned members to the Parliament of 1541.

A section of the statute 27th Henry VIII., cap. 26 enacts "that two Knights shall be chosen and elected to the same Parliament for the Shire of Monmouth, and one burgess for the borough of Monmouth, in like manner form and order as knights and burgesses of the Parliament be elected and chosen in all other shires of this realm of England, and that the same knights and burgesses shall have the like dignity, pre-eminence, and privilege, and shall be allowed such fees as other knights and burgesses of Parliament have been allowed, and the knights' fees to be levied, per-

ceived, received, gathered, and paid in such manner form and order as such fees be gathered, &c., in other shires of the realm of England; and the burgesses' fees to be levied as well within the borough of Monmouth, as within all other ancient boroughs within the said shire of Monmouth."

It followed, as a matter of course, that if no members were returned to serve in Parliament, the portion of the Act quoted above relating to the payment of fees would remain inoperative, and the belief that this was so is strengthened by the knowledge that in 1543 a special statute (chap. 2, 35th Henry VIII.) was passed, which provided that the knights of the twelve shires of Wales, and the county of Monmouth were to be paid wages of four shillings per day, and the burgesses representing the boroughs in the said counties two shillings per day during the continuance of the Parliament, and during the journey to and from the place of sitting. These wages were the same as those paid to English members.

In arranging the following list of the members who have served in Parliament for the county of Monmouth from the earliest to the present date, we have chiefly followed the names given in a Blue Book published in 1879, but as the list differs in some respects from other existing lists, we have endeavoured to render it as complete as accessible records will admit. The Blue Book gives the names of members only down to the year 1702. The names marked with an asterisk do not appear in the Blue Book.

EDWARD VI.

1547—Sir Thomas Morgan, Knight, Pencoed (Sheriff in 1549 and 1560).
William Herbert, Esq., Coldbrook (Sheriff in 1551).
1552-3—No return found.

MARY.

1553—Sir Charles Herbert, Bart., Troy (the first Sheriff of the county. He also served in 1559. Sir Charles was appointed receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster in this county, but was removed from office and his estates seized by the Crown for defalcations in his accounts).
Thomas Somerset, Esq. (second son of Henry, second Earl of Worcester).

1554—Thomas Herbert, Esq., Wonastow (Sheriff in 1561).
James Gunter, Esq.
1555—Thomas Somerset, Esq.
David Lewis, Esq., LL.D.
1555—William Herbert, Esq., St. Julians.
William Morgan, Esq., Llantarnam.
1557—Francis Somerset, Esq.
William Morgan, Esq., Llantarnam.

ELIZABETH.

1558—*David Lewis, Esq., LL.D.
*Rowland Arnold.
1558-9—Thomas Herbert, Esq.
1562-3—Matthew Herbert, Esq.
George Herbert, Esq.
1571—*Charles Somerset, Esq. (knighted 1610).
*William Morgan, Esq., Llantarnam.
1572—Charles Somerset, Esq., Troy.
Henry Herbert, Esq., Wonastow.
1584—Sir William Herbert, Knight, St. Julians.
Edward Morgan, Esq., Llantarnam.
1586—Above members re-elected.
1588-9—Thomas Morgan, Esq., Tredegar.
William John Prodger, Esq., Wernddu.
1592-3—Sir William Herbert, Knight, St. Julians.
Edward Kemeys, Esq., Kemys.
1597—Henry Herbert, Esq., Wonastow.
John Arnold, Esq., Llanthony.
1601—Thomas Somerset, Esq. (knighted 1604; second son of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester).
Henry Morgan, Esq. (Penllwyn ?)

JAMES I.

1603-4—Thomas Somerset, Esq.
Sir John Herbert, Secretary of State.
1620-1—Sir Edmund Morgan, Knight, Penhow.
Charles Williams, Esq., Llangibby.
1623-4—Robert, Viscount Lisle, Penshurst.
Sir William Morgan, Knight, Tredegar.

CHARLES I.

1625—Same members as above. (On June 21, 1625, Mr Drake presented a petition to the House concerning Sir James Perrot, and July 7th a petition from Sir James Perrot himself seems to have been presented, complaining that the Sheriff who made the return of members elected to serve for Monmouthshire was no Sheriff, as his Commission determined upon the death of the late King (James I., who died March 27th) and was not renewed by Charles I. No report upon the petition appears.
1625-6—William Herbert, Esq., Coldbrook.
Nicholas Arnold, Esq., Llanfihangel.

1627-8—Nicholas Kemys, Esq., Llanfair.
Nicholas Arnold, Esq., Llanfihangel.
1640 (1st Session)—*W. Morgan, Esq. (Ty mawr ?)
*Walter Rumsey, Esq.
1640 (2nd Session)—William Herbert, Esq.
Sir Charles Williams, Knight.
1641—John Herbert, Esq., vice Sir Charles Williams, deceased. The writ was issued March 19, 1641.
*Henry Herbert, Esq., vice John Herbert.
1646—[A writ was issued September 11, 1646, for the election of a member in place of William Herbert "disabled," *i.e.* excluded by Parliament February 5, 1643, for deserting the service of the house, being in the King's quarters, and adhering to that party. Henry Herbert was probably then elected in his place.]

COMMONWEALTH AND CROMWELL.

1654—Philip Jones (Comptroller of the Household to the Lord Protector). He distinguished himself as Cromwellite officer in Glamorganshire, for which county he sat in 1654. He was subsequently raised to the House of Peers. [We shall have something to say of him in our narrative of the Civil Wars.]
Richard, Lord Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell. He was returned also for the county of Southampton, and for this he elected to serve.
1654—Henry Herbert was chosen in the place of Lord Cromwell.
1656—James Berry, a Major-General in Cromwell's army.
*John Nicholas, Esq., Llan Melin.
Nathaniel Waterhouse, vice Berry.
1658-9—William Morgan, Esq., Machen.
John Nicholas, Esq., Llanmelan.

CHARLES II.

1660—Right Hon. Henry, Lord Herbert.
*William Morgan.
1661—Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan.
William Morgan, Esq.
Sir Trevor Williams, vice Lord Herbert, created Marquis of Worcester.
1667—November 12, 1667. A petition of James Herbert, Esq., was presented to the House complaining of the undue return of a Knight of the Shire to serve for Monmouthshire. Resolved, February, 1668, that Sir Trevor Williams is duly elected a Knight of the Shire.
1678-9—Charles, Lord Worcester.
William Morgan, Esq., Tredegar.

1679—Sir Trevor Williams.
William Morgan, Esq.
1680—Sir Trevor Williams.
William Morgan, Esq.
The following is found in the Crown Office Docket Books: "Writ issued to elect a Knight of the Shire for the county of Monmouth in the room of William Morgan, Esq., deceased. The date of the election is not known.
1680-1—Sir Trevor Williams.
Sir Edward Morgan.

JAMES II.

1685—Charles Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.
Sir Charles Kemeys, Bart.
[The Marquis of Worcester was also returned to serve for the borough of Monmouth, and for the county of Gloucester.]

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1688-9—Charles, Lord Marquis of Worcester.
Sir Trevor Williams, Knight.
1689-90—Charles, Marquis of Worcester.
Thomas Morgan, Tredegar.
[Charles, Marquis of Worcester, is mentioned in the family history as a nobleman of great parts and learning. He died in the lifetime of his father in consequence of an accident, aged 38 years.]
1695—Sir Charles Kemeys, Bart.
Thomas Morgan, Esq.
1698—Thomas Morgan, Esq.
Sir John Williams, Bart.
1700-1—John Morgan, Esq.
Sir John Williams, Bart.
1701—Same members.

ANNE.

1702—Same members. The following entries appear in the Journals of the House:—October 23, 1702. The House, taking notice that there are no returns for this county, resolved, "That the Sheriff of this county, for not having made a return of his writ, and of the members elected in virtue thereof, is guilty of a breach of the privilege of this House, and do adjudge the said Sheriff to be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms." November 18th:—The said Sheriff (William Lewis, Esq., of Abergavenny) petitioned the House, acknowledging the offence, begging pardon of the House, and praying his discharge out of custody. On the 19th he was brought to the bar, when he acquainted the House that he had executed and signed the return of the said writ, and soon after delivered

it out of his own hands to be carried to the Clerk of the Crown. Ordered, "That the said William Lewis be discharged out of custody on paying his fees."

1705—Sir Hopton Williams.
Thomas, Lord Viscount Windsor.
On November 2, this year, a petition of John Morgan, senr., was presented to the House against the undue return of Sir Hopton Williams by means of menaces and threats. No determination of the House can be found. In Cobbett's Parliamentary History, John Morgan's name appears in conjunction with that of Hopton Williams, and the names are repeated in the list of members, 1707, of the 1st Parliament of Great Britain.

1708—Parliament met November 16.
John Morgan.
Thomas, Lord Viscount Windsor.

1710—Parliament met November 25.
John Morgan.
Thomas Lewis.

1711—Writ issued to elect a Knight of the Shire in the room of Thomas, Lord Viscount Windsor, who had succeeded as Lord Mountjoy.
James Gunter, Esq.

1713—A writ was issued to elect a Knight of the Shire, *vice* James Gunter, Esq., deceased.
Sir Charles Kemeys, Bart.

1713—March 5th, a petition of Thomas Lewis, Esq., was presented to the House against the undue return of Sir Charles Kemeys. No report appears. In the next Parliament Thomas Lewis was one of the members.

1714—John Morgan.
Sir Charles Kemys.

1715—John Morgan, Esq., (of Machen ?) Died 1719.
Thomas Lewis, Esq.

1719—John Hanbury, Esq., Pontypool, vice John Morgan.

1722—Sir William Morgan, K.B., of Tredegar.
John Hanbury, Esq., as above.

GEORGE II.

1731—Lord Charles Noel Somerset (suc. 1745 as fourth Duke of Beaufort) vice Sir William Morgan, deceased.

1734—John Hanbury, Esq., Pontypool.
Thomas Morgan, Esq.

1735—Charles Hanbury Williams, Esq. (afterwards Sir Charles), of Coldbrook, vice John Hanbury, deceased.

[Charles Hanbury, born 1709, and educated at Eton, travelled through Europe. Soon after

his return, assumed name of Williams; obtained from his father the estate of Coldbrook, near Abergavenny, and married in 1732 Lady Francis Coningsby. On death of his father 1733 (?) he was elected representative of the county, and uniformly supported the administrations of Sir Robert Walpole, whom he idolised. In 1739 he was appointed by him Paymaster of the Marines. His name occurs twice only as a speaker in Chandler's debates, was Minister Plenipotentiary of the Court, Berlin, and Ambassador at St. Petersburg. He became noted as the author of several satirical odes. He became insane, and died 2nd November, 1759, aged 50.]

1741—Thomas Morgan, Esq.
Charles Hanbury Williams, as above.
1747—William Morgan, Esq.
Capel Hanbury, Esq., Pontypool Park.

GEORGE III.

1763—Thomas Morgan, Esq., jun., vice Morgan deceased.
John Hanbury, Esq, vice Capel Hanbury deceased.
1784—Henry, Viscount Nevill, vice Hanbury, deceased.
1786—Colonel James Rook (vice Nevill, suc. to peerage as second Earl of Abergavenny).
1790—John Morgan, Esq.
Colonel James Rook.
1792—Robert Salusbury, Esq.. Llanwern (Sheriff, 1786), vice John Morgan deceased.
1796—Colonel James Rook.
Charles Morgan, Esq. (afterwards Bart.)
1806—Sir Charles Morgan, Bart., Tredegar.
Lord A. John H. Somerset (fifth son fifth Duke of Beaufort).
1816—Lord G. C. H. Somerset (second son of sixth Duke of Beaufort), vice Lord A. J. H. Somerset deceased.
1818—Sir Charles Morgan, Bart.
Lord G. C. H. Somerset, as above.

GEORGE IV.

1820—Sir Charles Morgan, Bart., as above.
Lord G. C. H. Somerset, as above.

WILLIAM IV.

1831—Lord G. C. H. Somerset, as above.
William Addams Williams, Esq.

VICTORIA.

1841-52—Lord Granville Charles Henry Somerset (same as for 1831).
Charles Octavius Swinnerton Morgan, *vice* Williams, resigned.

1852—Hon. C. O. S. Morgan, as above.
Edward Arthur Somerset, Esq.
1857—As above.
1859—As above.
1868—Charles O. S. Morgan.
Lieutenant-Colonel Poulett G. H. Somerset.
1874—Lord Henry Somerset.
Colonel F. C. Morgan, Ruperra Castle, son of first Lord Tredegar, brother to second Lord Tredegar.
1880—Colonel F. Morgan, as above.
John Allan Rolls, Esq., The Hendre, Monmouth.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF NEWPORT.—LIST OF BOROUGH MEMBERS.

The Parliamentary privileges which Newport at present enjoys are obtained, as is generally known, in connection with the boroughs of Monmouth and Usk; but under what circumstances the town first acquired these privileges is not clearly known. In the Act 23 William IV., cap. 64, schedule D, the Monmouth District of Boroughs is described as composing the contributory boroughs of Monmouth, Newport, and Usk, and a very general impression prevails, shared in even by those who have had the honour of representing the boroughs, that, prior to the passing of the Act above mentioned—more familiarly known as the Reform Bill—Newport and Usk had no representation in Parliament, the town of Monmouth alone possessing the privilege of electing a member. This impression, however, is erroneous; for, although the precise circumstances under which Newport first obtained the privilege of representation cannot be ascertained, the date may be conclusively fixed as the year 1680, the 32nd year of the reign of Charles II.

It may be remembered that the Act of Henry VIII., by which the county of Monmouth was constituted, provided also that it should be represented in Parliament by two Knights of the Shire, and that one burgess should be elected to represent the county town. There can be little doubt that for some time the town of Monmouth was the only borough in the county where the privilege of the franchise was exercised; and it would, in all probability, have longer continued this exclusive practice had not a clause in the Act given rise to some contention. After providing for the election of members, the Act states that they shall receive wages as other members in the shires and boroughs of England, and that the burgesses' fees—or in other words, the borough member's wages—should be levied as well within the borough of Monmouth as within all other ancient boroughs within the said shire of Monmouth. The other ancient boroughs

in the county, beside that of Monmouth, are not specified, and the number of them upon which this new tax was imposed is not known, nor is there any record to show how much each or any town paid as their quota in this respect. It is not difficult to surmise that the principle that taxation and representation should go together, which became so popular in the 17th century, was not absent from the minds of the burgesses of the "other ancient boroughs" in the county, and that they looked with a jealous eye upon the monopoly of election enjoyed by the burgesses of Monmouth, while they had to bear a proportionate share of the expenses of the member elected. What steps were taken to provide a remedy for the supposed grievance, we cannot state; but from the return of the writ in the election of 1584, it is discovered that the borough of Monmouth included Usk, Chepstow, and Caerleon. Here, then, is evidence that the principle of taxation and representation was admitted, and that its advocates were in some degree successful. It is possible, too, that the enlarged constituency was not so subservient to the families of influence in the county, for in this election the place of Sir William Morgan, the former member, was filled by Moore Gwillim, gentleman, whose name only is now left to indicate the change made in the representation. That the result of the contention for an increase of the constituency was not altogether satisfactory may be inferred from an entry connected with the next election, in 1588-9, when Philip Jones was returned. The borough of Monmouth was stated then to include Usk, Abergavenny, and Chepstow. Caerleon was here wiped out of the representation, and Abergavenny substituted in its place. This fact can hardly be wondered at. Abergavenny at the period was a spirited rising town, yet an ancient one; while increasing decay was everywhere visible at the ancient Roman capital of Wales. Leland tells us that the walls of the town and castle were in ruins, and that although big boats came up the river to the town, the bridge at Newport was a "lett" to the passage of large ships which formerly sailed up to Caerleon.

Ere another decade had passed the constituency underwent a further change. Abergavenny and Chepstow were apparently excluded from a share in the election of 1597, and with Monmouth and Usk the ancient borough of Trelleck was coupled. At this election Robert Johnson, Esq. (afterwards knighted) was chosen and continued to represent the boroughs through a succession of Parliaments until 1614.

From this period the area of representation appears to have remained without alteration for some years, but that a movement was on foot is evidenced by a record in the journal of the House of Commons that on November, 1640, a petition was presented from the several towns of Abergavenny, Usk, and Newport. Although the spirit of the petition is not stated, there can be no doubt that the burgesses of Newport, emulous of the privileges possessed by the burgesses of other ancient boroughs in the county, were striving to acquire a right to participate in them. Parliament was occupied just then with more important matters; a revolution was in embryo, and it is not surprising that the petition was left for a time unattended to. At all events no report respecting it appears upon the journals of the House. A generation later, when the turmoil of the reign of Charles I. and the Commonwealth had passed away, and the nation had become more calm, the right of election for the representation of the Monmouth Boroughs was again brought to the notice of the House of Commons by one John Arnold, who apparently represented the boroughs in the brief Parliament which Charles II. dissolved in 1679. In the next Parliament Arnold was defeated, and Charles Edward Herbert was returned. Against the election and the return Arnold petitioned on the 25th October, 1680. His complaint was investigated without delay, for on the 26th November the House passed the following resolutions:—

"That the election of burgesses to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Monmouth does not belong to the burgesses and inhabitants of Monmouth only.

"That the burgesses and inhabitants of the boroughs of Newport and Usk in this county have a right to vote at the election of burgesses to serve in Parliament for this said borough.

"That Charles Lord Herbert is not duly elected.

"That John Arnold, Esq. is duly elected a burgess to serve for the borough."

These several resolutions, it is recorded, having been read, were agreed to by the House.

Arnold served his constituency through that Parliament, but at the election in 1685 matters were reversed, and so preponderating was the influence of the House of Beaufort, that Charles, Lord Somerset, was elected as member, both by the county and the borough. Arnold again fought the constituency in 1689, and with success, but having been chosen for Southwark also, he preferred to represent the latter place rather than the constituency which had been so fickle to him.

The right to share in the election of members of Parliament which Newport and Usk acquired in 1680 has been since retained without intermission. The only change has been that in 1685. Abergavenny was once more joined with the other boroughs named, but this privilege was subsequently forfeited, and the boroughs concerned in the election remained as at present, three in number.

We append a list of members who have served in the several Parliaments since the privilege of representation was first exercised by the Monmouthshire boroughs.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE MONMOUTH BOROUGHS.

EDWARD VI.

1547—Giles Morgan, Esq., son of Sir William Morgan, of Pencoed.

1552-3—No returns found.

MARY.

1553—John Philip Morgan.

1554—Ditto.

[John Philip Morgan was in 1554 appointed Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster in this county, in the place of Sir Charles Herbert, of Troy, member for the county, who was displaced, and his estates seized by the Crown for

defalcations in his accounts. Morgan was also farmer of three of the King's castles. He died 7th September, 1557.]

1555—Thomas Lewis.

1557-8—Matthew Herbert, Coldbrook.
Rees Lewis, vice Herbert, deceased.

ELIZABETH.

1558-9—Moore ap Powell (Morys ap Howell).
1562-3—Ditto.
1563—Walter Bouton.
John Cook, vice Bouton.
1571—Charles Herbert, Esq.
1572—Moore Powell.
Sir William Morgan, vice Moore Powell, deceased.
1584—Moore Gwillim.
[In the return for this election, Monmouth Borough is stated to include Usk, Chepstow, and Caerleon.]
1586—Ditto.
1588-9—Philip Jones (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel and Knight).
[The Borough at this election included Usk, Abergavenny, and Chepstow.]
1592—Edward Hubbard.
1597—Robert Johnson.
[The Borough here includes Usk and Trelleck.]
1601—Ditto.

JAMES I.

1603-4—Robert Johnson.
1614—Sir Robert Johnson.
1620—Thomas Ravenscroft.
1623-4—Walter Steward.
1625—Ditto.

CHARLES I.

1625-6—William Fortune.
1628—William Morgan.
1640—William Watkins.
1st Session, Charles Jones, Recorder.
1642—2nd Session, Thomas Trevor.
November 29, 1644, the election of W. Watkins and Thomas Trevor was declared void. Watkins was re-chosen, but "disabled," *i.e.*, excluded by Parliament, and a new writ issued for one in his place, November 11, 1646.
1646—Thomas Pury, junior.

COMMONWEALTH.

Mem.—No names of members for the Borough are found during the period of the Commonwealth and Oliver Cromwell, except

1658-9—Nathaniel Waterhouse, of the City of Westminster.

CHARLES II.

1660—*Sir Trevor Williams.
The Convention Parliament began at Westminster April 25, 1660, and voted for the Restoration of Charles II.
1661—Sir George Probert, Knight.
1676—Under this date the following entry is found in the records of the Crown Office docket books: "Writ issued to elect burgess for the Borough of Monmouth in the place of Sir George Probert, Knight." The date of the late member's death and the election consequent thereon are not known.
Hon. Charles Somerset, vice Sir George Probert, deceased.
1678-9—Sir Trevor Williams.
1679—John Arnold.
1680-1—Ditto.
[At this Parliament Newport first became represented.]

JAMES II.

1685—Charles Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.
[The Marquis was at the same time elected for the County, and a new writ was issued to elect a burgess for the Borough.]
*Sir James Herbert.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1688-9—John Arnold.
[Arnold was also chosen and elected to sit for Southwark.]
John Williams, Llangibby Castle.
1689-90—Sir Charles Kemeys.
1695—John Arnold.
1698—Henry Probert.
1700-1—John Morgan, merchant.
1701—Ditto. [Cobbett says John Morgan, jun.]

ANNE.

1702—Ditto. [Cobbett, vi., 43, says John Williams.]
1705—(Parliament met, October 25.) Sir Thos. Powell.
1708—Clayton Milbourn.
1710—The same.
1714—Parliament met, February 16. The same.

GEORGE I.

1715—William Bray.
[On the 31st March a petition of Andrews Windsor, Esq., was presented to the Commons against the undue return of William Bray. On the 14th June the Clerk of the Crown attended the House with the return for the borough, which appeared to have been made by the Mayor of Newport and several burgesses of Monmouth, Newport, and Usk, without the precept of the

Sheriff of the County being annexed thereto, whereupon it was ordered "That the Clerk of the Crown do take the said return off the file." In the Parliamentary History the name of Hon. A. Windsor is given as member for the boroughs, but this is probably incorrect. In the Division Lists Windsor's name does not appear, whereas that of William Bray, Master of the Horse, is given as having voted for the Triennial Bill, April 24, 1716, and against the Peerage Bill in 1719]

Number of voters in the Borough, 88.

1720—Hon. A. Windsor, vice Bray, deceased.
1722—Edward Kemeys, Esq.

GEORGE II.

1728—Edward Kemeys.
1734—Lord Charles Noel Somerset.
1745—Sir Charles Kemeys, vice Somerset, succeeded as fourth Duke of Beaufort.
1747—Fulke Greville, Esq.
1754—Benjamin Bathurst, vice Greville.

GEORGE III.

1767—John Stepney (son of Sir Thomas Stepney, of Prendergrast, Pembroke, succeeded as seventh Bart., 1774, vice Bathurst).
1777—Sir John Stepney, Bart.
1788—Henry Charles, Marquis of Worcester, vice Stepney, resigned.
1790—Charles Bragge, Esq. (vice Worcester, elected for the City of Bristol.)
1796—Sir Charles Thompson, Bart.
1797—General Lord E. H. Somerset (fourth son of Henry, fifth Duke of Beaufort, vice Thompson, deceased).
1802—Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Charles H. Somerset (elder brother of above).
1813—Henry, Marquis of Worcester (succeeded as seventh Duke of Beaufort, vice Somerset, appointed Governor of Cape of Good Hope.

GEORGE IV.

1820—Henry Marquis of Worcester, of Worcester, opposed by John Hodder Moggridge, Esq.
For Worcester 90 votes.
,, Moggridge 40 ,,

WILLIAM IV.

1831—Benjamin Hall, Esq., afterwards Bart. and Lord Llanover, contested the seat against the Marquis of Worcester.
Hall 168 votes.
Marquis of Worcester 149 ,,

VICTORIA.

1837—Reginald James Blewitt. Esq. (contested by Joseph Bailey. Blewitt, 440 ; Bailey, 386.)
1841—Blewitt as above (contest—Blewitt, 330 ; Edwards, none).
1852—Crawshay Bailey, Esq. (Poll—Bailey, 773; Lindsay, 537.)
1857— Ditto.
1859— Ditto.
1868— Ditto.
1868— Sir John Ramsden, Bart. (L.). Seat contested by Samuel Homfray, Esq. Ramsden, 1,641 ; Homfray, 1,449.
1874—Thomas Cordes (C.). Poll—Cordes, 2,090 ; H. D. Pochin, 1447.
1880—E. H. Carbutt (L.), of Leeds. Poll—Carbutt (L.), 2,258 ; Cordes (C.), 2,197 ; majority, 61.

LELAND'S DESCRIPTION OF GWENT, TEMP. HENRY VIII.—CASTLE OF MAESGLAS.

Few writers have left behind them a more graphic and correct description of Gwent than that given in the Itinerary of John Leland in the time of Henry VIII. He has so carefully noted the principal features of the country that the modern reader might almost use it as a guide book for making a tour through the district. Leland was chaplain to the King, and by virtue of a royal commission he searched various cathedrals and religious houses for curious records, and other remains of antiquity, in which employment he spent six years, and while intent on his studies, he became insane. Leland, probably, wrote his Itinerary before the division of the Lord Marches into counties, as he makes no mention of the circumstance, and speaks of this district by its ancient name of Gwent. Adopting, no doubt, the impression upon the minds of his informants, Leland says Gwent comprised three divisions, viz., Low, Middle, and High Venteland, and extended from Chepstow to Newport on one side, and to Abergavenny on the other; the latter of which he says, "maketh the cumpace of Hye Venteland." The soil of all Venteland he describes as "of a darke redische yerth, full of slaty stones, and other greater of the same color." The country, though mountainous, was well replenished with woods, and also very fertyle of corn; and, he adds, "some men there study more to pasture, the which be well enclosed." He describes Wentloog as being "divided from Ventiffa by este (east) with the ryver Wiske (Usk), by south with the Severn Se, by west with the ryver of Remny to the very hedde of it, and towards the north north est by the hills of High Wenteland. The length of Wentloog is from the Severn Se to the hed of the Lordship of Meredith, that is to say from south to northe about a xx mile. Where it is most brodest from est to west it is not counted by estimation above 8 miles and in diverse places lesse. The soile by south toward Severn is some-

what low and fulle of dikes to drene it. There is lightly great plenty of Benes and in divers it berith al other maner of Corne. And this low ground is from the Causey or High Way and goit from Newport to Pont Remny by south to the Severne Se. The north side of the same High Way is stille higher and higher to the northe.

There is very little Wood in this low part of Wentellughe, except at Park Vehan [Little Park] 3 miles out of Newport, thorough which the High Way lyith to Cairdif. This Park hath nither dere nor Pale : now it is the Kinges by the Lordship of Newport, and at Tredegar, wher Mr. William Morgan, a Man of 300 Markes of Landes by Yere hath a very faire Place of Stone. It is a mile and a half from Neuporte south west on the hither side of the Ebbouith (Ebbw) Ryver. Castelle Behan [Casbach] is a little without the south side of this park and is in Ruine. It longid to the Duke of Buckingham. Such Part of Wentllugh as lyith up toward Cairleon is well pastured and woddy. Such Part as lyith from Pont Remny along on the Est Ripe (river) of Remny to Bedwas Paroche VI. Miles if by Land, ys much woddy, and in some places betwixt as first in Llanvihengle Paroche and then in Maghen Paroche joining to it is metely good Corne. * * * In the middle Ground bytwixt Remny and Ebbouith Ryver on the North side of the High Way to Pont Remny the Ground for the most parte is Hilly better for Cattelle than Corne. And there is a very High Hille caulled Tumbarlum.

The Ryver of Ebbouith risith flat North in a Montayne of High Wéncelande, and strait cummith into a valley called Diffrin Serowy. Ebowith goeth into Wisk a mile and a half beneth Newport, and half a mile from the Haven Mouth of Usk. There is a Bridge of Tymbre over Ebouith caullid Pont-Bessaleg about two miles from the confluence of Ebowith and Wisk ; and over this Bridg lyith the High Way from Newport to Cairtaphe. This Bridge is scant two miles from Newporte Town.

Newport is but 2 miles from Cairleon. From Newport to the place where Ebouith goith on to Wisch Haven a good mile and a halfe. And then

more then a half mile to the Haven Mouth. The Bridges of Cairleon and Newport be both of wood. From the Haven Mouth of Wisch to the Mouth of Remmy, wher no Haven is or coming in mete for shippes, about III. miles. On this shore is no very notable Thing. The Bankes of it be clyvid inough to defend the Se for ranging into the Low Ground of Wenceland. Newport is a bigge Towne whereof that parte where the Paroche Chirch is standith on a Hill. The Chirch is S. Guntie Olave in English. There is a great stone gate by the Bridge at the Este Ende of the Town, another yn the middle of the town as in the High Strete to passe through, and the 3 at the west end of the towne; and hard without is the paroche church. The fairest of the town is all yn one streat. The towne is in ruine. The castelle is in the este ende of the town above the bridge. There was a house of religion by the key beneth the bridge.

Caerleon, which Leland also describes, was apparently in a worse condition than Newport, and the most intelligent of the inhabitants, with whom, no doubt, Leland came into contact, seemed indifferent and ignorant as to the relation of Caerleon with other parts of the district. This is what Leland says :—"Some say that Caerleon should be in Base Ventland; some say nay. The Welshmen say that Caerleon is but VIII. miles from Chepstow, but, indeed, it may be counted XII. English miles. It standeth magnificently on the further side of Wische (Usk), one of the principal rivers of Wales, so that the great ships might well come now to the town as they did in the Romans' time, but that Newport Bridge is a lett. Nevertheless, big boats come to the town. The ruins of the wall of the town yet remain, and also of the castle. There is opinion that the old Roman Church was about Mr ——— house, where I lay. There on digging appeared certain paintings on stones. There were found at late certain incrustments hard by the castle. In the town is now but one parish church, and that is of St. Caducus (St. Cadoc)."

Beside describing the material features of the country, Leland gives some information respecting the people. This is his description of the

Gentlemen in Wenllugh.

Morgan the chiefeste of Landes, hath a very fine place at Tredegar, and another in the Town of Newporte.

There is another of the Morgans, a man of meane lands, dwelling at Newporte.

There is another of the Morgans dwelling by Remny at Maghen (Machen), having a fair house. He had bene a man of fair Landes if his father had not divided it partely to other of his sunnes.

John Morgan, at Lampedar Paroche in Low Wenllugof.

Roger Kemmeis, a man of about XL. Marks p. Landes by yere, dwellith in Newport Town.

Henry Kemeis dwellith at Maesglass, 3 miles from Newporte by Weste, a man of meene.

Davy Kemeys, a man of 40 Markes of Land, dwellith a mile above Pont Remny.

Thomas Lewys dwellith at Mairin, about 2 miles from the Severn Sea.

The residences of the gentry were thus apparently few, and the family names still less.

Leland also gives a short account of one John of Caerleon, by which it appears that he studied at Cambridge, where he excelled in philosophy, medicine, and wrote a work on astronomy in 1482, which was then extant. Nothing is said of his family, so that we are left in the dark as to who he was.

With regard to Castle Behan mentioned in the above account by Leland, there can be no doubt that it refers to the ruins of a castle still standing adjacent to the farm of Maesglas. Very little is known respecting its erection or early history, and at the present time its existence seems almost entirely forgotten. In fact, of the many persons to whom the writer has spoken respecting it scarcely one has given credit to the statement that, the ruins of an important castle stand so near to Newport, and remain unrecognised. We know of no earlier writer than Leland who makes mention of the place, but in his time he states it "is in ruine." How it came to be so, no information is afforded. Camden omits to describe it, but

Churchyard, in his rough rhymes, notices it only a few years later as—

"A goodly seate, a tower, a princely pyle,
Built as a watch, or saftie for the soyle,
By river stands from Newport not three myle.
This house was made, when many a bloodie broyle
In Wales, God wot, destroy'd that public state;
Here men with sword and shield did braules debate;
Here saftie stood, for many things in deede,
That sought safeguard, and did some sucker neede.
The name thereof, the nature shewes aright,
Greenefield it is, full gay and goodly sure,
A fine sweet soyle, most pleasant unto sight,
That for delight, and wholesome ayre so pure
It may be praisde, a plot sought out so well,
As though a King should say, here will I dwell!
The pastures greene, the woods and water cleere,
Sayth any prince may build a pallace heere."

Later still Coxe refers to it as a "once strong and splendid castle," and gives it the name of Castell Glas (Greencastle). He says that it formerly belonged to the estate of the Duchy of Lancaster, and in the civil wars (alluding, no doubt, to the time of Edward II.) was esteemed a place of strength and security. The ruins which at present remain give little idea of the former condition of the place. At a short distance there is a large circular mound overgrown with wood and surrounded by a foss still plainly visible. On this mound in all probability stood the ancient citadel. The detached ruins extend for some distance, and the foundations which have been frequently dug up give evidence of its former extent. The site of the castle is on the left bank of the river Ebbw, about a mile from its confluence with the Usk, and in early days the waters of the river in all likelihood ran close under the walls. Little remains now but a small square tower, with a spiral staircase of stone, and some adjacent apartments which are used for housing cattle. Several doorways in the Gothic style are visible in the ruins. The facings of limestone are said to have been obtained from an adjoining quarry. In one of the apartments there is a very large fireplace, which, until recently, appeared to have remained in the same condition as seen by Coxe a century ago; but about seven years since a fire occurred

at the place, and a massive wooden beam, with the timber in the doorways and windows, was considerably charred and damaged thereby. Coxe states that the tenant in his time remembered vessels ascending the river to unload at a stone wall, which ran parallel to the river at the place, and was about five feet high. The property now belongs to Lord Tredegar, and the tenant of the farm, which no doubt is named after the castle, is Mr. Mapson Thomas Williams.

SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

While the great political movement already described was in progress in Monmouthshire, the great religious question was also strongly agitating men's minds. Not that the masses cared much about religion, for it appeared to have become a dead letter among them, and the priests, ensconced within the walls of their monasteries or other religious houses, had more regard to the good things of this life than the spiritual necessities of those around them. As regards the number of religious institutions, Monmouthshire was highly favoured. With but a sparse population, the county contained two abbeys, seven priories, a monastery, a nunnery, and several other minor houses for religious ministration, besides one or more churches in every parish. But it became a general belief that the monastic orders were guilty of many crimes, and their accumulated wealth and extravagant living, with their rapacity and violence, created a feeling of envy and detestation among the populace.

Doubtless the ignorance and mental slavery in which the clergy kept the people, in order to practise their habitual frauds deserved exposure, if not punishment, and it is not surprising that when the condition of things was reported to the King, that so imperious a monarch dealt vigorously and harshly with the offenders. Henry had already renounced allegiance to the Pope, and was now regarded as head of the Church. A commission was appointed to enquire into the mode of life practised by the monks and nuns, and in the reports which they sent in the commissioners represented the religious houses as receptacles of the grossest vices, and their inmates as preying upon the credulity of the people. Images were stated to be very general in the churches, and at St. David's was found a large one of the Virgin Mary, having in one hand a candle which had been burning, it was said, for nine years. When the commissioners' reports were published, both monks and nuns, whether justly or otherwise, became objects of universal abhorrence. This was

pleasing to the King, who forthwith instituted proceedings against the delinquents. For the suppression of the lesser monasteries there was laid before Parliament a bill, the preamble of which thus concludes:—"Whereupon the said Lords and Commons, by a great deliberation, finally be resolved that it is, and shall be, much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this, His realm, that the possessions of such houses now being spent and wasted for the maintenance of sin should be used and committed to better uses, and the unthrifty and religious persons so spending the same to be compelled to reform their lives."

"Never," says Bishop Godwin, "was there any exploit seemingly so full of hazard and danger more easily achieved" than this new movement of Henry's for the subversion of the monasteries, but with the commissioners' reports of the vices and deceptions of their inmates was also presented what was of equal weight in bringing about the condemnation, a list of the title deeds of their estates, with an inventory of their plate, jewels, and ready money. Three hundred and eighty of the lesser houses were scheduled, the total annual income of which was about £32,000, in addition to the value of the ready money, plate, and jewels. Such a prospect of enormous plunder was too great a temptation for the King to resist, though the bill, according to one writer, was not passed through the House of Commons without some difficulty. Henry, however, sending for the Ministers and telling them that he would have either the bill or their heads, they passed it immediately. Parliament was then dissolved, and Henry appointed other commissioners to take possession of the suppressed monasteries.

The superiors of the suppressed houses were promised small pensions for life, which were very irregularly paid. Monks under twenty-four were absolved from their vows, and turned loose upon the world without any provision. The rest, if they wished to continue in the profession, were divided among the greater houses left standing. The nuns were turned adrift to beg or starve, having nothing given them save one common gown for each.

General discontent throughout the country followed this kingly injustice, but successful plunder induces a continuance of the policy, and Henry subsequently suppressed all the abbeys, without exception, and seized all the other religious houses saving a very few, which happened to be parish churches, and which, at the earnest petition of the people, were spared or given up to the representatives of their original founders. Henry, in this matter, was not wanting for something like a precedent, as in the wars between England and France the revenues of the alien priories were again and again seized, and appropriated to the use of the King, restoration being made when peace was concluded. Edward III. did this in 1377, and Henry V. in 1414.

Henry's policy of spoliation seems to have met with a ready acquiescence in Wales. The powerful were bought over by rich gifts of land, taken from the monasteries, and the people were led to believe that the confiscating process was a part and parcel of the measures for the general benefit of the Principality. The opposition of all classes was thus silenced.

The extent to which the county of Monmouth suffered may be gathered from the appended particulars of the various institutions despoiled and suppressed. First in the list stands the noble Abbey of Tintern, whose possessions stretched over nearly half the county.

Tintern Abbey was founded in 1131, by Walter de Clare, and occupied by monks of the Cistercian Order. "Herein," says Tanner, "were thirteen religious, about the time of the Dissolution, when the estates were rated at £256 11s. 6d. in the gross, and £192 1s. 4½d. per annum clear income. The total value was set down at £5,131 10s. The site of the Abbey, with all the buildings, was granted 28th Henry VIII. to Henry, Earl of Worcester, and it still remains the property of the Earl's descendants.

Grace Dieu, or Stow, was another Cistercian Abbey, built in 1226, by Sir John of Monmouth. At the Dissolution its rents were estimated at £26 1s. 4d.; total value, £521 6s. 8d. It was

granted 37th Henry VIII. to Thomas Herbert and William Bretton.

Of the priories that of Goldcliff was the first in importance. This institution had a chequered existence. Founded by Robert de Chandos in 1113, it was endowed with lands, and with the permission of Henry I. annexed to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, from whence twelve black monks or Benedictines were sent. When the alien priories were suppressed, Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, obtained the patronage of Henry VI., and leave of the King to annex it to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, 1442. Three years afterwards the Tewkesbury prior and monks were driven away by the Welshmen, but in 1446 they again settled here. The priory was granted to Eton College, 29th Henry VI. (1451); and to Tewkesbury again in 1st Edward IV. (1461); and once more to Eton, 7th Edward IV. (1468). Since that time it has remained the property of Eton College. At the Dissolution 26th Henry VIII. rents were set down at £144 18s 1d, and the gross value £2,898 1s. 8d.

Llanthony, founded before 1108 by Hugh de Lacy, and which from the time of Edward IV. had been allowed to go to decay, was granted 38th Henry VIII., to Nicholas Arnold. Its rents were estimated at £71 3s 2d, and its value £1,423 3s 4d.

Llantarnam, once a rich Cistercian Abbey, founded by Howell ap Iorwerth, temp. Henry II., had at the Dissolution, six monks. The yearly income was £71 3s 2d, valued at £1,423 3s 4d. The site was granted 31st Henry VIII., to John Parker.

Usk Benedictine Nunnery for five nuns, founded early in the thirteenth century by one of the Clare family, had at the Dissolution a yearly income of £69 9s 8d, value £1,389 13s 4d. The site and other lands were granted 28th Henry VIII., to Roger Williams, of Llangibby, grandfather of Sir Trevor Williams, a prominent personage in the time of Charles I. Ellen Williams was the lady prioress.

Monmouth Benedictine Priory, founded for Benedictine monks by Wihenoc of Monmouth, in the reign of Henry I., was granted at the Dissolution to Richard Price and Thomas Perry. Its rents were £56 1s 11d, of a gross value of £1,121 18s 4d.

Abergavenny Priory was of the same order as the foregoing. It was founded as early as the time of William I. by Hamelin de Balin. When suppressed its annual income was £59 4s, estimated at the value of £1,184.

Striguil Priory, of the alien class, founded in the reign of King Stephen had an income of £32 4s, valued at £644.

Llangkywan, another priory founded in 1183, was granted 37th Henry VIII. to John Doyley and John Scudamore.

St. Kinmercy Priory, founded prior to 1291, had an income of £8 4s 8d, valued at £164 13s 4d.

Malpas (a Cluniac cell), founded in the reign of Henry I. by Winebald de Baeluna, was granted 1st Edward VI., to Sir William Herbert. Its income was £15 6s 8d per annum, valued at £306 13s 4d.

At Caerleon a priory existed only in name. We have previously shown its connection with the Abbey at Llantarnam, but at the period of the Dissolution all connection seems to have ceased, and the building was already in lay hands. In Caerleon Church, however, it was discovered that there were two chantries, one founded by Rees ap Griffith, called the Service of our Lady; the other called the Rood Service, or Service of the Crucifixion; the founder's name being unknown. The endowment of the first was valued at 21s 4d and the other at £4 4s 2d yearly. These were seized and granted partly to Morris and Phelps, 7th James I.; and the remainder to Francis Braddock and Christopher Kingscoat 12th Charles I. There was also discovered a house and small rent charge which had been given by some one towards the support of a preacher in the pulpit in Caerleon Church, and although it is difficult to imagine the property left for so laudable a purpose could be construed to be a superstitious use, this also swelled the general confiscation. It was granted 10th James I., to Morris and Phelps named above.

Lastly, we come to Newport. The only religious building of importance in the town was the Friary, which Leland describes as being "by the key beneath the bridge." Its foundation by Hugh, Earl of Stafford, we have previously detailed. It

was granted (35th Henry VIII.) to Edward Carn, since which period the buildings have gradually gone to decay, and the property diverted to other than religious purposes. At the beginning of the present century Coxe stated that there then existed several detached buildings containing comfortable apartments, and a spacious refectory, with Gothic windows, neatly finished in freestone. The body of the church was dilapidated, but the northern transept still remained—a small but elegant specimen of Gothic architecture. It was occupied as a cider mill, and the press was placed in a recess which was once a chapel, separated from the transept by a bold and lofty arch. The gardens were still enclosed within the original walls. Canals and railways, and other requirements of this commercial age have since removed nearly all traces of the site; but the end wall of a small house, now used as a dwelling in the timber yard of Messrs. Batchelor and Co., is supposed to be a remnant of the ancient structure, and the outline of a window of ecclesiastical style is still plainly visible.

Besides the suppression of the Friary, the only other result of the general dissolution, so far as Newport was concerned, was to extinguish the confraternities or charities in the church of St. Woolos. One was called the charity of Morgan ap Rosser, the endowment of which was returned in the 26th Henry VIII. as worth £6 17s. 4d, per annum, equivalent to above £100 a year at the present day. Henry Morgan, the last chaplain, was living in 1553, and was then allowed a pension of six pounds per annum. The second was called the charity of Jenkin Clerke and Morgan David Gwilym Meyric, and the annual value of its possessions was £5 19s. 10d., equivalent to about £90 of the present day. John Thomas, the last chaplain, was living in 1553, and had a pension of five pounds allowed him.

Mr. Wakeman states that there was a person named Morgan ap Rosser living in the town in 1447, who may have been the founder of the first charity, but there is no proof of it. He appears to have been a person of considerable property, and in all probability a merchant.

The era of Jenkin Clerke and Morgan David Gwilym Meyric is not known, but in 1560 Philip ap Jenkin Clerke was vicar of Llangwm.

One Leyshon ap Ryce was in treaty for the purchase of a piece of land which had belonged to Morgan Rosser's Charity, called Werndee, in 1557, 20th July, 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary. The whole of the other lands, &c., belonging to both charities were granted to Henry Best and Edward Brittain, 44 Elizabeth, 1602.

CONDITION OF THE CHURCH.—PROGRESS AND EFFECT OF THE REFORMATION.

We have seen by the contents of previous chapters that Henry VIII. succeeded in completing the important political work of knitting more closely together the people and country of Wales with the kingdom of England. This bond was not only complete, but permanent, and has remained unchanged until the present day. There was another work in which Henry engaged, the object of which was of a contrary character to the former. It was not to bind, but to loosen and separate the people from the bonds of the Church of Rome. The suppression of the religious houses, which we have set down, was only a step in a progressive issue, the progress lasting much longer and going much further than ever King Henry contemplated. The movement, it is true, succeeded in separating the people from the Church of Rome, but it did not stop until many of the people separated also from the national Church of England, which Henry desired they should remain members of. They became ultimately Nonconformists.

The Nonconformist movement had its origin in our midst, and, being one which has undoubtedly greatly aided in elevating the Welsh people especially, from a depth of moral degradation, ignorance, and superstition, deserves attention in this work.

The object of the glorious Reformation, it might be strictly said, was not understood by the people of Wales. The religion they professed was undoubtedly that of Popery, but they were steeped in ignorance and superstition, and led to believe that the suppression and dissolution of the religious houses would be to their material benefit. When they realised the contrary the discontent occasioned found no sympathy among those to whom the people would have looked to be their leaders, they having been silenced by a share of the despoiled estates.

The condition of the people was not the result of a lack of churches. In every parish of the county stood one or more of these sacred edifices, and at

the present day, notwithstanding the enormous increase of population there are but few churches in the county which were not existing, or are not in substitution of others which existed in the time of Henry VIII. Leland states there was but one in his time at Caerleon, although it is known there were three or four at a previous period. Records show that in Newport there were at least three, viz., the church of St. Woolos, that of St. Lawrence, and the chapel of St. Thomas. The latter was probably in decay at the time of which we write, and the Church of St Lawrence did not long survive.

Ministers were not less plentiful than churches, but the livings were probably occupied by men who looked more after the revenues than the spiritual wants of the people. There were many drawbacks to their usefulness, one being that like the bishops who superintended them they did not understand the language of the people. For 300 years no Welshman had been appointed bishop, and Welshmen educated at the great English colleges seldom found their way back to their native country in the capacity of ministers of religion. As, for instance, the only men of learning connected with Newport and Caerleon of whom we have any account preserved went abroad. The first we might mention—Leonard Cox—entered Oxford 1528, attained the degree of M.A., and then travelled much on the Continent. He subsequently returned to his native place, and is known to have been keeping a school at Caerleon in 1550. William Thomas, of Newport, entered Oxford in 1529, and was compelled by some misfortune to travel abroad. He was the author of an Italian Dictionary, and the following lines are attributed to him :

> He that dyeth with honour liveth for ever,
> And the defamed dead recovereth never.

Another drawback was that there were no books in general use, and the dispersion of the inmates of the religious houses having destroyed the principal means by which instruction could be obtained, the masses of the people were sinking into a deeper depth of ignorance day by day.

It is true the Reformation had been a great incentive to the production of the Holy Scriptures, but it was only in 1526 that England had the advantage of Tyndall's version of the New Testament in the Vulgar Tongue: a long time after the Germans, the Italians, the Dutch, and the Bohemians had been familiar with the same book. The Scriptures in English were still of little or no use to the Welsh people, and, unfortunately for them, there was no Latimer or Knox to awaken their dormant intellects. A generation passed away before the tide of religious progress flowed to any height in Wales.

When the fires of Smithfield were lighted by Queen Mary, there was not a single Welshman included in the whole army of Martyrs sacrificed in that reign. The quaint Fuller remarks "that the peaceableness arose from want of matter for persecution to work on; the beams of the Gospel being neither so bright nor so hot where ignorance and superstition prevailed."

There were, however, three persons burnt at the stake in Wales, but all were Englishmen. Robert Ferrars, bishop of St. David's, gave his life as testimony to the truth on the 30th March, 1550. He was burnt on the south side of the Market Cross, in the town of Carmarthen, on the day named, being the Saturday before Passion Sunday. William Nichol, described as an honest, good, simple, poor man—so simple that many esteemed him half foolish—was burnt and tormented at Haverfordwest, on the 9th April, 1558. The third martyr was one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiff, in the month of March, 1555. It may be interesting to give a detailed account of this last case, being one with which the inhabitants of Newport and Caerleon must have been well acquainted. Caerleon stands forth in the place of honour as the city in which the first Christian martyrs of Britain —Julius and Aaron—offered up their lives during the Diocletian persecution, but in later times the religious sentiment and feeling of the people seem to have dwindled and faded away in company with the material grandeur of the structures the city once possessed, and which have been so eloquently de-

scribed by ancient authors. Rawlins White, although described as an Englishman, had followed the occupation of a fisherman in Cardiff for the space of twenty years at least. According to the account preserved in Foxe, from which we have to draw most of the particulars appended, he bore a good name among his neighbours. During the reign of Henry VIII he was a partaker of the idolatry and superstition then used, but the religious stir which followed in the reign of Edward VI. had some influence upon his mind; he began to mislike that which he had before embraced, and to have a good opinion of that which by the circumstances of the time had been concealed from him. Desirous of acquiring more knowledge, and being himself unlearned, White availed himself of an opportunity to send his son to school, where after a time he learnt to read indifferently well. The father then made a practice to have his son read to him every night after supper, a portion of the Holy Scripture, and so directed himself to its study that he gave up partially his trade of a fisherman, and went about from place to place exhorting others to a knowledge of the truth. He usually took his little boy with him, and became notable throughout the district for his profession and preaching of the new doctrine. On King Edward's decease the counsellors of Queen Mary evinced a determination to suppress all such as Rawlins White, and thus he became more cautious, and instead of speaking openly he called his trusty friends together in private for prayer and instruction. This, however, led him into danger, and he was at last suspected of heresy, apprehended by the officers of the town, and taken before the bishop. The bishop at this period was one Anthony Kitchen, of whom something should here be said. He was a Benedictine Monk of Westminster, and an abbot, and from thence promoted to the See of Llandaff. He was consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII., 1543, and continued a Protestant under Edward VI. He again changed his faith when Mary came to the throne, and was the only Popish bishop that, on her death, conformed to the requirements of her sister, Queen Elizabeth.

Kitchen was notorious for impoverishing the see over which he presided, and using the revenues for his own private purposes. He sold much of the land, and granted long leases of other portions, for which he received large sums in the shape of fines. While Bishop Ferrars was sealing his faith with his blood at Carmarthen, this changeling Bishop Kitchen, to please those in authority, was swallowing his principles and persecuting the simple-minded fisherman who dared to maintain his own religious convictions. The Bishop lived in his palace at Matherne, near Chepstow, and there poor Rawlins White was taken. After divers combats and conflicts between the Bishop and his chaplain on the one side and Rawlins White on the other, the latter was committed to the prison at Chepstow. Foxe says, "his keeping, whether it were by the Bishop's means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe and extreme, but that (if he had so listed) he might have escaped oftentimes." After some time, by the order of the Bishop, he was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff. Here he was permitted to see his friends, and was never in quiet but when he was persuading, exhorting, and admonishing them to beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing. After he had remained in Cardiff Castle a year, the bishop caused him to be again brought before him at his episcopal palace, and then "essayed many ways how to reduce him to some conformity. But when all means, either by threatening words or flattering promises were to no purpose, the bishop willed him to advise and be at a full point with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the law, and therefore gave him a day of determination, which day being come, the Bishop, with his chaplains, went into the chapel, not without a great number of other by-dwellers, and poor Rawlins was brought before them."

Bishop Kitchen exhorted him, and again told him that if he repented of that which he had done against God and the prince's law, he was inclined

to show him favour, but if there was no reformation the law would be ministered unto him. When the bishop had made an end of his long tale, good Father Rawlins spake very boldly and said: "My Lord, I thank God I am a Christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be." In the end Rawlins would not recant, and the bishop told him plainly that he must condemn him as a heretic. "But," said the bishop, "before we proceed further, let us pray to God that He would send some spark of grace upon him." When Rawlins heard this he addressed the bishop and concluded by saying: "Go to, my lord, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God, and I know that my God will both hear my prayer and perform my desire." After they had prayed, the bishop rose and said: "Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee—wilt thou revoke thy opinions or not?" "Surely, my lord," was the reply. "Rawlins, you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. God hath heard my complaint, and I trust will strengthen me in his own cause." The bishop was then about to read the sentence, but upon the advice of his chaplains he thought it best first to have a mass, thinking that some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins. While the mass was being said Rawlins retired to pray; but when the sacring bell rang he came to the choir door, and addressed himself to the people thus: "Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or at the least if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment that I bow not to this idol," meaning the host that the priest held over his head. Neither the mass nor the bishop's further talk being of any effect, the definitive sentence was read, and Rawlins dismissed. He was ordered to be conveyed back to Cardiff, and there to be put into the prison of the town called Cockmarell, described as a very dark, loathsome, and most vile place. This Cockmarell, or Cock's Tower, was built in the early Norman era, as a look-out to watch the then frequent risings

over the land of the waters of the Severn Sea, and it occupied a position adjacent to the town wall on the eastern side of the Hayes. Some remnants of its foundations may yet be seen on the side of the Glamorganshire Canal. Into this dismal place Rawlins White was thrust, and there he spent his time in prayer and singing of Psalms. Three weeks having passed, the head officers of the town, who had charge of the execution, made preparations for burning poor Rawlins; but it came to the knowledge of the Recorder of the borough, one Henry Lewis, that the officers were proceeding without proper authority, inasmuch as the necessary writ of *De hæreticis comburendis* had not been received by them. He had the courage to inform them of this, and to advise them that if they carried out their intention, the sufferer's wife would have just cause to call their doings in question. The preparations were from this cause stayed; the writ was applied for and obtained, and Rawlins without delay hurried to his fate. When he knew that his time was come he sent a message to his wife that she would send him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which his wife did early in the morning with great sorrow and grief. Rawlins received it most gladly and joyfully, and prepared for the hour of his death. He was dressed in the long shirt which he called his wedding garment, and wore an old russet coat, which he was accustomed to wear. On his legs he wore an old pair of leather buskins. Thus attired he was brought out of prison "guarded with a great company of billes and gleaves," and went forward to the place fixed upon for his burning. As he passed along the street, he saw his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation, the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of the flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself, and striking his breast with his hands, he used these words:— "Ah flesh, stayest thou me so? Would'st thou fain prevail. Well, I tell thee, do what thou can'st; thou shalt not by God's grace have the victory." By this time the poor innocent came to the altar of

his sacrifice, where a stake had been already set up with some wood toward the making of the fire. When he saw this he went forward boldly, fell upon his knees, and kissed the ground. When he rose again he found that a little of the earth had stuck to his nose, upon which he said "Earth to earth, and dust to dust. Thou art my mother, and unto thee shall I return." He then cheerfully set his back close against the stake, and having stood there awhile he set his eye upon a friend, who afterwards wrote this account, and called him to him. He said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would verily have his swing, and therefore I pray you, when you see me anything like tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself." As he was thus speaking, a smith came up with a great chain of iron, to whom Rawlins said, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast, for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily, but God of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity." The smith having finished his task, the officers began to lay on more wood, with straw and reeds, wherein the martyr was no less occupied than the best, for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy dispatch. He did this with such a cheerful countenance, and such familiar gestures, that all present were in a manner astonished. When all things were thus ready, except putting the fire to the pile, a priest mounted a standing which had been erected opposite to the stake, and addressed himself to the crowd. It happened to be market day, and the number of people was great, including many from Newport, and the intervening part of the county of Monmouth, to whom Rawlins was well known. The priest began his sermon uninterruptedly, but when he began to allude to the sacrament of the altar, Rawlins suddenly started up, and, beckoning his hands to the people, said: "Come hither, good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching," and, addressing the priest, said, "Ah! thou naughty hypocrite, dost thou

presume to prove thy false doctrine by scripture? Look in the text what followeth. Did not Christ Jesus say, "Do this in remembrance of Me?" After which the preacher, being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace. The crowd by this time had become impatient, and some of them began to cry out, "put fire," "set to fire." This was at length done, and a sudden flame at once shot up, in which the old man bathed his hands until the sinews were scorched and shrunk, and the fat dropped away. Once he did as it were wipe his face with one of them, and he continued all the while crying out with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul, O Lord, receive my spirit," until he could no longer open his mouth. The extremity of the fire was so vehement that his legs were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the upper portion fall over into the fire sooner than it would otherwise have done.

The scene was soon over, but the record of the event—such an event as we may hope will never again be witnessed—still reminds us of the atrocities perpetrated in times past in the sacred name of religion.

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in Welsh was issued. It was "translated' by W. Salesbury and R. Davies, Bishop of St. David's, edited by the former, with an epistle by the latter, "i bop map eneid dyn o vewn ey escopawt." It is a 4to. volume in black letter type, the text not being divided into verses. The bishop in his epistle has this strong observation:— "Often in Wales the hall of the gentleman is found to be the refuge of thieves. Therefore I say, that were it not for the arms and wings of the gentry there would be but little theft in Wales."

In 1567 Elizabeth appointed Hugh Jones, LL.B., to the see of Llandaff. For several years there had been no bishop, as Kitchen had so impoverished the see that few honest and able men were willing to accept the position. Hugh Jones was a prebendary of Llandaff, and was the first Welshman appointed as bishop for a period of 300 years. It was to his successor, William Morgan, that Wales is mainly indebted for the translation of the Bible. The bishops appointed by Elizabeth evidently neglected the matter, but Morgan, solely from patriotic and religious motives, undertook the work which was suggested to him by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

THE STRADLING CORRESPONDENCE.—PIRATES IN THE CHANNEL.—EARLY MENTION OF NEWS CHRONICLES.

For many incidents in the domestic life of persons in high station living in the neighbourhood of Newport at the period of Elizabeth's reign, and for the record of circumstances also of a public nature, we are greatly indebted to a published work, but little known, entitled the "Stradling Correspondence." The correspondence comprises a series of letters addressed to Sir Edward Stradling by various relatives and persons with whom he was on terms of intimacy. The Stradlings of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorganshire, it may be noted, are the descendants of the Norman baron of that name, who assisted Fitzhamon in the winning of Glamorganshire, at the close of the 11th century, and have always held large possessions in the district. In 1478, one Sir Edward Stradling having gone to Jerusalem found his grave there; his son Sir Harry Stradling, who, like many of his predecessors, had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was captured on his return, while crossing the Severn, by a renowned pirate of the period known as Colyn Dolphin. A ransom of 2,000 marks, or about £1,400, was demanded, and Sir Harry was kept a prisoner probably on Lundy Island, which was then a noted resort of pirates, until the money was paid. To procure so large a sum of money was no easy task, and Sir Harry had to sell his manors of Bassalleg, Rogerstone, and Tregwilym in Monmouthshire, and others in Glamorganshire, in order to meet the exaction. Sir Harry subsequently died at Cyprus. It was to the great great grandson of this Sir Harry Stradling that the letters referred to were addressed. The first we shall set down was written by James Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who died in 1593. The connection of this family with Newport no longer exists, but we may be reminded of it by the preservation of the name in Mountjoy-road, Mountjoy-street and Mountjoy-place. The letter is as follows:

To the right worshipfull and my very loving friend, Sir Edwarde Stradling, Knighte

Good Sr Edwarde Stradling, with my most harty commendations unto you, and to my lady. Having the occasyon of this bearer, as I cannott but geve unto you both my most harty thankes for the courteseyes you shewed me at my late being in your contrey, so must I also desyre to make both my excuse and Mr Winslades to my lady for that the great conferrens that Mr Winslade and I have had touchinge Mountejoy and Joyesland hath made us both somewhat beyond good manners to bringe her horse thus farre as Newporte. Sr, yf you might conveniently in a letter suerly sealed convey the coppye of the booke you promised me to Mr William Carn's house I have left order that one Butler, a man of myne, dwellinge in Ratcleffe strate [Bristol], wher Mr Carne's howse allso ys, shall see the same most safely conveyed to me. And I trust, before hytt be longe, I shall eyther send you some of thes new cronikles or other booke that shall also like you. And thus I most hartely bed you farewell. From Newporte this last day of August, 1577.

Yo'r very loving frind,

JAMES MOUNTJOYE.

The expressions used in the first part of the letter display the courtesy and kindly feeling which at that time prevailed. The latter part of the letter is curious in its reference to books and "news chronicles." In 1577 printed books were not largely circulated, and were the privilege only of the wealthy. It was then exactly a hundred years since Caxton set up his printing press in the Abbey of Westminster, but still outside London and Westminster not half-a-dozen towns possessed a printing press, and the books to be obtained were apparently not of the most attractive character for general reading. Holinshed's Chronicles were published this year; Foxe's Book of Martyrs had been issued a year or two. Chaucer, with Ovid, Boccaccio, Horace, Petrarch, Dante, and other foreign classics had appeared in print, but Spenser's Fairy Queen was still unpublished, and the next century was ushered in ere the works of Shakespere were circulated. Whatever the book, the perusal of which Lord Mountjoy desired, it was evidently considered of great value as indicated by the suggestion to have it "surely sealed," and the

expression that by the "man of myne' it would be "most safely conveyed." The reference to "some of thes new cronikles" is still more interesting. The news chronicles were the pioneers of newspapers, and came into existence only in the reign of Elizabeth. They were written on sheets of paper by men who made it their business to collect the news and gossip of the day, and send them to any person willing to pay for them. As the demand increased the writers were compelled to call in the aid of the press, and thus the publication of newspapers soon became established, the very earliest of which, however, was not issued until 1622, a half century after the mention of the "news chronicles" by Lord Mountjoy. The allusion in the letter satisfies us that Lord Mountjoy was an intelligent and enterprising nobleman, and that while resident in Newport the inhabitants were kept well informed of what was transpiring in the world around them.

Several of the Mountjoy letters refer to the existence in the Bristol Channel of pirates, they being chiefly Moors from Spain and Algiers. The Bristol Channel was, in fact, infested with them all through the reign of Elizabeth and her successors, even down to the time of William and Mary. The presence of these marauders was an obstacle to the commercial enterprise which began to be successfully developed in Elizabeth's reign. At the same time it may be taken as a good test of the prosperity of the times. Cardiff laboured under the bad odour of being a general resort for these pirates, who found there shelter and protection. In one of the letters of the Stradling Correspondence is a statement that some people coming from St. James's Fair, Bristol, and crossing to this side of the channel, were robbed by a pirate, and that the boat was taken to the Mumbles. The writer asks Sir Edward Stradling to use his influence to get the goods found in the boat restored to the said people. The date of the letter is 9th Sept., 1575.

Another letter is from William Blethin, Bishop of Llandaff. It is dated "at Caerleon, iiiith day February, 1583. His lordship was probably occasionally resident here, as Churchyard in a marginal

note to his description of Caerleon says, "The Bishop of Llandaff still lying in the town." Other letters about the same date are written from Mathern Pertholey, near Chepstow, where, until 1706, the bishops of Llandaff resided, and of which palace there are still remains.

Several letters are from Wyllyam Herbert, a direct descendant of the Earl of Pembroke, to his "loving cousin." The first is dated "from my house at Newport the last of Julie," and refers to a rumour of untrue statements having been made by Sir Edward Stradling. "My house at Newport" was no doubt St. Julians, mentioned in the following letter, and subsequently referred to. His cousin, the second Earl of Pembroke, and Baron Herbert, of Cardiff, was also Lord Lieutenant of the Principality of North and South Wales, and the Marches, an office of great distinction and large power. In fulfilment of the duties of this office, he was in the habit of making through the district a "progress" in state. It is related of his father that in 1552-3, he rode into London with 300 horse in his retinue, of which one hundred of them were gentlemen, in plain blue cloth with chains of gold, and badges of a dragon on their sleeves. The son, it would seem, desired to have good company in his journey, probably an official one, to Hereford. The following is the letter, which is without date, and seems to have been written from Cardiff :

To the r. wo'r my loovnge cosen Sr. Edward Stradling, Knighte.

Righte wo'r and my verie good cosen. In my Lordes journey to Harwood [Hereford] his honor hath been desirous to be accompanied with you amonghst others of his frinds, and for that end his L: [Lord Pembroke] did more then foure daies sythence take order to sende yow warninge therof; and nowe, hearinge that the messenger did mustake his wordes and that therbie yow have not as yet herd enie notis of his pleasure, I have herbie thought good to advertise yow that his L: is fullie determined to take his jorney thetherward upon Thursdaie next in the afternoone, and to lie that nighte at Sainte Jellians to the end that, if y'r lesure will permitte, you may ether be here on Thursdaie by noone, for that effecte or ells to overtake his L: at St. Jellians that night. And so w'th my hartie commendacons, I take my leave this present Tuesdaie.

Y'r lovinge cosen,

W. HERBERT.

Yf yor busines or lesure will permitte you, I praie you take this jorney for his honor will thankefullie receve it as the companie of him he muche loveth. Fare ye well!

The next and last letter which we deem it necessary to extract is full of interest, and speaking for itself needs little comment. Ireland in those days, it seems, occupied some attention, and required the presence of English soldiers furnished with powder and shot. The writer of the letter, William Morgan, was son of Sir Thomas Morgan, of Pencoed Castle, who married Cecil, daughter of Sir George Herbert, Knight, of Swansea, and was knighted in 1574 by Elizabeth. The letter is as follows :—

To the r. wor. and my verie good cozen, Sir Edward Stradling, Knight.

With my best and most hartest commendacions. Wheras I ame appinted by the Queene and the Councel[1] fouthewith to go in to Ireland with the men out of South wales, wch I doubt and feare I shall finde exceedinge rawe, yet my only trust and hope is in you that you wilbe carefull to helpe me to suche men as shalbe able of bodie, wherby the Queene may the better be servid, and I therbie may gett fame honestlie; and wthall, that you will see them aswell furnished as you can wth her furniture, and, if it be not verie good and sufficient, lettinge me have reasonable allowance, wth all speade possible I will provide you of the same; also prainge you that they maie be well furnished in there apell, and that there cottes may be reed, wth a little lace of grene, yf they have not coattes reedie made, for I would be verie loth to put the countrie to anie double charge; and that I may be adv'tised of the same at Penecoyd w'th all speed posible; and that they may have some allowance of some convenient store of powder for to haive their shotte while theie are of this side the sea and on the sea in goinge, for some of our men have ben spoiled allredie for lacke of the same. Thus once againe prainge you to have care of the ablenes of the men, and if it be possible to helpe to some that hath served alredie; besechinge you to consider some good allowance for yo'r pte for my cunditt money, consideringe I am driven to care for me and my officers, the w'ch I am driven to come hence from London. Thus committinge yow to God, I take my leave. From the Co'rt, this xviiith. of September, 1579.

Yo'r lovinge assurred cosen,

WILLYAM MORGAN.

CHARTER GRANTED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Keeping in this series of papers as closely as convenient to a chronological statement of events and circumstances, it is necessary now to refer to the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth "to our beloved, the burgesses and others, the inhabitants of the town of Newport." The charter bears date the 4th of November, in the 27th of her reign, 1585, and from the recital it contains it would appear to be merely the confirmation of a previous charter granted so early as 1313 by Edward II. to our beloved and faithful Hugh le Despenser the younger and the burgesses and others the inhabitants of Cardiff, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Cowbridge, Neath, and Kenfig. The document is expressed with much verbiage, but the gist of it is that the burgesses were released from certain tolls which at that period were considered somewhat oppressive. It is as follows :—

Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, &c., to all before whom these presents shall come, health. We have examined letters patent of his Majesty Henry the V., formerly King of England, our progenitor, bearing witness to this effect :—Henry by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Sovereign of Ireland, to all before whom these presents shall come, health ; we have examined letters patent of his Majesty (Henry IV.) lately King of England, our father, to this effect ;—Henry by the Grace of God, King of England and France and Sovereign of Ireland, to all before whom these presents shall come health ; we have examined letters patent of his Majesty Richard the II. after the Conquest, bearing witness to this effect :—Richard by the Grace of God, King of England and France and Sovereign of Ireland, to all before whom these presents shall come health ; we have examined a chart of his Majesty Edward, late King of England, our great grandfather, to this effect :—

Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Sovereign of Ireland, and Duke of Acquitaine, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, sheriffs, judges, superintending officers, and to all bailiffs and their officers health ; know ye that we of our special favour have granted and by this our chart have confirmed to our beloved and faithful Hugh le Despenser the younger, that he and his heirs, and their burgesses, and others, the inhabitants of Cardiff, Usk,

Caerleon, Newport, Cowbrugge, Neath, and Kenfeg in Wales, of all their effects and goods, ware, as well merchandize as others, be for ever released from toll, wall toll, bridge toll, ware carriage toll, stall or standing toll, piccage toll, tonnage, wool weighing toll, kayage, wharf toll, tirrage, lord's land tillage, and also of all other customs and duties throughout our whole kingdom, and our Duchy of Acquitaine, and our sovereignty of Ireland and elsewhere throughout our dominions, the duties upon wool, hides, fleeces, or sheep skins, and wines due to us, and our heirs, successors, only excepted.

Wherefore it is our will, and we strictly enact for us and our heirs, that the same Hugh and his heirs, and their burgesses, and others, the inhabitants of the aforesaid towns of Cardiff, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Cowbrugge, Neath, and Kenefeg, in Wales, of all their effects and goods, as well merchandise as others, be for ever released from toll, wall toll, bridge toll, ware carriage toll, stall or standing toll, toll for breaking up the ground to fix stalls, standings or booths, wool weighing toll, wharf toll, lord's land tillage, and also of all other customs and duties throughout our whole kingdom, and our duchy of Acquitaine, and our sovereignty of Ireland, and elsewhere throughout our dominions, duties upon wool, hides, fleeces, or sheep skins, and wines, due to us and our heirs, successors only excepted, as aforesaid; given with the attestation of the venerable fathers, W. Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, Bishop of Norwich, Bishop of Chester, Adomar de Valencia Earl of Pembroke, Edmund Earl of Arundel, John de Segrave, senior, William Martyn, Richard Dominory, stewards of our household, under our hand at Westminster, the 4th day of March, and the seventeenth of our reign [that is Edward II, 1324]. We therefore find all and singular within the said chart ratified and granted for us the heirs and our successor, do to the extent of our power ratify and approve the same; and of the aforesaid burgesses and others, the inhabitants of the aforesaid town of Newport, and their heirs and successors, we grant and confirm as the aforesaid chart fully witnesseth; and that they the same burgesses, and other the inhabitants of the aforesaid town of Newport, ought to avail themselves of and enjoy the the privileges and releases aforesaid, in the same manner as we find their predecessors have been ever accustomed, fully to use and enjoy the same privileges and releases, from the time of making the aforesaid chart. In testimony whereof we have caused these our titles patent to be made. Witness ourselves at the Abbey of Margam, the 18th day of September, in the eighteenth year of our reign [that is Richard II, 1395.]

We therefore finding the aforesaid grants and confirmations, and also all and singular contained in the aforesaid chart and letters ratified, and we receive and

approve them granted for us and our heirs to the extent of our power, and we grant and confirm to our now beloved, the burgesses and others the inhabitants of the aforesaid town of Newport, their heirs and successors, as the aforesaid chart and letters fully witness, and as they, the same burgesses, and others, the inhabitants of the aforesaid town of Newport, have accustomed always hitherto fully to use and enjoy those privileges and releases from the time of making the aforesaid chart; in testimony whereof we have made these leters patent. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the 25th day of November, in the second year of our reign [that is Henry IV., 1400.]

We, therefore, with the advice and assent of our lords, spiritual and temporal, assembled at our Parliament, holden at Westminster, in the first year of our reign, do approve, ratify, and confirm the aforesaid letters, touching those privileges and releases, together with others, the irrevoked contents of those letters, and as the aforesaid letters witness that they, the burgesses and others, the inhabitants, ought to use and enjoy the aforesaid privileges and releases as their predecessors, the burgesses and others, the inhabitants of the said town of Newport, have hitherto always accustomed to fully use and enjoy the aforesaid privileges and releases from the time of making the aforesaid letters and ratifications; in testimony whereof we have made these our letters patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 2nd day of February, in the second year of our reign, by breviat from the Privy Seal. Haseley [that is Henry V., 1415].

We, therefore, finding that the aforesaid chart and letters ratified, do ratify and approve to the extent of our power the same grants for us, our heirs and successors, and we do grant and confirm to our beloved burgesses and others, the inhabitants of the aforesaid town of Newport, their heirs and successors, as the aforesaid chart fully witnesseth in itself; in testimony whereof we have made these letters patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 4th day of November, in the twenty-seventh of our reign (1585), Powle.

The fine exacted, £1 6s 8d.

J. BROMLEY, Chancellor.

Executed by us { MATTHEW CAREW and HENRY BARKLEY } Clerks.

ELIZABETHAN ARCHITECTURE—CRINDAU, ST. JULIANS, AND PENTREBACH.—LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

The dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII. occasioned an extraordinary change in the features of the times, by a new style of architecture being introduced, and named after Henry's successor, Elizabeth. Many of the religious houses were soon converted into mansions, and many newly-erected seats were built in imitation of the monastic buildings. In this district there are several mansions which during the reign of Elizabeth came into prominence, either by their erection or by the high position and dignity of their occupants. Of these we shall first mention Crindau House, which has during the last few years undergone a thorough restoration, or rather rebuilding, and in the process lost very much of the value that once attached to it as an ancient building. In a paper prepared some years since upon this mansion by Mr. Octavius Morgan, it is described as a long straight building, entered in the centre by a porch, of two stories, in the upper part of which is a small chamber. On either side of the porch are two large windows, each of four square-headed lights, indicative of the period when it was erected. The doorway of the porch is a four centred or Tudor arch of stone, over which is the inscription, in black letter, Anno Domini 1580, and the letter M on a shield in the spandrils of the arch, from which it may be fairly inferred that the mansion was built by Humphrey Morgan, the son of Edward Morgan, of Llantarnam, who married Catherine Herbert, heiress of the estate. The internal doorway is of wood, and there is the usual passage leading through the house. The apartment on the left hand appears to have been the hall, the fire-place being partly filled up; from this a door leads to the cellar and a small staircase leads to the upper chambers. In one of these there is a moulded frieze or cornice, and also a ceiling ornamented with *fleur de lis* and other enrichments of the period. Among them is a goat's head enclosed within a

circle ; this most probably had reference to some of the armorial bearings of the family. Beyond the hall is another apartment which may have been the parlour; it is lighted by a transomed two-light window at the west end of the house and a window with four lights on the side. On the right of the inner passage were the kitchen and other offices, together with the staircase leading to the rooms above, in one of which is an ornamental fire place. We may add that on the north side of St. Woolos Church is a small chapel thrown out from the north aisle, and in which the organ now stands, which is still known by the name of the Crindau Chapel. This chapel is considered to be of earlier date than the old Crindau mansion, and may have been built by one of the earlier proprietors.

The late Mr Wakeman was of opinion that, though the old house is supposed to have been built at the time affixed in front, viz., 1580, it is evident there must have been a prior residence on the estate, as it is known that in the reign of Henry VI. it was the residence of Edward ap Howel ap Jenkin, who descended from Adam Gwent. When or how he or his ancestors acquired Crindau estate does not appear. Madoc ap Reynolf ap Adam Gwent, sometimes called Madoc de Usk, was a younger son, and an officer in the service of Edward II., living in 1315, and in a document of 12th Edward II., 1318, is styled *valettus regis*. Fifth in descent from Madoc was this Edward ap Howel, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard ap Trehearn ap Roger of Wentllwch, another descendant of Adam Gwent. They were living in 1468, and had issue Thomas Edwards of Crindau, Morgan, and John Edwards who was constable of Usk Castle in 1483.

Another example of an Elizabethan mansion is that of St. Julians, situate on the left bank of the river Usk, about midway between Caerleon and Newport. The place is, however, chiefly noted as being the residence of the famous Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, remembered as well for his ingenuity, as for his valour and vanity. Lord Herbert married in 1598 the daughter of Sir William

Herbert, a direct descendant from the Earl of Pembroke, and thus became possessed of this estate.

The first of the Herbert family seated at St. Julians was Sir George Herbert, third son of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Croft, and had three children, viz., Lettice (who married John Morgan, of Tredegar), William, and Walter, the eldest, who married Mary, daughter of Sir William Morgan, of Pencoed. In memory of this Walter Herbert there is an altar tomb in the south aisle of St. Woolos Church. He had two daughters and three sons, of whom Miles lived at Crindau, George at Newport, and William at St. Julians. William was the eldest, and married Jane, daughter of Sir William Griffiths, of Anglesea. Their son William, afterwards Sir William Herbert, married Florence, daughter of William Morgan, Llantarnam. Sir William died in 1592, leaving an only daughter, Mary, who married Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, as above stated.

That this William Herbert had no mean opinion of himself and his family, the following letter will shew, and its perusal amuse the readers. It is addressed to a Mr. Morgan, but of what place does not appear :—

Sir,—Peruse this letter in God's name. Be not disquieted. I reverence your hoary hair. Although in your son I find too much folly and lewdness, yet in you I expect gravity and wisdom. It hath pleased your son late at Bristol to deliver a challenge to a man of mine on the behalf of a gentleman, (as he said) " as good as myself "—who he was he named not, neither do I know ; but if he be as good as myself, it must be either for virtue, for birth, for ability, or for calling and dignity ; for virtue I think he meant not, for it is a thing which exceeds his judgment ; if for birth, he must be the heir male of an earl, the heir in blood of ten earls, for in testimony thereof I bear their several coats. Besides, he must be of the blood royal, for by my grandmother Devereux I am lineally and legitimately descended out of the body of Edward IV. If for ability he must have a thousand pounds a year in possession, a thousand pounds more in expectation, and must have some thousands in substance besides. If for calling and dignity, he must be knight, a lord of several seigniories in several kingdoms ; a lieutenant of his county ; and a councillor of a province.

Now to lay all circumstances aside, be it known to your son, or to any man else, that if there be any one who beareth the name of gentleman, and whose words are of reputation in his country, that doth say or dare say that I have done unjustly, spoken an untruth, stained my credit and reputation in this matter or in any matter else, wherein your son is exasperated, I say he lieth in his throat, and my sword shall maintain my word upon him, in any place or province, wheresoever he dare, and where I stand not sworn to keep the peace. But if there be such as are within my governance, and over whom I have authority, I will for their reformation chastise them with justice, and for their malapert misdemeanor bind them to their good behaviour. Of this sort I account your son, and his like; against whom I will shortly issue my warrant, if this, my warning, does not reform him.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM HERBERT.

Churchyard, after writing of the creation of William, first Earl of Pembroke, thus speaks of the writer of the above letter :—

And thou my knight, that art his heir in blood,
Though lordship, land, and Raglan's stately towers,
A female heir, and force of fortune's flood
Have thee bereft, yet bearest his fruits and flowers:
His armes, his name, his faith, and mind are thine
By nature, nurture, art, and grace divine.
On seas and lands, these move thee pains to take
For God, for fame, for thy sweet sovereign's sake.

The circumstances under which Lord Herbert of Cherbury married Sir William's daughter are thus narrated by Lord Herbert himself in his autobiography :—

Shortly after I was sent again to my studies at Oxford, where I had not been long, but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert of St. Julian's was made, the occasion whereof was this :—Sir William Herbert being heir male to the old Earl of Pembroke above mentioned by a younger son of his (for the eldest son had a daughter who carried away those great possessions the Earl of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire, as I said before), having one only daughter surviving, made a will by which he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter upon condition she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs male of the said William, and his daughter to have only a small portion out of the lands he had in Anglesea and Carnarvonshire; his lands being thus settled Sir William died shortly afterwards. His daughter and heir, called Mary, continued unmarried till

she was one and twenty. About this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight and twentieth of February, 1598, I espoused her.

By the marriage the Monmouthshire estates, in accordance with the will, passed to Lord Herbert. If the lady had remained unmarried or had married a person with other name than Herbert, the property would have passed to the family of her father's uncle, Miles Herbert, of Crindau.

The greater part of the next ten years Lord Herbert probably spent at St. Julians pursuing the studies which he loved, and enjoying the pleasures of a quiet country life, alternated with an occasional resort to and an indulgence in the gaiety of Elizabeth's court. Between 1611 and 1614 he was again at St. Julians, and in his autobiography he relates that during that period, on a journey from thence to Abergavenny, his servant attending him fell into the river Usk, and was rescued by him from drowning. In 1614 he was in the Low Countries, and an incident is related of a visit to a monastery there with Sir Charles Morgan, a member of the family of Morgans located at Langston.

King James having occasion to send an ambassador to France for the purpose of renewing the alliance between the two kingdoms, Sir Edward Herbert was chosen among eighteen persons deemed fittest for that appointment. The King approved him without the smallest hesitation, and the first knowledge he had of the nomination was on being saluted ambassador to France by the Lords of the Council. He remained English plenipotentiary abroad for many years, and it is not certain at what period he afterwards resided at St. Julians.

In 1625 he was made an Irish baron by King James, and in 1631 was raised to an English peerage by the title of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire.

At the commencement of the disputes between Charles I. and the House of Commons, he took an active part on the side of the sovereign. For the spirit he displayed in the House of Lords, and for his manly defence of the King, in opposition to some violent resolutions moved by Lord Kimbolton

and adopted by the House, he was committed to the custody of Black Rod. Being released, and having obtained permission to retire into the country for his health, he instantly joined the King at York. Not long afterwards he changed his party from a conviction of the weakness and divisions of the King's counsels rather than from motives of patriotism. He was subsequently a great sufferer from the vengeance of the Royalists, and in 1644 the High Commission granted him satisfaction for the demolition of Montgomery Castle. He was now advanced in years, which was probably the cause, that with his military prowess and daring spirit he did not take an active part in the civil wars. He died at his house, Queen-street, London, aged 67, and lies buried in the chancel of St. Giles Church. There are many interesting passages in his life, which, however, scarcely comes within the scope of the present work, but a man so closely identified with this locality, who was at once a great scholar and statesman, and a genius as full of whims as of philosophy, could not be passed unnoticed.

Little of the original building of St. Julians is now to be seen, the alterations effected during the last few years having almost obliterated what was left of the old pile. The arms of the Herberts, engraved in stone, is still preserved. The house is now the property of Joseph Firbank, Esq., who purchased the property from the present Duke of Beaufort.

Llantarnam Abbey was another building which was converted to a private residence. Originally granted after the Dissolution to one John Parker, it passed to Thomas Carpenter and William Savage, but soon came into the possession of John Morgan, Esq., of Caerleon, second son of Sir Thomas Morgan, of Pencoed, and out of the ruins of the old pile Mr Morgan built a new dwelling. The stone cells were converted into stables, but the conventual garden walls were left standing, and a beautiful gothic gateway called Magna Porta, which has since been restored. Within there is a shield in stone bearing the arms of the Morgan family in nine quarterings, with the date 1588. The abbey

was again entirely re-built by the late Mr Blewett. From the Blewett it passed to the Dowling family, in whose possession the Llantarnam Abbey estate now remains.

Pentrebach was a building similarly converted from monastic use to a place of residence. It lies between the Abbey of Llantarnam and Castel-y-bwch, and is now a farm house. Pentrebach, which means little village, it would seem is comparatively a modern name. Coxe states that it was formerly known as Cilsant (the Saint's Cell), and Mr Wakeman says it is referred to in old deeds as Cefn vynach, *i.e.*, the Monks' Ridge. The Grange of Kevenvynocke was granted 7th Edward VI. to John, Earl of Bedford, and Edward Dowling, who afterwards conveyed it to William, eldest son of John Morgan, Caerleon, mentioned above as having obtained possession of Llantarnam Abbey. This Wm. Morgan by different subsequent purchases became eventually the proprietor, and died seized of all the possessions of Llantarnam Abbey in Monmouthshire. He served the office of Sheriff in 1568-9, and represented the county in Parliament in 1571. He died 29th March, 1582.

It seems very probable that Pentrebach was considered as the second seat of the Morgans, and usually occupied by the eldest son when married during the father's life, or by some one of the family. The only one, however, of whom there is any direct evidence of his living here was Henry, second son of William Morgan, who was grandson of the first William. Henry was younger brother of Sir Edward Morgan, the first baronet of the family, and describes himself in his will dated 8th September, 1662, as of Pentrebach.

There is a curious tradition respecting this house, for old people have heard say "that many years ago there was a ball given in the great hall (now a barn), which at that time was ceiled and hung with pictures, and that when the revelry was at its height, the walls shook until the pictures fell, and the guests and visitors fled in dismay." There is, however, no date given of this occurrence, nor does it seem to be at all known who last inhabited the old mansion, or why it was abandoned.

PARLIAMENTARY ATTENTION TO LOCAL BRIDGES.—JOHN SPEED, THE ANTIQUARY.—THE WORTHINESS OF WALES.

We here annex an odd paragraph extracted from the proceedings of the House of Commons for the year 1597. It shows that, although Parliament is still overburdened with work of a multifarious character, it is not now expected to trouble about the repairs of ricketty timber bridges in distant parts of the kingdom. The entry in the journals of the House is as follows:—On Tuesday, November 29th, eight bills had each of them one reading; of which the last, being the bill for repairing the bridges of Newport and Carlion in the county of Monmouth, was, upon the second reading, committed unto all the knights for all the shires, and burgesses for all the boroughs in Wales, Monmouthshire, and the citizens for Bristol and Gloucester, Mr. Sergent Williams, Mr. Pembridge, and Mr. Oldsworth, who were appointed to meet on Thursday next in the ex-chamber, at two of the clock in the afternoon." Of the result of the bill, we know nothing further; but we might mention that Churchyard, who published his "Worthiness of Wales" in 1587, in speaking of Newport says: "A right strong bridge is there of timber new"; but in the course of ten years we find that its repairs, together with the condition of Caerleon bridge, required the special attention of the Imperial Parliament.

Noticing the historical finger-posts as we proceed, we might here mention that the opening years of the 17th century, upon which we now enter, witnessed the decease of Queen Elizabeth, after a long and unprecedentedly glorious reign, and the accession (1603) to the throne of England of the first Prince of the House of Stuart. In the same year, old John Speed, the tailor antiquary as he was sometimes called, was briskly taking notes in this district for the interesting work published by him a few years later. Beside the delineations shown in his Atlas, we do not gather from his writings much information respecting the condition

of Newport and Caerleon beyond that already furnished by Churchyard and Leland in the previous half century. We learn, however, that the one principal street of which the former town was composed was called Monmouth-street, a name which for a long period has become obsolete.

Thomas Churchyard was a writer who had travelled much, and who, in his later years, went "sundry times of purpose" through Wales to give a description of the country. He wrote a flattering account, which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. In comparing Wales with other countries, he has the following pithy remarks:

For France is fine, and full of faithless ways;
Poor Flanders gross, and far from happy days;
Rich Spain is proud, and stern to strangers all;
In Italy poisoning is always rife,
And Germany to drunkenness doth fall.
The Danes likewise do lead a bibbling life;
The Scots seek blood, and bear a cruel mind;
Ireland grows nought—the people were unkind.
England, God wot, hath learned such lewdness late,
That Wales, methinks, is now the soundest State.

After describing Monmouth, Raglan, Chepstow, and Usk, and referring to the castles of Grosmont, Skenfrith, Whitecastle, and Llangibby, he thus dilates upon Caerleon:

Caerleon now step in with stately stile;
No feeble phrase may serve to set thee forth.
Thy famous town was spoke of many a mile;
Thou hast been great, though now of little worth;
Thy noble bounds hath reached beyond them all;
In thee hath been King Arthur's golden hall.
In thee the wise and worthies did repose,
And through thy town the water ebbs and flows.

King Arthur's reign (though true it were)
Is now of small account;
The fame of Troy is known each where,
And to the skies doth mount.

Both Athens, Thebes, and Carthage, too,
We hold of great renown;
What then, I pray you, shall we do
To poor Caerleon town.

King Arthur sure was crowned there,
It was his royal seat,
And in this town did sceptre bear,
With pomp and honor great.

An Archbishop, that Dubric hight
Did crown this King in deed;
Four kings before him bore in sight
Four golden swords, we read.

These kings were famous of renown,
Yet for their honor due,
Repaired unto Caerleon town,
As I rehearse to you.

How many dukes and earls withal,
Good authors, can you tell,
And so true writers shew you shall
How Arthur there did dwell?

What court he kept, what acts he did
What conquest he obtained?
And in what princely honour still
King Arthur long remained

Queen Gwenevere was crowned likewise
In Julian's church, they say;
Where that four queens in solemn guise,
In royal rich array,

Four pigeons white bore in their hand
Before the Princess' face,
In sign the Queen of British lands
Was worthy of that grace.

Caerleon lodgéd all these kings
And many a noble knight,
As may be proved by sundry things
That I have seen in sight.

The bounds hath been nine miles about,
The length thereof was great;
It shows itself this day throughout
It was a Prince's seat.

In Arthur's time a table round
Was there whereat he sate,
As yet a plot of goodly ground
Sets forth that rare estate.

The city reached to Christchurch then,
And to Saint Julians both
Which yet appears to view of man
To try this tale of troth.

There are such vaults and hollow caves,*
Such walls and conduits deep,
Made all like pipes of earthen pots
Wherein a child may creep.

*In a marginal note, the author says:—"I have seen caves underground (at this day) that go I know not how far, all made of excellent work, and goodly great stones both over head and under foot, and close and fine round about the whole cave."

Such streets and pavements, sundry ways
To every market town,
Such bridges built in olden day,
And things of such renown

As men may muse of to behold,
But chiefly for to note,
There is a castle very old
That may not be forgot.

It stands upon a forced hill,
Not far from flowing flood,
Where, lo, ye view long vales at will
Environed all with wood.

A seat for any king alive,
The soil it is so sweet,
Fresh springs doth streams of water drive
Almost through every street.

From castle all these things are seen
As pleasures to the eye;
The goodly groves and valleys green,
And woody mountains high;

The crooked creeks and pretty brooks
That are upon the plain:
The flowing tides that spread the land,
And twines to sea again;

The stately woods that like a hoop
Doth compass all the vale;
The princely plots that stand in troop
To beautify the dale;

The rivers that doth daily run
As clear as crystal stone,
Shews that most pleasures under sun
Caerleon had alone.

Great ruth to see so brave a soil
Fall in so sore decay,
In sorrow set, full were the soil,
As fortune fled away.

And would forsook to knowledge those
That erst hath been so great,
Where kings and grave philosophers
Made once therein their seat.

Urbs Legionem was it named
In Cæsar's days I trow,
And Arthur holding residence there
(As stories plainly show).

Not only kings and noble peers,
Repaired unto that place,
But learned men, full many years
Received therein their grace.

Then you that ancient things denies,
Let now your talk surcease,
When prose is brought before your eyes
Ye ought to hold your peace.

And let Caerleon have his right,
And joy his wonted fame,
And let each wise and worthy wight,
Speak well of Arthur's name.

After some particulars in prose relating to Arthur's time, the author thus proceeds :—

Now must I touch a matter fit to know,
A fort and strength that stands beyond this town,*
On which you shall behold the noblest show,
(Look round about, and so look rightly down)
That ever yet I saw or man may view ;
Upon that hill there shall appear to you
Of seven shires a part and portion great
Where hill itself is sure a warlike seat.

Ten thousand men may lodge them there unseen
In treble dykes that guard the fortress well,
And yet amid the fort a goodly green
Where that a power and mighty camp may dwell
In spite of world, if soldiers victuals have.
The hill so stands, if bird but wing do wave
Or man or beast but once stir up the head
A bow above with shaft shall strike it dead.

The hill commands a marv'lous way and scope
It seems it stood far off for town's defence,
And in the wars it was Caerleon's hope ;
Or else in deed, the Duke of Glo'ster since
(That did destroy both town and all therein)
To serve his turn this fortress did begin.

Not far from this, much like unto the same.
Twmbarlum stands, a mountain of some fame.
A town near this, that built is all a length,
Called Newport now, there is full fair to view,
Which seat doth stand for profit more than strength.
—A right strong bridge is there of timber new,
A river runs full near the castle wall :
Near church, likewise, a mount behold you shall,
Where sea and land to sight so plain appear
That there men see a part of five fair shires.
As upwards high aloft to mountain top,
The market town is bright in healthful sort ;
So downwards too, is many a merchant's shop,
And many sail to Bristowe from that port.
Of ancient time a city hath it bin,
And in those days the castle hard to win,
Which yet shows fair, and is repaired in part,
As things decayed must needs be helpt by art.

* Churchyard here refers to the hill known as the Lodge.

Churchyard preserves a notion which at one time was prevalent, but which recent fishery legislation has exploded, that when salmon was out of season in the river Wye, it was in season in the river Usk. Speaking of the latter river he says :—

His crystal streams, that run along the sands
Shews that it is a river of great fame;
Fresh water sweet this goodly river yields,
And when it swells it spreads o'er all the fields.
Great store of fish is caught within this flood,
That doth, indeed, both town and country good—
A thing to note when salmon fails in Wye
(And season there goes out as order is),
Then still, of course, in Usk doth salmon lie,
And of good fish, in Usk, you shall not miss.
And this seems strange, as doth through Wales appear
In some one place are salmon all the year,
So fresh, so sweet, so red, so crimp withal
That man might say, lo, salmon's here at call.

FEARFUL INUNDATIONS AND GREAT LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY.

The seventeenth century opened with one of the most disastrous calamities which ever befel this district, and a disaster too almost unparalleled in its character. We have already had occasion to mention the large extent of land in the Levels of Caldicot and Wentloog, which, prior to the erection of the sea walls, were subject to occasional overflowing of the waters of the Channel; but in the year 1606 there was an inundation of unusual magnitude, the results of which were of corresponding severity. In the early portion of the 5th century there was what is termed by an old writer a "great sea flood," through which it is stated all the marshes in Gwent and Glamorgan were lost. In 1095 there was again an inundation, which overwhelmed the sea walls and banks of the river in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, and by which many men, numbers of cattle, and large quantities of corn were swept away. The inundation of 1606 would seem to have been more calamitous than either; or at all events, we have a more authentic and detailed account preserved. There is a tract of the time preserved in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. 3, entitled "God's Warning to His People of England." The event is further described as "Lamentable news from Monmouthshire in Wales, containing the wonderful and most fearful accidents of the overflowing of the waters in the said country, drowning infinite numbers of cattle of all kinds, as sheep, oxen, kine, and horses, with others, together with the lives of many men, women, and children, and subversion of xxvi. parishes, on January last." The date of the pamphlet is 1608.

The following is the narrative:—Upon Tuesday, being the 20th of January, 1607, there happened such an overflowing of waters, such a violent swelling of the seas, and such forcible breaches made in the firme land in the counties following—that is to say, in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and divers and sundry other places of South

Wales, the like never in the memory of man hath ever been seen or heard of. For about nine of the clock in the morning, the same being most fayrely and brightly spred, many of the inhabitants of those countreys prepared themselves to their affayres, then they might see and perceive afar off as it were in the element huge and mighty hilles of water tombling one over another in such sort as if the greatest mountains in the world had overwhelmed the lowe villages or marshy grounds. Sometimes it dazzled many of the spectators that they imagined it had bin some fogge or miste coming with great swiftness towards them, *and with such a smoke as if mountains were all on fire*, and to the view of some it seemed as if myllions of thousands of arrows had been shot forthe all at one time.

So violent and swift were the outrageous waves, that in less than five hours space most part of those Countreys (especially the places which laye lowe) were all overflown, and many hundreds of people, both men and women and children, were then quite devoured by those outrageous waters ; nay, more, the farmers and husbandmen and shepheardes might behold their goodly flockes swimming upon the waters dead.

The names of some of the towns and Villages which suffered great harmes and losses thereby were these, viz., Bristoll and Ause, all the Countreys along both sides of the Severn from Gloster to Bristoll, Chepstowe, Goldclift, Matherne, Caldicot Moores, Redrift [Redwick], Newport, Cardiffe, Swansey, Laugharne, Llanstephan.

The foundations of many Churches and Houses were in a manner decayed, and some carried quite away, as in Cardiffe in the Countie of Glamorgan there was a great part of the Church next the water side beaten downe with the water.

Divers other Churches lie hidden in the waters, and some of them the tops were to be seen and some other nothinge at al to be seen but the very tops of the steeples, and some of them nothinge at al.

Beside the pamphlet quoted from above the event was recorded in a very enduring manner in several of the churches of the district. In St.

Bride's Church, Wentloog, there is in the porch an inscription carved in free stone, which reads as follows :—

THE GREAT FLVD
20 IANVARIE
IN THE MORNING
1606

The lower part of the inscription, which marks the height to which the waters reached is about five feet from the ground.

In the chancel at the church at Goldcliff there is a brass plate about 9in. x 4in. with the following record engraved thereon :—

1606

ON THE XX DAY OF IANVARY EVEN AS IT CAME TO PAS IT PLEASED GOD THE FLVD DID FLOW TO THE EDGE OF THIS SAME BRASS * AND IN THIS PARISH THEARE WAS LOST 5000 AND OD POWNDS BESIDES XXII PEOPLE WAS IN THIS PARRISH DROWND

* GOLDCLIF { IOHN * WILKINS . OF PIL-REW . AND
WILLIAM * TAP CHVRCH-WARDENS

1609

CHARTERS TO THE BOROUGH OF NEWPORT.—CHARTER OF JAMES I.

The reign of James I., extending from 1603 to 1625, was a period during which no event transpired which materially affected this district, if we except the special circumstance of this King having granted a charter of incorporation to the borough of Newport. That this was an advantage to the town, and that it gave Newport a status which it did not before possess, cannot be denied. The charter added to its privileges, and gave it a more stable and representative form of self-government. On the preamble to the charter several things are worth notice. It is stated that Newport was an ancient and populous borough; that the mayor and bailiff, by whom it was probably governed, enjoyed in common with the inhabitants divers liberties, franchises, immunities, and authorities. That some of these had been granted by a charter of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, and others were enjoyed by virtue of divers prescriptions, usages, and customs. That in consequence of the want of further liberties and poqers, the town was oppressed with poverty, and its government daily liable to danger; they, therefore, humbly prayed the King to graciously extend towards them the royal favour, and to grant them the confirmation of all their ancient liberties and privileges, with certain defects amended, and the addition of certain other liabilities and privileges as his Majesty should deem most expedient. It is further clear from this preamble that, prior to the charter being granted, the office of mayor already existed, and that other charters had previously been granted to the town.

With regard to the office of mayor, we assume that it is impossible to ascertain the precise date at which it was instituted. The first mention of the title that we are aware of is in a charter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, of the date of 1427, granted "to the Mayor and Burgesses of Newport." Its creation must have been at a still earlier period, but probably not before the date

of the charter (1323-4) granted by Edward II., this being granted "to the Burgesses and others, the inhabitants of Newport," &c. No mention is made of a mayor, and the office, in all likelihood, was not then instituted. We infer, therefore, that the establishment of the Newport Mayoralty dates from the commencement of the 15th century, and the occasional reference to the title in subsequent documents is sufficient to show that the office has continued in existence until the present time.

The information respecting the various charters granted to Newport may very briefly be summarised. First there is the Charter of Edward granted in 1323, and confirmed in its entirety by several successive sovereigns down to the time of Queen Elizabeth. We have next that of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, dated 1427, and then a charter granting freedom from certain tolls, customs, and usages "to the burgesses and other men tenants of Newport," &c., by King Henry VI., in the year 1455. There is again the charter granted by Henry, Duke of Buckingham, referred to in the charter of James. Of the purport of the Stafford and Buckingham charters we have little information, but we may restate the facts that Hugh, Earl of Stafford, was the founder of the Friary which once existed in Austin Friars, and that Henry, Duke of Buckingham, was his great grandson, and living in 1482.

The Charter which James I. granted to the borough of Newport is the foundation of many of the privileges which the town at present enjoys, while many others formerly available have by circumstances of the times became obsolete. This charter by the way is the only one of which the town possesses the original, and of the prior charters mentioned in our last article not a trace or record can be found in the archives of the Corporation. The manner in which the charter of James came into the custody of the Corporation is curious. In the year 1861 the offices of Lord Tredegar were removed from the site of the present National Provincial Bank building to their present position in High-street, and while the numerous documents were being shifted the charter of James I. was found. No person apparently knew of its

existence, and its presence among the Tredegar papers is accounted for by the supposition that it had formerly been in the possession of Sir Charles Morgan, who held the office of Recorder for the borough prior to 1815. We question, however, that it was in consequence of holding the office of Recorder that Sir Charles Morgan was permitted to retain the charter. There can be little doubt that the Mayor of the town was its proper custodian, and from the list of mayors before us it is apparent that many members of the Tredegar family filled that honourable office, and it might thus have passed into their possession. When the discovery of the Charter was made known to the late Lord Tredegar, he directed that it should be handed over to the Corporation, which was accordingly done by his agent, the present Alderman Davis, in November, 1861. It is in excellent preservation, and can be read very distinctly. In the left hand corner is a well executed portrait of King James, about five inches square.

The Charter is written in Latin, and the following is a translation, which is the only one, we believe, that exists in print :—

BOROUGH OF NEWPORT, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Copy Translation of the Charter granted to the Borough of Newport in the 21st year of King James the First.

The King to all to whom these presents shall come Greeting. Whereas our Borough of Newport in our County of Monmouth is an ancient and populous Borough, and the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Inhabitants of the Borough have used and enjoyed divers liberties, franchises, immunities and authorities, as well by the Charter of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, to them granted, as also by virtue of divers prescriptions, usages, and customs in times past had and used in the same Borough. And whereas the said Mayor, Bailiffs, and Inhabitants of the Borough aforesaid have by their humble petition to us set forth, That nevertheless for want of certain liberties fit and necessary for the Government of the said Town, it is come to pass that they are not only oppressed with Poverty, but also the order and Government of the said Borough is daily liable to danger, and therefore they have humbly pra ed us (as much as in us lies) graciously to extend towards them our Royal favour and bounty in the premises, and that we for their greater advantage and

profit, and for the better order and Government of the aforesaid Borough, would vouchsafe to grant the confirmation of all their ancient liberties and privileges without the amendments of the aforesaid defects, and the addition of certain other liberties and privileges according as to us should seem most expedient.

We being willing that all and all manner of obstacles and defects in the premises be wholly removed, and that one certain and undoubted method of and for the keeping of our peace, and the order and Government of the people there inhabiting and of others coming there, may be continually had in the same Borough from henceforth for ever. And that the aforesaid Borough from henceforth for ever shall be and remain a Borough of peace and rest to the dread and terror of the evil, and in reward of the honest, and that our peace and the other matters of Justice may be there kept without further delay, and hoping that if the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the aforesaid Borough shall enjoy their liberties, honours, and privileges more amply by our grant, that then they would conceive themselves more particularly and strongly obliged to employ and render to us, our heirs, and successors, what service in them lies.

We out of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and meer motion, have willed, ordained, constituted, and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do will, ordain, constitute, and grant, That the said Borough of Newport in the aforesaid County of Monmouth is and shall be from henceforth for ever a Free Borough of itself, And that the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Inhabitants of the aforesaid Borough (by whatsoever name or names they were before incorporated or whether they were before incorporated or not) are and shall be by force of these presents from henceforth for ever, one body corporate and politick in matter, deed, and name, by the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Newport in the County of Monmouth. And we, for us, our heirs, and successors, by these presents do renew, make, ordain, constitute, and declare them to be one body corporate and politick in matter, deed, and name really and fully, by the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Newport in the County of Monmouth, and that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession, and that they by the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Newport aforesaid be and shall be for the future for ever persons fit and capable in the Law, and a body corporate and politick, and capable in the Law, to have purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, and hold Lands, Tenements, Liberties, Privileges, Jurisdictions, Franchises, and Hereditaments (of what kind, name, or nature they shall be), to them and their successors in fee or for ever or for a term of years or after any other manner whatsoever, And also to give, grant, demise,

alien, assign, and dispose of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and by the name aforesaid to do and execute all and singular other matter and things, and that by the same name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Newport aforesaid may and shall be able to plead, and to be impleaded, answer, and to be answered, defend, and to be defended, in any our courts and places whatsoever, and before the Judges and Justices and other persons and officers whatsoever of us, our heirs, and successors, or any others whatsoever in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Causes, Matters, and Demands whatsoever, of what name, nature, or kind soever they be or shall be in the same manner and form as any other our liege subjects of this our Kingdom of England fit and capable in Law, or any other body corporate or politick in our Kingdom of England can or may be able to have purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, or dispose of, plead, and to be impleaded, answer, and to be answered, defend, and to be defended, do permit or suffer, and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors have a common seal to be provided for negotiating the causes and business whatsoever of them their successors, And that it may and shall be lawful to and for the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors to change, break, and make new the same at their pleasure, as to them it shall seem most fit and convenient.

And we further will, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors, that from henceforth for ever there is and shall be within the Borough aforesaid one good and approved burgess or inhabitant of the Borough aforesaid to be chosen in manner hereafter in these presents mentioned, who is and shall be named Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, and that there is and shall be within the aforesaid Borough twelve other Burgesses or Inhabitants of the aforesaid Borough to be chosen also in manner hereinafter mentioned who are and shall be named Aldermen of the said Borough.

And we further will and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the borough aforesaid and their successors that the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough for the time being, or the major part of them (of whom we will that the Mayor for the time being be one), upon the public summons thereof to be made by the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid for the time being or by his order, being assembled for this purpose in the Guild Hall of the said Borough, or any other convenient place within the said Borough to be chosen by the Mayor of the said Borough for the time being may and shall have

full power and authority of composing constituting ordaining making and establishing from time to time all reasonable laws statutes constitutions decrees and ordinances in writing which they or the greater part of them being met and assembled for the purpose (of whom we will that the Mayor for the time being be one) shall think in their judgments to be good wholesome useful necessary and honest for the good order and Government of the Borough aforesaid, and of all and singular the Officers, Tradesmen Burgesses Inhabitants and others whatsoever residing within the said Borough for the time being. And as to the method and order of declaring them, that the same Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and all Officers and Ministers, Tradesmen, Inhabitants, and others residing within the Borough aforesaid shall have demean and employ themselves in their several functions services trades and business within the Borough aforesaid the liberty and precincts thereof for the further public good common benefit and good government of the said Borough, and that the said Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid for the time being or the major part of them of whom we will that the Mayor for the time being be one, as often as they shall have composed made ordained or established any laws institutions rights orders and constitutions of this sort in manner aforesaid may and shall be able to make ordain impose limit and provide all such pains punishments and penalties by imprisonment of the body or by fines and amerciaments or either of them in and upon all offenders against any of those laws, rights, orders and constitutions, or any or either of them, as the same Mayor or Aldermen of the said Borough for the time being, or the major part of them (of whom we will that the said Mayor be one), shall think necessary, fit, and requisite for the observation of the same laws, orders, and constitutions, and the same fines and amerciaments to have and levy by distress of goods and chattels, or otherwise to the use of the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, from henceforth for ever without hindrance of us, our heirs, or successors, or any or either officers or ministers of us, our heirs, or successors, and without any account to be given or rendered for the same to us, our heirs, or successors, all and singular which laws, rights, orders, and constitutions so to be made, as aforesaid, we will to be observed under the penalty in the same contained, nevertheless, so that such laws, orders, rights, constitutions, fines, and amerciaments be reasonable and not repugnant nor contrary to the laws, statutes, and customs, or rights of our Kingdom of England.

And for the better execution of our will and grant herein we have appointed, named, created and made, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do appoint, create, constitute, and make our beloved John Priddy to

be first and present Mayor for the Borough aforesaid, being willing that the same John Priddy be continued in the office of Mayor of the Borough aforesaid even unto and upon Monday next, before the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, now next following after the date of these presents. And from thence until one of the Aldermen of the Borough, aforesaid, shall be duly elected appointed and sworn to that office according to the ordinances and provisions hereafter in these presents expressed and declared if he, the said John Priddy, shall so long live.

We have also appointed, nominated, constituted, and made, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do appoint, nominate, constitute, and make our beloved Maurice Nicholas, John Jones, Roger Williams, John Plumley, John Merrick, Richard Williams, Thomas Abrahall, Henry Nicholas, Walter Jenkins, Thomas Harris, Nicholas Young, and James Williams to be first and present Aldermen for the Borough, aforesaid, to be continued in that office during the term of their natural lives, unless he or they, or any of them shall in the mean time be removed for ill-government, or some other reasonable cause, by the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough, aforesaid, for the time being, or the major part of them, of whom we will that the Mayor always be one.

We also will and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors, that the Mayor and Aldermen of the aforesaid Borough for the time being may and shall have full power and authority to assemble and meet together every Monday yearly next before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel from henceforth for ever (except the Monday next before the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel now next following) in the Guild Hall of the Borough aforesaid, or in any other convenient place within the Borough aforesaid, and that the Mayor and the major part of the Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid for the time being then present shall name two of the Aldermen of the said Borough for the time being, one of whom shall be Mayor of the same borough, and also shall present the said two Aldermen so named to the Steward of the Lord of the said Borough for the time being, which said Steward may and shall elect, nominate, and constitute one of the said two Aldermen to be Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, and may and shall give and administer to the person so elected his Corporate Oath on God's Holy Evangelists for the true and faithful execution of the office of Mayor of the Borough aforesaid in all and singular matters and things touching the same.

To which said Steward for the time being we for us our heirs and successors by these presents do give and grant full power and authority to give and administer such oath to the person so elected and constituted Mayor of the

Borough aforesaid without any other commission or warrant to be procured or obtained of us our heirs and successors.

And that he who shall be elected, constituted, and sworn Mayor of the Borough aforesaid shall have and exercise the office of Mayor of the Borough aforesaid during one whole year then next following and from thence until one other of the Aldermen of the said Borough for the time being shall be duly elected, appointed, and sworn into the said Office, according to the order in these presents declared.

And we do further will and by these presents for us and our heirs and successors do grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors. That if it shall so happen that the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, shall at any time hereafter within the space of one year, next, after he shall be as aforesaid elected, appointed, and sworn into the office of Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, die, or be removed from his said office (which Mayor we will shall be removed on account of ill government, or of misbehaving himself, or of any other reasonable cause, at the good pleasure of the Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, or the major part of them), that then, and so often, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, or the major part of them, to nominate two other of the Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, one of whom is to be Mayor for the Borough aforesaid, and the same two Aldermen to present to the Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, which said Steward may and shall elect and appoint one of the said two Aldermen, Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, and administer his corporate oath to the person so elected, in manner and form before mentioned, and, that he so elected and chosen Mayor for the Borough aforesaid, shall have, exercise, and perform that office during the remainder of that year, and from thence until one other of the Aldermen of the said Borough shall have been duly elected, appointed, and sworn into the office of Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, according to the order in these presents expressed, first taking his corporate oath before the Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, for the good and faithful execution of the said office in all matters and things whatsoever.

And, therefore, we for us, our heirs and successors, do will, grant, and ordain, that the said Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, as often as the case shall so happen, may, from time to time hereafter, have full power and authority to administer such oaths as abovesaid, to that person so elected into the office of Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, without any other commission or warrant to be procured or obtained of us, our heirs, and successors, and so from time to time, as often as the case shall so happen.

And, if it shall happen, that any or either of the Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, shall die, or be removed, or depart from that office (which and every of which Aldermen we will, shall be removed, for ill government or misbehaving themselves, or for any other reasonable cause, at the good pleasure of the Mayor and the rest of the Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, or the major part of them, of whom we will that the Mayor be one), that then and so often, it shall, and may be lawful to and for the Mayor and the rest of the Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being or the greater part of them (of whom we will that the Mayor be one) to elect, nominate, and choose one other or more of the Burgesses or Inhabitants of the Borough aforesaid for the time being into the place or places of that or those Aldermen so as aboveesaid happening to die, depart, or be removed, to fill up the aforesaid number of twelve Aldermen for the Borough aforesaid, and that he or they so elected chosen Alderman or Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid (first taking his or their corporate oaths before the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, for the faithful execution of the said office in and for all and singular matters and things whatsoever may and shall be of the aforesaid number of Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, To continue in that office during his or their natural life or lives respectively, if he or they shall so long well behave themselves in that office, and so from time to time as often as the case shall so happen.

And we by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do further will and grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, That if any or either of them who hereafter shall be elected and chosen to the office of Mayor or Alderman of the Borough aforesaid, according to the order in these presents, expressed and declared, and having notice and knowledge of their election and nomination, shall deny or refuse to execute that office to which he or they shall be so elected or nominated, then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough for the time being, or the major part of them (of whom we will that the Mayor be one), to tax, impose, and assess reasonable fines and amerciaments upon those denying or refusing to execute the said office or offices to which he or they shall be elected or chosen, as to the same Mayor and Aldermen, or the greater part of them (of whom we will that the Mayor be one), shall seem reasonable, and him and them so denying and refusing to commit to the prison within the said Borough, and there to detain him till he or they pay or cause to be paid those fines and amerciaments, to the use of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and to their successors, Yet so as no fine to be imposed as aforesaid exceeding the sum of ten pounds sterling,

And we by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do further will and grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, That they and their successors from henceforth for ever shall and may have one approved and discreet man, learned in the Laws of England, to be chosen in manner hereafter in these presents mentioned, who is and shall be called the Recorder of the Borough aforesaid, and that the Recorder of the said Borough so as aforesaid to be named and chosen before that he be admitted to execute that office shall take his corporate oath on God's Holy Evangelists before the Mayor of the Borough, aforesaid, for the time being for the true and faithful execution of the office of Recorder of the said Borough, according to his knowledge in all and singular matter and things touching the same, and that after he hath so taken his oath he may exercise and use the office of Recorder of the said Borough within the Borough aforesaid.

And for the better execution of our will herein we have chosen, nominated, constituted, and made, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors do choose, nominate, constitute and make our beloved Edward Morgan, Esquire, to be first and present Recorder of the Borough aforesaid, to continue in that office during his natural life.

And we will that the Recorder of the said Borough for the time being, or his sufficient deputy, shall be from time to time assisting to the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, and there shall perform and execute all things that appertain or belong to the office of the said Recorder within the Borough aforesaid in as ample manner and form as any other Recorder in any Borough or Town incorporate within the Kingdom of England can and may execute the same by virtue of the said office of Recorder.

We also by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors do will and grant to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors that from time to time and at all times after the death of the said Edward Morgan, or after the said office shall happen to be void by the cessation or resignation of the aforesaid Edward Morgan, or by any other manner it shall and may be lawful to and for the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, or the major part of them, of whom we will that the Mayor be one, to choose, nominate, and appoint one other discreet man learned in the laws of England to be Recorder of the Borough aforesaid, and that he who shall be so nominated and chosen from time to time Recorder of the aforesaid Borough (first taking his Corporate Oath for the good and faithful executing that office in manner aforesaid) shall have and exercise that office during his natural life unless in the meantime he shall for some reasonable cause be removed by the Mayor and Aldermen for the Borough aforesaid

for the time being or the major part of them (of whom we will the Mayor be one), and so from time to time, as the case shall so happen.

And therefore we by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors do ordain, constitute, give and grant to the aforesaid Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, and his successors, Mayors of the Borough aforesaid, that the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, shall and may have full power and authority from time to time to give and administer such Oaths, as well to the said present Recorder, in these presents named as to all others hereafter to be nominated and chosen into the office of Recorder of the Borough aforesaid and every of them without any other commission or warrant to be procured or obtained on that part from us, our heirs and successors.

And we by these presents for us our heirs and successors do further will and grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Alder- and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors. That the Mayor, two senior Aldermen, and Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, and every one of them, is, are, and shall be from henceforth for ever Justices of us our heirs and successors, for keeping and preserving the peace of us our heirs and successors, within the Borough aforesaid and the liberty and precincts thereof, and to make the same be preserved and kept, and also for the keeping and making to be kept all ordinances and statutes published for the good of the peace of us our heirs and successors, for preserving the same, and for the quiet order and government of our people by us our heirs and successors., in all its articles in the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and pre cincts thereof according to the form and effect of the same statutes and ordinances, and to do all other things which appertain to be done in the office of a Justice, or of keeping our peace in any County within the Kingdom of England, and to chastise and punish all offenders in the Borough aforesaid against the form of ordinances and statutes, and any of them as should be done according to the form of those ordinances or statutes, and that the Mayor, two senior Aldermen and Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, or any two or more of them (of whom we will that the Mayor and Steward be two), are the justices of us our heirs and successors, to inquire by the oath of honest and lawful men of the said Borough (by which the truth of the affair may be better discerned), concerning all, and all manner of felonies and other evil deeds, transgressions, and offences, by whatsoever, or after what manner soever, to be done or committed in the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof, of which the justices of us our heirs and successors, can, or by right ought to inquire. Yet they shall by no means proceed to the determination of any treason, murder, or felony, or any other offence or matter soever, touching loss of life or limb, without the

special licence of us our heirs or successors, and that it shall or may be lawful to the said Mayor, Steward, and two senior Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, or two or more of them (of whom it is our will that the Mayor and Steward be two), from time to time to have and hold within the Borough aforesaid General Session or Sessions of the Peace, for, and concerning the things, causes, and matters, from time to time falling or happening within the Borough, and Liberty of the Borough aforesaid, and in the same to inquire, hear, and determine, all such causes, matters, and things, whatsoever. which only can, or ought to be inquired into, heard, and determined, by the Justices of our Peace in the Session or Sessions of the Peace within any county or in any other Borough Town incorporate within the Kingdom of England, by the laws and statutes of this realm, and by our Commission granted to them or any of them, Yet so that they by no means proceed to the determination of any treason, murder, felony, or any other offence or matter whatsoever, touching loss of life or limb, without the special licence of us our heirs and successors.

Nevertheless it is our will that the said John Riddy in these presents named to be first and present mayor of the Borough aforesaid, and also every other mayor of the Borough aforesaid before he be admitted to execute the office of mayor of the Borough aforesaid or to execute the office of Justice of the peace within the Borough aforesaid shall before the Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid for the time being take a Corporal oath on God's Holy Evangelists, well and truly to execute the office of Mayor of the Borough aforesaid in and by all things touching the same and well and truly to execute the office of Justice of the peace within the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof, and also shall take the oaths by the Laws and statutes of this our Kingdom of England in this case provided requisite to be taken by a Justice of the peace.

To which Steward we give and grant by these presents full power and authority to administer such oath to the aforesaid John Riddy and every other to be mayor hereafter without any other warrant and commission in that case to be procured or obtained.

We also will that the Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid, and the two senior aldermen of the borough aforesaid now being, and every other steward of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being, and also all other senior aldermen of the Borough aforesaid to be hereafter, and every one of them, before they or any of them be admitted to execute the office of Justice of the peace within the Borough aforesaid, shall before the mayor of the said Borough for the time being take their Corporal oaths upon God's Holy Evangelists well and truly to execute the office of Justice of the peace within

the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof, in and by all things touching the same, and also shall take the oaths by the statutes of this our Kingdom of England in that case provided to be taken by Justices of the peace.

To which mayor of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, we by these presents for us our heirs and successors, do give and grant full power and authority to administer such oath as aforesaid to the aforesaid Steward and two senior aldermen for the time being without any commission or warrant to be procured or obtained.

And we further by these presents for us our heirs and successors do will and grant to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, that the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, the Steward of the Lord of the said Borough, and the two senior aldermen of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, or any two of them (of whom we will that the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid or the Steward of the Lord of the Borough aforesaid be one) can and may by their warrants in writing, signed and sealed with their own hands, send all such persons who shall hereafter be taken, arrested, or attached within the Borough aforesaid, the liberty or precincts thereof, for treason, murder, felony, manslaughter, or robbery, to be done or committed, or for suspicion of felony, to the common gaol of the County of Monmouth aforesaid, there to be kept to be tried, to answer for their offences before the Justices, of us, our heirs, and successors in the said County of Monmouth, for the gaol delivery in the said County, or before the Justices of Oyer and Terminer there appointed or to be appointed,

Willing by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors commanding, as well the Sheriff of the County of Monmouth aforesaid, as the keeper of the common gaol for the said County for the time being, that they and every of them upon such warrant made by the aforesaid Justices of the Peace, within the Borough of Newport aforesaid, for the time being, or any two of them (of whom we will that the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, or the Steward of the Borough aforesaid, for the time being be one), to them, or either of them directed, shall receive and safely keep all such persons (so as above said by the aforesaid Justices of the Peace within the Borough aforesaid, hereafter to be taken, arrested, or apprehended in the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof, for murder, manslaughter, robbery, or any other felony done or committed as aforesaid, or for suspicion of felony, and sent to the aforesaid common gaol of the said County of Monmouth so as aforesaid, there to abide to be tried and to answer before the Justices of Oyer and Terminer, of us, our heirs and successors, or before the Justices appointed or to be appointed for the gaol de-

livery of the County aforesaid, and these our letters patent, or the inrollment of the same, shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge on this behalf to the said Sheriff of the common gaol of the County aforesaid for the time being.

We also by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do will and grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors, that they and their successors from henceforth for ever shall have within the aforesaid Borough two officers, who are and shall be called bailiffs of the same Borough, and are and shall be from time to time attending on and upon the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, and shall from time to time be nominated and elected by the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, which Bailiffs so nominated and elected shall, before they be admitted to the execution of the said office, take a corporal oath before the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, well and truly to execute all and every matters to the office of the said Bailiffs of the same Borough belonging, and that they, after taking such oaths, may have and exercise that office, and can and may execute all things touching the same, do fully, freely and complete, as the Bailiffs of the Borough aforesaid before used, could or ought to do and exercise within the Borough aforesaid.

We also by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give to the Mayor of the Borough aforesaid, power and authority to administer such oath as abovesaid to the Bailiffs of the Borough aforesaid, so from time to time to be chosen.

We also by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors, that the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid for the time being, nor any of them, may not be impannelled on any Assizes Jury or Inquisition without the said Borough, to be taken before any of the Justices of us, our heirs and successors in the assizes, or those appointed, or to be appointed for Gaol Delivery, neither shall they, or any of them by any such means, forfeit any issues, fines, or amerciaments to us, our heirs or successors, but shall be eased from them for ever, unless they or any of them have lands or tenements without the said Borough, the liberty and precincts thereof for which they ought to be charged.

And we, out of our special grace, sure knowledge and meer motion, have further given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors, special free and lawful license, power, liberty, and authority, to have, take, receive, and possess to themselves and successors, for ever, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadow pastures,

pasture ground, woods, rectories, tythes, rents, revenues, and other hereditaments whatsoever, as well of us, our heirs and successors, as of any other person or persons whatsoever, which are not held immediately of us, our heirs and successors, in capite or by Knight's services, nor of any other or others by Knight service, be that the same manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments so hereafter to be obtained do not exceed in the whole the clear yearly value of £50, over and above all charges and reprisals, the statute of Lands and Tenements in mortmain, or any other Statute, act, ordinance, or provision, before had, made, published, ordained or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

We also by these presents for us our heirs and successors do give and grant to all and every the subjects of us our heirs and successors, whatsoever, special, free and lawful, licence, power, liberty, and authority, that they, or any of them can, and may lawfully and without danger, give, grant, sell, bequeath, or alien, any manors, messuages, lands, tenements, or any other hereditaments whatsoever, which are not freed of us our heirs and successors, immediately in capite, nor by Knight service, nor of any others by Knights service to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors, so that all the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments so as aforesaid, to be given, granted, aliened, or bequeathed, to the same Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, as above, do not exceed in the whole the clear yearly rent or value of £50, over and above all charges and reprisals the statute of lands and tenements in mortmain or any other statute, act, ordinance, or provision, before had, made, published, ordained, and provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

And we by these presents for us our heirs and successors, do further will and grant the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid and their successors, that no foreigner, or from another place, unless he be a freeman of the said Borough from this time hereafter for ever may sell, or expose to sale, within the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof, any wares or merchandise, otherwise than in gross, or other than cattle, and all necessaries for the victualling the Borough aforesaid, unless it be during the fair to be holden within the said Borough, nor shall hold any shop, place, or station, nor use any mystery, occupation, or act manual within the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof, without the special licence of the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors for the time being, first obtained under their common seal, under pain of the displeasure of our heirs and successors, and under such other pains, penalties, and for-

feitures as by the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdom of England, ought to be inflicted or imposed on such offenders for their disobedience and contempt in this behalf.

And we by these presents for us our heirs and successors do further will and grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, that they and their successors, from henceforth for ever shall have, hold, and keep, and can and may have hold and keep within the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof, yearly, and every year for ever, two markets or fairs, the first of them to be begun on the Feast or day of the Ascension of our Lord, and continue for that whole day and the morrow thereof, yearly, and the other market or fair to be begun on the day or Feast of St. Leonard, and to continue for all that day and the morrow thereof yearly, to be holden in such convenient place within the said Borough the liberty and precincts thereof as to the Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough aforesaid, or the greater part of them, shall seem best, together with a Pye Powder Court there to be held in time of the market or fair, and with all liberties, free customs, tolls, tallages, pickages, fines, amerciaments, and all other profits, commodities, advantages, and emoluments whatsoever to such market or fair and Pye Powder Court, belonging, appertaining, arising, or happening, yet so that the aforesaid markets or fairs nor either of them be not to the hurt of any neighbouring markets or fairs thereto nigh adjoining.

Wherefore by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do, will, and firmly charge and command that the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, have, hold, and keep, and can and may have, hold, and keep, within the Borough aforesaid, the liberty and precincts thereof yearly and every year for ever, in manner and form aforesaid, the aforesaid markets or fairs, one of them to begin every feast day of the Ascension of our Lord, and for all that day and the morrow thereof, yearly to be held, kept, and continued, and the other of those markets or fairs to begin on every day or feast of St. Leonard, and for all that day and the morrow thereof, yearly likewise to be held, kept, and continued, together with the Pye Powder Court there at the time of the said markets or fairs, and each of them respectively, to be held with all liberties, free customs, tolls, stallages, pickages, fines, amerciaments, and all other profits, commodities, and advantages and emoluments whatsoever, to such market or fair and Pye Powder Court belonging, appertaining, arising, imminent, or happening, notwithstanding our writ of Ad Quod Dampirum, or any other writ, hath not issued out of our Chancery before the making of these our Letters Patents to enquire of the markets or

fairs aforesaid, or of any or either of them, nevertheless so that the aforesaid markets or fairs nor either of them be to the hurt of any other neighbouring markets or fairs there near adjoining.

And we, out of our abundant special grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have further granted and confirmed and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant and confirm to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, all and all manner of franchises, liberties, authorities, exemptions, acquittances, privileges, and jurisdictions whatsoever which the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Inhabitants of the Borough aforesaid now have, hold, use, and enjoy, by hereditary right, by reason or pretence of any charters before made, confirmed, or granted by the Duke of Buckingham, or any other lawful manor right, title, custom, use, or prescription before lawfully used, had, or accustomed, although the same or any or either of them was or were not before used or misused, or illused, or discontinued, and though the same or any or either of them are or were forfeited or lost, to have, hold, and enjoy, to the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, for ever, yielding and paying to us, our heirs, and successors, so many so much such the same and alike rents, services, pence, sums, and demands, whatsoever, as many as much such and which they before use to pay or render, or ought to render or pay for the same.

Wherefore we, for us, our heirs and successors, formerly injoining, do will and command that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors have hold, use and enjoy, and can, may, have, hold, use, enjoy for ever all liberties, authorities, jurisdictions, franchises, exemptions and acquittances, aforesaid, according to the tenor and true meaning of these our letters patent without restriction impediment from us, our heirs, or successors, the justices, sheriffs, or any other, bailiffs or ministers, of us, our heirs, or successors, whosoever, being unwilling that the same Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, or the Inhabitants and Burgesses of the same Borough should be charged with payments, molested, troubled, burthened, or in anything be disturbed by reason of the premises, or any of them by us, our heirs, or successors, the justices, sheriffs, escheaton, or other officers, bailiffs, or ministers of our heirs and successors, whomsoever.

Willing, and by these presents commanding and requiring as well, the treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our exchequer, and other the justices and officers of us, our heirs, and successors, as our Attorney General for the time being, and every of them and all other, the officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, whomsoever, that they, nor any of them, nor any nor either of them, prosecute or continue, or cause, or procure

to be prosecuted, or continued any writ or summons, de quo warranto, or any other writ or writs or process whatsoever against the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough, aforesaid, or any or either of them, for any causes, things, matters, offences, claims, or usurpations, or any of them, by them, or any of them, due, claimed, used, attempted, had, or usurped before the day of the date of these presents.

Willing also that the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough aforesaid, and their successors, or any of them, be in no wise molested or hindered by any of the justices, officers, and ministers, aforesaid, in or for the debt, use, claim, or misuse, liberties, franchises, or jurisdictions, aforesaid, or to be compelled to answer, any or either of them within the Borough aforesaid, the liberty, or precincts thereof, before the day of the date of these our letters patents to the end that express mention, &c.

In witness, &c.,

Witness: the King, at Westminster, the 20th day of September, 21 Jac. 1st.

By writ of Privy Seal.

It agrees with the record and is examined by me.

WM. ROOKE.

21st day of July, 1731.
It is examined within
the Rolls Chapel with
the record by me.
THOS. RIGG.

The date of the Charter of which we have given a transcript is 20th September, 21st James I. Upon the copy of the Charter in possession of the Corporation the year 1622 is marked, while Scott's History of Newport gives the year as 1624. Now, as James succeeded to the throne upon the death of Elizabeth in March, 1603, and was crowned in July following, it follows that September, in 21st year of James's reign would be in 1623. The date given by Scott and the year pencilled upon the Charter are therefore clearly wrong.

Although the office of Mayor existed in the borough before the Charter was granted, probably some alteration was made in the mode of election at this time. It has been previously pointed out that the office had its origin in Norman times, and the Mayor, in the first instance, was simply an officer appointed to perform certain duties on behalf of the lord. By the Charter the liberties of the people were so far enlarged that their represen-

tatives in the Corporation were permitted the privilege of selecting two of their number, of whom the steward of the lord had the power of appointing one as Mayor. He did this by no other authority than that which his position gave him. So that it is evident the lord was at that time a real power in the borough. Times have changed, and this remnant of feudal practice has been swept away, the Mayor being now chosen by the representatives of the people alone, neither the steward nor his lord being in the matter recognised or known.

We may further observe, with regard to the establishment by the Charter of Quarter Sessions, that this institution remained in active operation for about two centuries, and was instrumental in promoting what was so much desired by the applicants for the Charter—the good government of the town.

In Scott's History of Newport are given some extracts from a "well thumbed book dated 15th January, 6th Geo. II., 1733," being the presentments of the grand jury of that period. They are not without interest, as showing in some degree the manners and customs of the times. The extracts are as follow :—

Mary Jones, widow—presented by the grand jury for a defective causeway leading towards the church and Margaret Turberville's—discharged.

George Kemys, Esq.—presented to the grand jury for a defective causeway before his house—discharged.

Thomas Thomas—presented to the grand jury for following the trade of a taylor, not being free—fined sixpence and discharged.

Anne Russell, widow—presented for entertaining vagabonds and vagrants—Fined one penny and discharged.

Andrew Weaver—presented for filling up the town ditch in his garden, the same being a nuisance.—Discharged.

General Morgan—presented for not opening a water course leading from Baneswell that usually was carried under the gateway or clockhouse in the said borough.—Respited.

Thomas Griffiths—presented for carrying on the trade of a saddler, not being free; and William Jones for opening a shop, not being free.—Quashed.

Mrs Margaret Williams—for a defective causeway opposite to Dragon Inn.—Discharged.

Thomas Power—for exercising the trade of a cordwainer in the town, not being free thereof.—Discharged.

William Frost, wheelwright, for carrying on his trade, not being a freeman.—No sentence.

George Davies, for putting two ricks of hay on the castle garden.—Discharged.

There is a further record of a General Quarter Sessions held in 1760, before Adam Barber, Esq., Mayor, and Charles Griffiths, Esq., Steward—justices of the King for the borough of Newport. The names of the grand inquest at those Sessions were John Cobb, foreman; and Messrs William Hughes, Luke Watkins, John Howard, Edward Powell, John Matthews, Rowland Nicholas, David Harrhy, William Wade, jun., Harrhy Jones, John Morgan, Robert Morgan, Charles Nunny, William Phillips, Edward Williams, Thomas Waters, and Thomas Williams. With one or two exceptions, all these names are not unfamiliar at the present day.

The inquest as constituted ordered:—

That Mr Thomas Phillips, presented at the last General Quarter Sessions for making a dunghill by his stable door, be discharged, having removed the same.

That David Jones, presented at the last Sessions for entertaining and harbouring vagabonds and sturdy beggars, be committed into the custody of the bailiffs and constable of the borough, having been convicted of the offence.

That Dorothy Moon, having submitted, be fined one penny and discharged on payment of fees.

That Henry Morgan, for having exercised the trade of tyler without being a freeman, having submitted, be discharged upon payment of his fees and a fine of one shilling.

That a Bench warrant be issued against Catherine Godwin for her appearance at the next Sessions for libel on Mary Herbert.

That the indictment against Henry Jones, for making a dunghill on the castle green, be quashed.

That Jane Williams, widow, be fined one penny for keeping a disorderly house and selling beer without a licence.

At the Quarter Sessions held June 10th, 1777, it was ordered "That Alice Morgan, being found guilty of a felony, she be stripped from her waist upwards and whipped at twelve o'clock at the whipping post in this Borough, with thirty lashes, till the blood issues forth, and that she be sent in the meantime to the clock-house in this Borough."

The crime with which she was charged was breaking down part of a hedge!

Modern sentimental advocates of the abolition of the lash may, after reading the last entry, well congratulate themselves upon the progress made during the last century, for it is certainly now revolting to contemplate the public whipping of a half naked woman until the blood gushed from her quivering flesh.

The book from which these extracts were made, as well as others which appear to have contained the judicial transactions of the Corporation for more than a century, and which were in existence in 1847, have now disappeared, and no official of the present Corporation has a knowledge of how they were disposed of. From this cause no record informs us why or when the Quarter Sessions of the borough ceased or were abolished. They appear to have continued, however, until the early part of the present century, as mention is made of Sir Charles Morgan, Bart., as recorder in the year 1812.

For a considerable time prisoners committed to the Quarter Sessions for the county of Monmouth have been sent to Usk for trial, not only from the borough of Newport, but also from every other part of the county. The difficulty of access to the borough of Usk, and the inconvenience occasioned by the want of accommodation at the period of the Sessions when there was necessarily a large influx of people, formed a ground of complaint for many years, and in 1858 the Town Council of Newport took steps to obtain the removal of the Quarter Sessions from Usk to Newport. The Mayor of Newport attended at the Sessions held in January of the year named, and engaged on the part of the Council to provide suitable and satisfactory accommodation for holding the Sessions at Newport if the Court would undertake that they should be removed as desired. The Court, however, decided that the Sessions should not be removed, and resolved to expend a sum of money in improving the accommodation of the old Court House at Usk.

The public inconvenience, of which general complaints were made, not being abated, the Town Council of Newport again considered the question,

and in 1866 passed a resolution in favour of obtaining for the borough of Newport a separate Court of Quarter Sessions. A memorial to her Majesty to this end was presented, and communications made to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, but on the scheme being presented to the ratepayers at a public meeting, it was rejected by them. A scheme in reference to the removal of the Quarter Sessions was resuscitated in 1872 by the Town Council, but the County Justices resolved to erect a new and more commodious court house at Usk, and nothing resulted to the advantage of Newport from the endeavours made.

THE CHARTER FAIRS OF NEWPORT.—ABOLITION OF STOW FAIR.

The fairs as established in the borough of Newport by the Charter of King James have ceased to be holden, and are now mere matters of history. A few remarks are necessary in these papers concerning them, and we set them down here to save any reference to the subject hereafter. As most other fairs were established for matters of business, there can be no doubt that those of Newport had a similar origin. M. Bottin, the author of a book on the "Fairs of France," points out that the fairs of that country were held for the most part on the frontiers, or on the Marches of ancient provinces, and although no such similarity has been noticed by any writer with regard to the fairs of this country, it is obvious that when communication from one part of the kingdom to another was difficult, Newport would have been a convenient spot to which Welshmen could bring their stock and produce to exchange with English dealers for current coin or articles of necessity which they required in their scattered and semi-desolate homes.

The earlier fair of the year, that held on the day of the Ascension of our Lord, appears to have obtained a pre-eminence over the fair held on the feast of St. Leonard. It was generally designated Stow Fair, and for many years it was understood to be necessary that the fair should be held within the manor of Stow, the area of which is very limited, and its boundaries undefined. The manor of Stow is beyond the boundary of the manor of Newport, and if we enquire why the fair, the privilege to hold which was granted to the borough of Newport, was held in an adjacent manor, we fear the answer is not forthcoming. The Lord of the Manor of Newport has always possessed the right of taking tolls for goods offered for sale within his jurisdiction, and it may be that at some time an antagonism between the Lord and the attendants at the fair drove the latter to pitch their tents in a spot where no tolls could by charter or prescription be levied by him. In course of time, as communi-

cation with other parts improved, the original object of holding the fair was removed, and it then degenerated to an annual assembly for pleasure and boisterous merrymaking, and ultimately to a a gathering where drunkenness, disorder, vice, and crime predominated.

In olden times, and down to a period as late as 1711, the Mayor proclaimed the fairs with some formality, and by an ordinance of this date it was provided that every burgess within the borough should keep defensive arms in his house for preserving the peace, and attend the Mayor on such occasions with such arms if required, on pain of forfeiting 10s. Towards the end of the last century, the Mayor relinquished the practice of officially attending the fairs, but the people apparently kept up the old custom by electing a mayor for the occasion, whose province was to preside over and regulate the chief amusements indulged in by those assembled. Tradition says that it was customary to seize obnoxious persons and dip them in a muddy pool, or place them in the parish stocks, which infliction was sometimes avoided by the unfortunate victim paying a fine. The rough treatment exhibited to some Jew pedlars, at length drew attention to the necessity of checking the lawlessness prevailing, and by the efforts, chiefly of successive Vicars of St. Woolos, the mock mayor and his immunities were entirely abolished. On the erection of the present cattle market, 1844, the stock fairs were removed thither, but the pleasure fair at Stow seemed to increase in popularity. For many years it was the one day in the calendar to which the industrial population of the county looked forward to as a holiday. Special trains from the Eastern, Western, and Rhymney Valleys brought thousands of colliers, miners, and ironworkers from the hills; the rural population flocked into the borough, whilst the children released from attendance at school, with townsfolk, increased the multitudinous assembly. In the fair field, a few intinerant gingerbread and toy vendors set up their stalls, the calculating pig and pony were exhibited in their wondrous performances, the penny peepshow amused the juveniles,

while Baker's royal theatrical performances, where the drama was murdered, and tragedies rendered by low comedians, attracted the visitors of older growth. The fair was occasionally patronized by Wombwell's or some other menageries, but in its latter days the round of shows became smaller by degrees, while less harmful temptations, such as illustrations of the noble art of self defence, and booths for drinking purposes increased in number. The facilities for drinking, too, were not confined to booths in the field. At the Bull Inn, the site of which is now occupied by the residence of W. D. Evans, Esq., special preparations were made for the emergency. The space (once probably the village green), in front of the old Six Bells Inn, was filled with seats and casks of ale. At the entrances to the churchyard, and at a score of cottage doors by the side of the road leading from the town to the fair, casks were visible, the owners having invested in a supply of ale for the occasion, and now busily sought to make a harvest by plying thirsty souls with drink as they unceasingly wended their way up the hill towards the fair field. The fair commenced early in the day, and its uproar continued far into the night, scores of persons being the next morning found in the field helplessly sleeping off the effects of their debauch. The serious disorder occasioned by the fair, which became a reproach to the town, necessitated at last the interference of the authorities, who took steps to repress its most objectionable features. Their efforts were strengthened by a wise enactment of Parliament requiring every person selling beer at such fairs to have a license, and to close at sunset. This enactment was for a few years strictly enforced by the police. In 1863 the Monmouthshire Railway Company were induced by public opinion, to cease running special trains, and thus two heavy blows were dealt at the existence of the old fair. The Town Council now seriously set to work to secure its entire suppression, and endeavoured to prevent the letting of land for the purpose. Field after field in the locality where the fair was usually held was occupied for building operations, and it

seemed likely at last that the fair would cease for want of a place to hold it, when in 1868 a field at the back of the Friars, within the borough and almost in the heart of the town, was let for the purpose. This was the beginning of the end, for at the next Quarter Sessions of the county at Usk the Grand Jury presented the owner of the field for illegally holding a fair, which was a nuisance to the public. Upon being indicted he was found guilty, and although the question was contested and carried to the Court of Queen's Bench, the defendant in 1870 entered into recognisances to come up for judgment when called upon to do so, and also not to allow any further use of his field for the purpose of holding a fair. Since 1870, therefore, Stow Fair has been a thing of the past, and the rising generation will be none the worse on account of its contaminating and demoralising influences having been utterly swept away.

In 1879 the Monmouthshire Chamber of Agriculture represented to the Town Council the inconvenience of having the stock fairs held on other than market days, and the Council having taken the matter up, obtained an order from the justices that the fair accustomed to be held on the day of Ascension of our Lord (Thursday in Whitsun week) should be held on the day prior, viz., Wednesday, the ordinary market day; and that the fair accustomed to be held on the feast of St. Leonard, viz., 6th November, should be held instead thereof on the first Wednesday in November.

REIGN OF CHARLES I.—DISPUTES BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT.—EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF GEN. SIR CHARLES MORGAN.

The reign of King Charles was a period of vital interest to the realm of England, and one in the events of which the people of Monmouthshire took a not inactive part. It will be altogether unnecessary in this work to trace at length the causes of the fatal contention between the King and Parliament, yet as the bare quotation of references to this locality from historical records would be to an extent unintelligible, and lack interest, an outline of the contest will be given, filling in with details those portions of the narrative where the scene is laid in this district, or where in the events described some of its inhabitants took a prominent or leading part.

The dispute between the Crown and Parliament arose, it has been generally admitted, from the gradual progress of society and a desire for the extension of civil liberty. Parliament assumed such a freedom of tone that the King became alarmed, and endeavoured to check its influence by a stringent application of prerogative. This in turn was met by a still greater firmness on the part of Parliament, and by persistent refusals to vote the supplies required for the purposes of Government. The King, in attempting to control the Parliament, repeatedly invaded its privileges, and frequently dissolved it in displeasure, endeavouring to govern without it. As Parliament would not grant supplies, various expedients to obtain money were resorted to by the King, which Parliament alleged were contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, and which proved especially displeasing to the earnest advocates of civil liberty. The contest resulted in a long and bloody war, and ended in the violent death of the King, and throwing the nation for a time into a state of anarchy.

Difficulties began when Charles, having engaged the country in war with Spain, failed to obtain from Parliament the necessary supplies. He dissolved the

Parliament, and issued orders from the Council to borrow money from the richer people throughout the kingdom on Privy Seals. The scheme was not on the whole successful, though we are unable to state how this particular proposal was received by the gentlemen of Monmouthshire. If we may judge from the manner in which a similar proposal was received at a later period, we may suppose that it utterly failed, but we shall hereafter find that some of the truest and most sacrificing supporters which Charles had were those who resided in this county. In Breconshire seven persons advanced £105. In Glamorganshire it was alleged that the county had suffered extensive losses at the hands of Turkish pirates, who had captured five good barques belonging to them, "to the utter undoing of many men, and the impoverishment of the whole country, the farmers being unable to pay their rent, and honest men detained slaves at Sallee, imploring the aid of their friends." Charles soon tried another Parliament, which met February, 1626, and with a view to lessen the strength of the opposition, he devised the plan of appointing the leading men who opposed him as Sheriffs of the counties in which they resided, so that they might not be elected to serve in Parliament. It would seem, however, that among the few leading men of Monmouthshire the King was well supported, and the sheriff appointed was Edward Morgan, who is said to have been a staunch royalist. This Parliament was soon dissolved, and without voting supply.

Charles then wrote letters to justices of the peace in the several counties, stating that the House of Commons "unanimously" agreed to grant a supply which would have been granted accordingly, but for the "disordered passion of some members," wherefore the King was forced to dissolve the Parliament; but the necessity for the supply still continuing, the King desired his loving subjects "to be a law unto themselves, and to grant that, which if it had passed as was intended, they would have been compellable unto." The justices were ordered to call the people together, and to exhort them to grant a supply equal to the King's wants.

The people of Monmouthshire, in obedience to the request of the justices, assembled at Usk on the 25th August, and the matter having been fully laid before them, they very indignantly "refused to pay the subsidies except they were granted by Act of Parliament." They were not even content with this unequivocal resolution, but further gave instructions to send back the King's letter, intimating as a modern writer says, that they "did not wish to harbour amongst themselves even the slightest memento of such irregularity."

Charles afterwards tried a loan, and certain Privy Councillors and others were named as commissioners to visit counties specially assigned to them, and report the names of those who made advances and those who refused to do so. How they fared in Monmouthshire we are unable to state, and we regret to find that the records of the county are at present not in a condition to be consulted. In neighbouring counties large sums were advanced, but many persons refused, and some complied only with much grumbling.

The unsatisfactory state of things at home produced misfortunes abroad, which we may well illustrate by a passage in the life of General Sir Charles Morgan, Knight, a member of the Morgan family, settled at Langston in this county. This distinguished officer accepted service under the King of Denmark, who, in 1625, engaged on promise of a subsidy to be paid by England, to march an army of 36,000 men to the relief of the Palatinate. In a certificate still preserved, he has described himself as Charles Morgan, Knight, gentleman Extraordinary of His Majesty's Privy Chamber, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, under the Lords of the estates and governors of Bergen ap Zoome and the forts thereunto belonging." From the position of a colonel of a regiment, Sir Charles evidently had speedy promotion, a letter from King Charles, dated 9th May, 1627, being addressed to Sir Charles Morgan, General of the English forces, which are in the service of the King of Denmark, and begins thus:—"We understand by our Ambassador that our deere uncle the King of

Denmarke hath offered unto you the generall command of all his infantry," &c.

The English forces consisted of four regiments, and ought to have numbered six thousand men, but they were not what they ought to have been. On April 7, Sir Charles Morgan reported that when the men mustered to go on board ship, only 2,472 answered to their names. Such as they were, the skeletons of the four regiments, were shipped for the Elbe, and recruits were subsequently sent to fill up the ranks, some of these recruits being men who were pressed against their will, and some who had refused to pay the loan before referred to. By these means Sir Charles had, by the 1st of June, something like five thousand men under his command, who were expected to hold their own against the veteran troops opposed to them. The expenses of Morgan's troops were estimated at £10,000 a month, but were really more. This expenditure alone exhausted the money raised by the loan, and beside that, the money reached the men with the greatest irregularity, which so disheartened the men that Morgan, in writing from his post, near Bremen, July 23, expressed his fears that his men would refuse to fight if the enemy attacked them. A month's pay was subsequently sent just in time to prevent Morgan's troops from breaking up. An addition of fourteen hundred troops was also sent, but these might just as well have been left at home, for no sooner did they set their foot on shore than they deserted by hundreds to hire themselves out to other masters who knew the value of a soldier. The King of Denmark was overpowered, and Morgan withdrew the remnant of his soldiers across the Elbe. Troubles increased upon him, and he was obliged to borrow three thousand dollars on his own credit to pay his men. Almost in despair he wrote "What service can the King expect from these unwilling men? I have been vexed all this summer, and could do nothing but what pleased them." The King of Denmark, after his reverses, clung with despair to the fortress by which the mouth of the Elbe was guarded, and Stade, on the western bank, was entrusted to Morgan, who

still had about 4,000 men left to him. At this time every penny in the English exchequer had been disposed of, and the little force was left to shift for itself. Morgan raised more money on his own credit, but not more than enough, it is said, to "procure a fresh supply of shoes and stockings." Under these adverse circumstances, the brave old General showed no signs of flinching, but on January 25, 1628, wrote thus—"If it must be my extreme hard fortune to be thus abandoned, I will not abandon myself nor this place, as long as with cat and dog—our present diet—we shall be able to find an arm of that strength that it may lift a sword." Week after week slipped away, dissensions and difficulties were increasing at home, and no help to poor Sir Charles was ever rendered. Want and disease did their fell work. The town was closely blockaded and no supplies could be sent in, so that there was no hope of long holding out, even if no siege was opened. When April came Morgan still retained the place, but on the 27th he formally surrendered it to the opposing commander, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. The noble old General, descendant of an honoured family, could feel no shame at the failure, abandoned as he was for so long a period by both king and country.

PIRATES IN THE BRISTOL CHANNEL.—LEVY OF SHIP MONEY.—RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—LOCAL SCHISMATICS.

In March 1628, Charles called together his third Parliament, a Parliament to which the people of England are more deeply indebted than to any other which has ever assembled under Royal authority. It sat but one year, but in that period of time passed the Bill of Rights, a measure which, equally with Magna Charta, may be regarded as the great palladium of an Englishman's liberty. In this Parliament the county of Monmouth was represented by Nicholas Kemeys, of Llanfair, and Nicholas Arnold, of Llanfihangel. The member for the Monmouthshire boroughs was William Morgan. Arnold had been member for the county in the previous Parliament, and served the office of sheriff in 1634. Kemeys was sheriff in 1633, and in 1642 was knighted by the king. He subsequently became noted for his capture and brave defence of Chepstow Castle. Parliament, which had done so good a work, was dissolved in March 1629, and there was then a period of 12 years, until 1640, before another Parliament was convened. Much happened in the country in that interval of time, and society lapsed into a condition rendering the startling events which followed almost a natural consequence. The state of our army and the position it occupied abroad has been illustrated by the career of General Sir Charles Morgan. Our navy was in no respect better. It had been so neglected that it was utterly incapable of protecting our merchant vessels from becoming a prey to pirates who infested the coast. These marauders had proved troublesome in the reign of Elizabeth, but that monarch's efforts were to a large extent successful in repressing them. They became more bold by the weakness of James and Charles, and the Bristol Channel was rendered unsafe for the property of English merchants and the lives of English seamen. Lundy and the Islands on the coast of South Wales were held by pirates, and one Salkeld, making Lundy his stronghold, called himself king of it. The

smallest trading vessels could not venture from one port to another without a great risk of being captured and the crew taken prisoners. The authorities of Bristol, the ports on the coast of Devon, with Swansea and Cardiff (of which Newport was then a creek), sent repeated complaints of this state of things to the Government, and several ships of war were sent into the Channel and a number of smaller vessels called "whelps" accompanied the expedition. Their efforts seem to have been ineffectual. On the 24th September, 1633, a special meeting of the Lords of Admiralty was held "to consider (*inter alia*) the complaints from the west country of the outrages committed at Lundy," and this was doubtless an additional reason for the important step which King Charles soon took, viz., the general levying of an impost called ship money, for the equipment of a fleet. This demand for ship money was first formally made on writs, issued to the maritime counties only, each county being rated at a specified sum, which was then divided and assessed upon the towns and individuals of large property. Monmouth was assessed at the lowest rate, about £2,000, while Devon and Somerset were placed among the highest, viz., £12,000. Bristol, as a city, stood at £800, being second only to London. Cardiff, and Liverpool were rated at the like amount, viz., £25 only. Such, apparently 250 years ago, was the relative importance of the places named. The justices of Monmouthshire having been applied to by the High Sheriff of the county to provide a ship, assembled at Newport on the 24th of July, and having duly deliberated upon the King's demand, made a reply to this effect, "that having inquired what ships belong to any port in the county, they cannot find there is any one." Probably instead of the ship a supply of money was provided which would have been equally satisfactory to Charles. The King's necessities at this time were very great, and it was about this time that the Earl of Worcester, of Ragland Castle, most nobly came forward and advanced him a considerable sum of money, in return for which the King gave him authority to enclose a third part of Wentwood

Chase. This transaction was very displeasing to the lords of the neighbouring manors and the people generally, and increased the bitterness of feeling which in the country already too widely prevailed.

The religious and social condition of the people much influenced the contest between the King Charles and his supporters, and the Parliament and its friends. The Protestant religion had at the time made considerable progress, and become consolidated. It had gone far beyond the mere rejection of Popery, and already the political Puritan had become prominent. Still the mass of the people were altogether unaffected for good. Although a period of 70 years had elapsed since the settlement of the Reformation by Queen Elizabeth, the only Bibles to be found in Wales were those in cathedrals and parish churches, and the Holy Scriptures were almost entirely unknown to the people in their own language, and the majority were too ignorant to profit by anything circulated amongst them in English. The Bible, too, chiefly in use—that translated by Bishop Morgan—was not without its faults—faults rather of the printer than of the translator, for in Exodus xii. the verse concerning the angels passing over the houses of the Egyptians besprinkled with blood was wholly left out; and the sentence "He is a proud man" was omitted from the 5th verse of the 2nd chapter of Habakkuk.

The Rev Rees Prichard, vicar of Llandovery, a pious clergyman who made zealous efforts to improve the condition of the people around him, drew a fearful picture of the morals prevailing. He declared that it was difficult to decide whether the clergyman, the farmer, the artizan, the bailiff, the judge, or the nobleman was the most daring in impiety. He said further that the unchastity of the Sodomites, the drunkenness of the Parthians, the theft of the Cretans, the falsehood of the Greeks, and the infidelity of the Samaritans were rampant throughout every part of the Principality. To conscientious and God fearing men like Rees Prichard, such a state of things must have been most painful, and it was

fortunate for Wales that some few clergymen like him were roused to a sense of their duty as ministers of Christ. Their efforts for good, however, were sadly obstructed by the rulers of the Church, who doubtless with the best intentions, were anxious to avoid all harrassing differences of procedure, and to carry on its work upon lines which had been ultimately agreed upon after a long and desperate contest between opposing parties.

The strict observance of Sunday, as the Sabbath or Lord's Day, although a distinctive characteristic of the Puritans, was a movement which strongly commended itself to many earnest clergymen, who had in many other matters little sympathy with the leaders of the Puritan movement, now becoming every day more widely extended. The blows, however, aimed at the suppression of Puritanism, struck these sincere and earnest ministers with a a force which compelled them at last to choose between loyalty to the King and Government, and devotion to their God. Of some who chose the latter, and the memory of whose names is yet green, we purpose to give a short account.

To ascertain who were Puritanical in their opinions, James I issued a declaration to signify his pleasure that on Sundays after Divine service "no lawful recreation should be barred to his good people which should not tend to the breach of the laws, and the canons of his Church." The occasion of this proclamation was the illegal suppression, by the Puritan party, of the customary recreations of the people, and thereby giving a repulsive aspect to the reformed religion. The order of James was not strictly enforced, but when Charles found the Puritans in opposition to him, he was advised to revive the Declaration of James. This he consented to do, and in 1633, the Proclamation regarding the Book of Sports, was ordered to be read in all churches. Archbishop Laud followed up this step by directing the bishops to report how far the clergy in their respective dioceses had conformed to the King's commands. Some writers have stated that in all Wales not half a dozen clergymen refused to obey the order. As regards the diocese of Llandaff, Bishop Murray

shall speak for himself. Under date January 2nd, 1634, the Bishop certifies that this last year he visited in person and found that William Erbery, vicar of St. Mary's in Cardiff, and Walter Cradock, his curate, have been very disobedient to his Majesty's injunctions, and have preached very schismatically and dangerously to the people. That for this he hath given the vicar a judicial admonition, and will further proceed if he do not submit; and for his curate (Cradock), being a bold ignorant young fellow, he hath suspended him and taken away his license to serve the cure.

In the following year the Bishop found that matters to his mind had not improved, and January 2, 1635, another report was made to the effect that having found in his triennial visitation the former year two noted schismatics—Wroth and Erbery—that led away many simple people after them, and finding that they wilfully persisted in their schismatical course, he hath carefully preferred articles against them in the High Commission Court, where, when the case is ready for hearing, they shall receive according to the merits of it.

In 1636 the Bishop complained that whereas Mr Wroth and Mr Erbery were in the High Commission Court for their schismatical proceedings, the slow prosecution against them there made both of them persist in their by-ways. The Bishop added, "and their followers judge them faultless."

Two years later (1638) we might infer that the Bishop had peace in his diocese, as he reported that although there were in the last year two refractory ministers, Mr Wroth and Mr Erbery; that the former had submitted; but the other would neither submit nor satisfy his parishioners, to whom he had given public offence, so he resigned his vicarage and thereby left the diocese in peace.

Mr Wroth, whose name has been introduced to the reader through the medium of the Bishop's report, and whose career in the church has been so briefly summarised, cannot be dismissed without some further notice. Mr Wroth is regarded as the father and leader of the Nonconformist movement in Wales, and as such some particulars of his life

and work will be interesting. He is said to have been born at or near Abergavenny in 1570. The entry in the register shows that he was the son of a gentleman in Monmouthshire, and that he became a pupil of Mr Case, a very eminent scholar, but strongly inclined to the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Many of the Monmouthshire gentry of the time were members of the Roman Catholic Church, and assuming that Wroth's parents or guardians were of that religion, it was natural that he should be placed under such a tutor. Leaving Mr Case he went to Oxford, and matriculated at Jesus College, 21st January, 1586. It is not certain how long he remained at Oxford, but in 1595 a Mr Wroth was admitted as B.A. of Christ Church College, and from the absence of a like name in the books of the college it is supposed to be the same person. About 1600 he was presented to the living of Llanvaches, Monmouthshire, by Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van, near Caerphilly. The parish of Llanvaches is not by itself, or by its material surroundings, calculated in any way to make a man famous. It comprises only some 2,000 acres, being about midway on the north side of the road between Newport and Chepstow. Scattered over its area are some 66 houses, in which dwell a rural population of just over 200 souls. That the church is of ancient foundation, might be inferred from the fact of its being dedicated to St. Dubritius, the famous Archbishop of Caerleon. To this secluded parish of Llanvaches Mr Wroth was sent after his ordination to preach the Gospel. It has been supposed that he regarded his mission in no very serious light, as upon the authority of an undated M.SS. referred to by the Rev. Joshua Thomas (Hanes y Bedyddwyr, 1778), he was "addicted to levity, carnal, mirth, and music," his conversion being effected in a very singular manner. A gentleman, a relation of Mr Wroth's and at whose house he boarded, had an important law suit to be tried in London. The case turning in his favour, he sent home the pleasing news, requesting his family to invite his friends and neighbours to meet at his residence on a certain day when he expected to return, to spend the day in feasting and

mirth. The clergyman bought a new violin for the occasion. The company having assembled, anxiously expecting the arrival of their friend, to their indescribable mortification a messenger came with the sad news that he had been suddenly seized by death on his way home. It is easier to imagine than describe the feelings of all present on the reception of this melancholy message. Mr Wroth, amidst the general consternation, cast away his violin, and falling on his knees in the midst of the company, most fervently prayed for the blessing of God upon this alarming providence. It is added that from this time he became a changed man, devoting his fine talents and superior gifts to the most faithful and exemplary discharge of the duties of his ministry. Whatever may have been the schismatical opinions which caused Mr Wroth to come under episcopal censure, the accounts preserved of him, speak of his natural eloquence, the fervour of his address, and continued earnestness and zeal in the cause of religion. Llanvaches indeed, was regarded as the Jerusalem of the people of South Wales, and the adjacent counties. Multitudes flocked there to hear him preach, and as the church would contain only a small proportion of them, he was often obliged to carry on the service in the churchyard. Dr. Field (Bishop of Llandaff from 1619 to 1627), who preceded bishop Murray, by whom Mr Wroth was prosecuted, once asked him how he dared infringe the Canons of the Church by his irregular proceeding, to which he replied, there were thousands of immortal souls around him thronging to perdition, and should he not use all the means likely to succeed to save them.

The "submission" of Mr Wroth, spoken of by Bishop Murray, appears an episcopal euphemism for ejectment or deprivation, as that was the result of the proceedings taken against him in the ecclesiastical court, in the course of which he is said to have been grievously used and harassed by informers and apparitors, with citations and processes. Mr Wroth's determination of character was not likely to be silenced merely by a sentence of prohibition, nor was he, for although deprived

of the accommodation afforded by the sacred edifice in which he had so long ministered, he did the best he could without it, and continued his preaching. With kindred spirits who had suffered like him, he soon made common cause, and it is recorded in the Life of the Rev. Henry Jessy, pastor of the first church of Independents in England (published 1679) that in November, 1639, he attended at Llanvaches as a deputation from his people in London, and assisted Mr Wroth in the formation of the first Nonconformist church in Wales—Monmouthshire being at that time being at that time still regarded as an integral part of the ancient Principality. Wroth was now close upon 70 years of age. While health remained to him he directed his energies to the same good purpose on which he had spent the best years of his life. From house to house and from town to town Mr Wroth made known the "glad tidings," and his fame increased with years. William Erbery, the schismatic vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff, thus refers to Mr Wroth's popularity in a pamphlet published in 1652 :—"Let all the English counties about testify and tell how many saints from Somerset, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Radnorshire, and Glamorganshire, came in multitudes to Llanvaches, &c." The "Broadmead Records," too, which contain so many interesting details of the early Nonconformists, relate that the religious people at Bristol were occasionally cheered by Mr Wroth's visits to that city, and that they would run after him and the other reforming ministers of South Wales like hungry souls for food.

In the beginning of 1642, at the ripe age of 72, this old worthy finished his career, and was at his own request buried under the threshold of the parish church in which he had exercised his ministry for nearly forty years. That Mr Wroth was not amidst all his labours, insensible to the distracted and alarming state of the country, is evinced by an entry in the Broadmead Records already referred to. It is there stated that "Mr Wroth was by the Lord laid asleep according to his prayer before the war, which for a great while was feared; and therefore he petitioned that he might never hear a

drum beat in order thereto.

The other schsimatics referred to by Bishop Murray do not merit so lengthy a notice as Mr Wroth. William Erbery, who held the living of St. Mary's, Cardiff, was born at Roath in 1604, and was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. Having completed his course and taken his degree of B.A., he was ordained, and commenced his duties in the ministry at St. Woolos, Newport. He was then presented to the vicarage of St. Mary's, Cardiff, from whence he was ejected in 1638. He subsequently became chaplain to a regiment of the Parliamentary Army, a position which seems to have been procured for him through the influence of one Christopher Love, a native of Cardiff, and who, therefore, in all probability, was well acquainted with Erbery. In 1651 Love published a book known as "Love's Vindication," and in this the writer relates that Erbery came to see him at Windsor Castle. He was then in distress, and Love not only gave him relief, but procured him an appointment as chaplain in the regiment of Major Skippon, where he had an income of 8s per day. He is said to have occasionally visited Wales and often preached, but not in the parish churches, as he could find none of the ministers who once knew him, that would permit him to occupy their pulpits, or even recognize his erratic and wild proceedings. During the latter part of his life his mind gave way, and his writings which he left behind him, and which were collected and published in 1658, while furnishing evidence of the author's pious thoughts, contain also such a farrago as none but a lunatic would have written. William Erbery died in 1654.

Of Mr Wroth's associates and helpers it seems that Walter Cradock was the most talented, energetic, and extensively useful. He was born at Trevella Farm, Llangwm Ucha, some time between 1606 and 1610. He was educated at the University, and on leaving obtained the curacy of Peterstone-upon-Ely, near Cardiff. In 1633 he was curate at St. Mary's, Cardiff, and influenced, no doubt by the example of William Erbery, his rector, he refused to conform to the requirements

of his diocesan, for which his license was suspended. Cradock then went to North Wales, and while at Shrewsbury became acquainted with Richard Baxter. After this he travelled from place to place, preaching with much effect through the greater part of South Wales. In 1639 he was at Llanvaches, and gave Mr Wroth much assistance in organising a church there on the principles of Congregationalism. Being born so near to the scene of Mr Wroth's labours, he probably knew him well, and was doubtless influenced by the principles which he taught. On Mr Wroth's death Cradock succeeded as pastor of the church which at Llanvaches had been founded. He died at his birthplace on the eve of Christmas Day, 1659, and found a resting place in the chancel of his parish church.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT—NEWPORT SEEKS TO BE REPRESENTED—POPISH RECUSANTS—THE EARL OF WORCESTER—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

In November, 1640, the Long Parliament met. Charles being distressed for money, and driven by his needs to act contrary to his wishes consented to convoke Parliament once more. It was in connection with this Parliament, from which, as Hallam says, the factions of modern times trace their divergence, and which after the lapse of more than two centuries still calls forth the warm emotions of party spirit, and affords a test of political principles—that Newport commenced a struggle to make its voice heard in the councils of the nation. From the year 1547 the borough of Monmouth had sent a representative to Parliament, and at various times the burgesses of Usk, Caerleon, Abergavenny, Chepstow, and Trelleck, or some of these places had been permitted to join in the election. Newport now made a demand to share the privilege in conjunction with Abergavenny and Usk, and to this end forwarded a petition to Parliament. Probably from no want of inclination on the part of the House of Commons, but rather from a pressure of more important matters—the petition seems to have received no attention. No report upon it is recorded and Newport had to wait for another generation before her desire for Parliamentary representation was gratified.

When the House of Commons met, the members, before voting supplies, proceeded to demand a redress of grievances, the first of which was the innovations in religion. The monster grievance was Catholicism, which the nation believed the King was disposed to favour, but he soon felt himself under the necessity of giving orders to remove all Catholics from the Court and the army, and to disarm all Popish recusants. A list of the latter was prepared, and among the MSS. in the House of Lords are preserved the "names of great recusants that live in and near the town of Monmouth, where the magazine of the

county is, with the value of their estates and the distances at which they live from that town." In a very short time the Star Chamber, and the High Commission Court, by which Mr Wroth and so many other ministers had been persecuted, were entirely abolished; and another court, which, through the corruption of the times, had become an iniquitous instrument of oppression—the Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Welsh Marches—was also swept away.

The recusant of greatest note was the Earl of Worcester, who occupied Raglan Castle. Many exaggerated stories regarding the Earl's preparations had been conveyed to Parliament, and they sent down certain persons commissioned to make enquiries and to disarm him. It had been gravely stated that the earl had large stables under ground, and a number of light horse in them; that he had 700 men in his pay, with arms for 150 horse and 2000 men, with ammunition proportionable. When the commissioners arrived, the earl met them at the gate of the castle, and asked them sharply whether they came to take up his money as well as his arms. They answered "No; but their reason for coming was that he was a recusant." He replied that he was a peer of the realm, and no convict recusant, and therefore not amenable to the law. The commissioners after the reproof they received gave up the point, but the earl, always noted for his wit and humour, could not refrain from a little amusement at their expense before they departed. He led them through the castle, showed them the court of the fountains, the statues of the Cæsars, and the stout bulwarks, and at length brought them to a lofty bridge that spanned the moat between the walls and the great tower, in which Lord Herbert had erected his powerful "water commanding engine." There, as they gazed in astonishment around them, the engine was set to work, and the wheels and the water made a terrible roar within the castle keep. In the midst of their amazement and confusion, elevated as they were over a deep trench and expecting probably every moment to be drenched by a deluge from above (a trick which was not uncommon in those

days), a servant ran up in feigned alarm, bidding them look to themselves as the lions had broken loose. The simple commissioners at once took to their heels, rolled over one another down the stairs, and each vied with the other in his efforts to escape. They left the castle without saying to the Earl good-bye, and ran a long way from the castle before once venturing to look behind them.

The insurrection in Ireland, and the means proposed for its suppression, gave rise to a dispute between the King and Parliament. The sheriff, as chief conservator of the public peace, possessed the right of summoning the *posse comitatus* in case of rebellion or tumult, or when bands of robbers infested the country, but it had been the practice since the time of Mary to issue Commissions of Array to the Lieutenants of Counties, who were generally peers and closely resembled in their office the ancient earls. This revival of an ancient institution deprived the sheriff of much dignity and of much of the power which he had been accustomed to exercise. Upon the question of which officer the control of the militia should be entrusted to, the Parliament and the King differed. The Committee of Parliament nominated certain persons to be by them recommended to the King as fit to be entrusted with the militia of the kingdom; and also the names of those recommended to be Lieutenants of Counties. There was not at this time any special Lieutenant for Monmouthshire, the duties being performed by the Earl of Bridgwater as Lord Lieutenant of the Principalities of North Wales and South Wales, and the Marches of Wales adjoining, &c., Monmouthshire being still treated (although constituted a separate county by Henry VIII.) as a portion of the Marches of Wales. The King refusing his assent to the propositions of Parliament, it was resolved by the Commons to carry them into effect independently of him, and so in June, July, and August they issued orders to the sheriffs to assemble and train the militia. The King denounced the proceeding as illegal, and commenced issuing Commissions of Array for drilling the trained bands and other military forces of the several counties. By the commissions

thus issued by the Parliament on the one hand, and by the King on the other, much confusion was occasioned. The leaders on each side were invested with powers in which those of the Lord-Lieutenant merged, and while each endeavoured to carry out the duties for which he was appointed, every county and town were torn into two factions. The differences became so intense, that no alternative seemed left except an appeal to the sword, and every preparation for this issue was made.

On May 39th, 1642, Philip, Earl of Pembroke, obtained a letter from the King giving him license to be absent from Parliament. Two months later, viz., July 30th, Parliament nominated him to be Lieutenant for the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Brecon, but it would appear that his son, Philip, Lord Herbert was afterwards appointed. The King, in August, named the Marquis of Hertford as Lieut.-General for the Western counties of England, and also for Monmouth, Hereford and South Wales. The Earl of Pembroke had great influence in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, his possessions extending on the western side of Monmouthshire from Bassalleg to Bedwellty, and he held beside the estates and castles of Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon, Usk, and Abergavenny. The Marquis of Hertford had neither estates nor interest in Monmouthshire, but the Pembroke influence was more than counterbalanced by that of the Marquis of Worcester, who, as one old tract has it, was an almost "universal landlord." When Parliament in June set on foot a subscription to provide money and horses, the Earl of Pembroke subscribed £1,000 and 40 horses. The Earl of Worcester had already far exceeded this liberality in his contributions to the King's exchequer, and throughout the war was a most lavish supporter of the royal cause. Too advanced in years to be of active service to his sovereign, he delegated the exercise of his influence to his son and heir, Lord Edward Herbert, who will be found to have played a most conspicuous part in subsequent events. In the early part of 1641, when the wants of the King were made known to the Marquis, large advances were made to his Majesty, Lord

Herbert giving a bond to pay within two years the sum of £12,000. The bond was in the King's cabinet captured at the battle of Naseby, and is now preserved among the M.SS. of the House of Lords. It is as follows:—

1641, April 3. Bound for £12,000 from Edward Lord Herbert, son and heir of Henry Earl of Worcester to the King:

I Edward Lord Herbert sonne and heire of Henry now Earle of Worcester doe hereby oblige myselfe my Executors, Administrators or assignes upon the forfeiture and penaltie of twentie fower thousand pownds sterling unto his most Excellent Matie, his heyrs and Successors, or to any whom his Matie shall appoint, in case that within two yeares now to come I doe not paye or cause to be payed unto his Matie or whom he shall appoint, the full somme of twelve thousand pownds, provided that his most sacred Matie be gratiously pleased to affoord me the favour for wch I am now a most humble suitor to him and that his Matie be likewise pleased to returne unto me the propositions and obligations wch he hath of mine, and herein I most humbly submit to his Matie's wisdome and goodnesse, and doe againe by these tye myselfe my heyres Executors Administrators and assignes to the true and faithfull payment of the above sayed twelve thousand pownds, in and under the above mentioned penaltie and forfeiture, in wittnesse whereof I hereto put my hande and seale this third of Aprill 1641. Provided further that if I dye within these two next ensuing yeares that then this obligation to be voyde, otherwise to stand in full vertue and force to the true intent and purpose before mentioned.

ED. HERBERT.

(Endorsed) 35
E.H. obligation
received the 11 of Aprill
1641

(The endorsement is in the King's handwriting).

Every county of England at this period contained a magazine wherein military stores were deposited, and this magazine in Monmouthshire was in the county town. Parliament sought to obtain command of the magazines, and voted that they should be put into the power of such Lords Lieutenants as they confided in. Originally the magazine at Monmouth had been under the custody of Sir Percy Herbert, son of the Earl of Powis, who employed a person to take care of it, but Sir Percy having incurred a charge of delinquency was placed under restraint, and the magazine was given into the

keeping of the mayor of the borough. Still it was reported in the Lords' Journals to be as much under the command of the Earl of Worcester as if it had been in his own possession.

With a view of removing the stores in the magazine at Monmouth beyond the reach of the Earl of Worcester, and to a place where Parliament could have control of them, an order was sent down to certain magistrates who held with the Parliament to convey the stores to Newport, and deposit them in the castle there, which was the property and in possession of the Earl of Pembroke. The magistrates of Monmouth, to whom the order had been addressed, could not act without the knowledge and consent of Mr Maison, the Mayor, who, on being acquainted with the proceedings, became very indignant, and after consulting some of the principal inhabitants, positively refused to give up the stores. He alleged that it was an ill time to deliver the arms while there was such a difference between the King and Parliament. On Parliament being informed of the Mayor's refusal they thought to make short work of the matter, and ordered his Worship to be taken into custody and conveyed to London. In the meantime the good people of Monmouth were on the alert, and secured the magazine by a new door with powerful locks. In a few days the demand for a removal of the stores was renewed, but the Parliamentary officers were confronted by one Gwilym, the deputy mayor; one Taylor, a bailiff, and who was also a justice, and one of the aldermen of the borough named Parker. They each and all gave a point blank refusal to deliver up the stores, and declared that they knew nothing of the keys of the magazine by which it had been secured. Parliament chafed at the affront, and directed the Sergeant at Arms to secure all the above named citizens as prisoners, which he accordingly did. An attempt was then made to obtain by force what had been denied to the demands of the representatives of Parliament. The Mayor and Deputy Mayor having been put out of the way, the justices to whom the order for the removal of the magazine had been originally addressed, en-

deavoured to secure its possession by the best means at their command, but there were loyal justices still left in the town, and three of them named Probert, Kemp, and Lewis, frustrated the illegal act. The attempt was then given up, and the whole matter laid before Parliament in a petition which was supported by an influential deputation. The Speaker of the Commons in answering the deputation, said the petition contained particulars of great consequence. "As for removing the magazine to Newport," he observed, "there is effectual order taken it. They have likewise taken into consideration that particular complained of, of the number of Papists that flock about the houses of recusants in that county, and also of the great numbers of Papists that are inhabitants of that county." Then with promises to provide against these fears and consider of their relief he dismissed them, heartily thanking them for "the care they had expressed of his Majesty's safety, and the affection they had shown of the Commonwealth, the House of Commons, and the liberty of the subject." This was on the 10th of May, 1641.

The Mayor and his fellow justices were detained in London for several weeks, but matters in Monmouthshire did not improve for the Parliamentary party. They gave some attention to the recusants, and obtained a pretty accurate list of their names as previously referred to, but in other respects all the promises of the Speaker fell through. Unfortunately for their cause, the Lord Philip Herbert, the Lord Lieutenant nominated by Parliament, fell sick, and remaining in London, was unable to perform any active service; Parliament then (July 30, 1642) appointed his father, the Earl of Pembroke, to be Lieutenant for the counties of Monmouth, Brecon, and Glamorgan, and although he was ably supported by Sir Samuel Morgan, knight, Mr Henry Herbert, and other of the Deputy Lieutenants, the tide of affairs turned against them.

When the Judges came round to hold, as usual, the summer assizes, they were required by Parliament to publish an order declaring the illegality of

the Commission of Array, but Baron Hendon, who attended at Monmouth, disregarded the request and did not read the order. This omission of the judge much annoyed the Parliamentary party, and the Earl of Pembroke, in writing to his son in London, mentions the circumstance, and complains that many Justices of the Peace were put out of the Commission and others who were mere creatures of the Earl of Worcester were appointed in their place.

On the 10th of August, Henry Herbert, one of the Members for the county, was ordered to repair to Monmouth and publish the Declaration concerning the illegality of the Commission of Array, so that the omission of the Judge was to some extent rectified.

The House of Commons finding that the county of Monmouth was to all appearances against them arranged to send down Lord Philip Herbert with blank instructions for raising the Militia, and to disarm the Earl of Worcester and all other papists or suspected persons, but before the Lords could be induced to pass this order, the Earl of Worcester left London, and repairing to Raglan, put into vigorous execution the Commission of Array. Endeavours were also made to unite the six counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Brecknock, Radnor, and Hereford in an association against Parliament. The Earl of Worcester was summoned to return to his place in the House of Lords; but he had lost confidence in the Parliament, and feared to trust himself in their hands. He relied upon the fidelity of his friends and made preparations for their protection. By degrees the castle of Raglan became like an arsenal, a numerous garrison was sustained within its walls, and the noble earl appointed his fourth son, Lord Charles Somerset, as governor.

One means which Charles adopted to strengthen his cause was the liberal distribution of titles and honours. Knighthood was an honour which Charles began to confer soon after his coronation, and the practice adopted by his predecessors of receiving money compensation for the honour was one which he could not, under the circumstances

in which he found himself, refrain from. In 1641, Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby, was created a baronet, and in 1642, Edward Morgan, of Pencoed eldest son of George Morgan of Itton was knighted. Sir Nicholas Kemeys, of Cefn Mably, was made a baronet, and in November of the same year the Earl of Worcester was made a marquis.

The great body of the people were incapable of forming a correct judgment of the merits of the dispute raging between the King and the Parliament, and scarcely understood the duties and rights of citizenship. The majority could not read, and if they had been able to do so, no means existed of acquainting them in their own language with what was taking place throughout the country, not a single sheet in the Welsh language being known to have been issued during the whole dispute between King and Parliament. News letters were common, but none but the leading gentry received or could afford to pay for these small sheets. The population were influenced in some cases by devotion to those in the higher walks of life, and in others by preachers, who answered the double purpose of gaining recruits for religion and for Parliament at the same time. Wroth and Cradock, and those who followed them, naturally sympathised with Parliament. The majority of the clergy and gentry supported the royal cause. In respect to his religion the Earl of Worcester was unfortunate, the family being staunch Roman Catholics and the cause of Catholicism being in obloquy at the time, their influence must have been to some extent lessened. Such was the condition of things in Monmouthshire when the war broke out. Every town and village were in convulsions, and every man had to make up his mind and show to which side he leaned. In some cases father was fighting against son, and brother against brother.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR.—SEIZURE OF CASTLES. ARRIVAL OF A ROYALIST FORCE AT CARDIFF.—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LORD HERBERT AND THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.—AVERSION TO CATHOLICS.

When King Charles, in the early part of 1642, made a general levy, Wales was required to contribute 1160 men, the proportion of the county of Monmouth being 150. These were ordered to join the King at York in April.

In August, 1642, the King raised his standard at Nottingham, and hostilities speedily commenced. Parliament had not been unmindful to secure possession before hand of several important strongholds: and the supporters of the King did the same. Cardiff Castle, and the castles of Newport, Usk, and Abergavenny, in the county of Monmouth, all the property of the Earl of Pembroke, were seized and held by zealous royalists. Chepstow, Raglan, Monmouth, and several smaller castles were already at the disposal of the Earl of Worcester. Both Newport and Caerleon castles are reported to have been in ruins, but the former was no doubt capable of being garrisoned, and in a condition of being defended; the latter was too much dilapidated to be occupied by any force. Cardiff Castle was entrusted to the keeping of William Herbert, who at that time represented the borough of Cardiff in Parliament.

On the 26th September the King left Nottingham to establish his head quarters at Shrewsbury, and three days later his army, and the army which Parliament had formed, first came into collision at Powick bridge, where Prince Rupert was beaten in his endeavour to hold Worcester. The Earl of Essex who commanded the Parliamentary forces, had instructions to follow the King, and "by battle or otherwise rescue his Majesty, his two sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, from their perfidious counsellors, and bring them back to the Parliament."

Although there had been necessarily a certain amount of feverish excitement among the people of this district, there was no fear of actual hostili-

ties. The feeling was so unanimously loyal that even Cradock and other agitating Puritans finding the soil uncongenial and unprofitable to their efforts, left the district and took up residence among friends of the same opinions in the city of Bristol. While this calm prevailed, there suddenly sprung up one day a strong commotion in the town of Cardiff. The sentry of the garrison on the western tower of the castle espied issuing from the coast of the opposite side of the Channel a succession of small vessels and boats making their way in all haste towards Cardiff. It was an unwonted sight, for seldom had anything been seen in the Channel beyond a solitary vessel conveying from the port a cargo of coal or bringing back a freight of small goods in exchange. On the present occasion it was a fleet, with evidence of every effort being made by sail and otherwise to effect the crossing of the Channel with all speed. An alarm was spread, and preparations hastily made to resist what was imagined to be an attack of an invading force. In a few hours, however, all fear was at an end, the force which landed was found not to be that of an enemy, but defeated friends. It came about in this way. The Marquis of Hertford, who we have stated had command in the west for the King, had been overpowered in an encounter with the Parliamentary forces near Sherborne, and being pursued by the Earl of Bedford retreated to Minehead. Here, finding some coal ships in the harbour, he seized them, and putting on board the small cannon, which he conveyed with him, filled up the ships with as many officers and men as he could crowd into them, and pushed off for the Welsh coast. The Earl of Bedford did not follow. When the circumstances were fully known to the occupants of Cardiff Castle, the gates were thrown open, and the whole force heartily welcomed. With the Marquis of Hertford chief in command, were Lord Seymour (his brother), Lord Paulett, and many of the leading royalists of the west. By a letter from Stephen Charlton to Sir R. Leveson, the Speaker, and now among the Duke of Sutherland's papers, it would appear that the Marquis of

Hertford lost five of the seven pieces of ordnance he had, and that many of his soldiers were left behind at Minehead to the mercy of the country.

The Marquis of Hertford lost no time in organising the forces in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. In the latter county Sir Edward Stradling of St. Donat's Castle collected three regiments, and in Monmouthshire the Earl of Worcester, and Lord Herbert, laboured so indefatigably, that in the course of a few weeks an army of ten thousand men, it is stated, were ready to move forward to the support of the King. There was one infortuitous circumstance attendant upon the unexpected interposition of the Marquis of Hertford. Up to that time the influence of the Earl of Worcester in the district had been paramount, and Lord Herbert had been the most active guiding spirit. In the presence of the general commanding officer, holding his Majesty's commission, Lord Herbert was obliged to subordinate his views and actions, and he chafed under this submission. Moreover, being a Catholic, he was not recognised by the officers of the army with that cordiality which his loyalty should have secured for him. His fidelity to the King, proved, however, too sincere to be affected.

The proceedings taking place in Monmouthshire were carefully noted by the Earl of Stamford, who, on behalf of Parliament, was stationed at Hereford. The Earl regarded Roman Catholics with no ordinary aversion, and he affected to regard the levies made in Monmouthshire chiefly by the influence of the Earl of Worcester and his son, Lord Herbert, as simply a Papist's army—a stigma which so far as it prevailed, tended to make them odious to the people of the adjacent counties. That some inconvenience should be felt in providing for and billetting so large a number of men in the county, was natural; but those who found it most irksome, and who received but little sympathy, were the supporters of the Parliamentary party. Some of these, rather than bear the burden and insults, left their houses, and sought refuge and protection at Hereford, where matters were reversed. Here the Roman Catholics had been compelled to leave their houses, and the Earl of Stamford, giving a ready

ear to all the new comers, placed them in the deserted houses and encouraged them to help themselves at their pleasure to anything that they found.

Matters were daily getting worse, and the lines between friends and enemies more strictly drawn. The slightest communication with the opposite party, a granting of supplies, or an expression of opinion, was sufficient to provoke arrest, imprisonment and plunder.

Reprisals were of frequent occurrence. The Royalist party having thrown 900 foot and a troop of horse into Monmouthshire, the Earl of Stamford sent Colonel Kyrle and a detachment of one hundred men to take possession of Goodrich Castle. At the same time they unmercifully plundered and ill-treated the old vicar and other residents of the parish. One Gwithin had been taken out of his bed by the Royalists and carried off to Raglan, information of which was conveyed to the Earl of Stamford, who interfered on his behalf by addressing a letter to Lord Herbert. In this letter, the Earl taking the prisoner's plea as the real ground for his arrest, tauntingly made reference to the outbreak as being a Papal war. The reply of Lord Herbert is preserved, and is as follows:

"My Lord,

"Your letter in the Behalf of one Gwithin justly arrested of Treason, mentions a War between the Protestants and Papists in England which I understand not, finding that both are received on both sides: The Quarrel (God knows) is otherwise; our lawful Prince requires due obedience to the just Laws of his Kingdom; and if your Lordship follows the way to resist it, that cannot release mine allegiance, which Gwithin's Trial by the known Laws shall confirm; and when I see those flourish with your good Liking, I stile myself

"My Lord,

"Your most affectionate

"Cousin and Servant

"Edw. Herbert.

"Ragland, the 6th of November, 1642.

"For the Right Honourable the Earl of Stamford

"These at Hereford."

This letter had a greater effect than had been intended. The Earl of Stamford made known its contents to the House of Lords, and an answer was

directed to be prepared to the imputation made in this letter, and in a declaration of His Majesty, that Papists had been engaged in the service of the Parliament. The reports of the House of Lords, under date, Monday, November 14, contains this entry, "The Earle of Worcester's sonne . . . taxeth the Parliament with the entertaining of Papists and saith that there is more Papists in the army than in the King's which aspersion by all probabilitie was at first raised by the noble Lord."

ACTIVE SERVICE OF THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ARMY.—GENEROUS OFFER OF THE EARL OF WORCESTER.—LORD HERBERT RECEIVES A COMMISSION.—LOYALTY OF MONMOUTHSHIRE REPRESENTATIVES.—LORD HERBERT AGAIN TAKES THE FIELD.—DEFECTION OF MONMOUTH.—ITS RECAPTURE.—DISASTER AT COLEFORD.—ATTACK UPON GLOUCESTER.—DEFEAT OF LORD HERBERT'S FORCES.—SIR WM. WALLER'S SUCCESS IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.—HIS RETREAT.

On the 4th of November, 1642, the army raised in Monmouthshire quitted the head quarters at Cardiff Castle to join the King at Oxford, where he had established his head quarters after the battle of Edge Hill. The army started in high spirits, with drums beating and flying colours. The Marquis of Hertford, Lord Seymour, and Lord Herbert accompanied the force. They passed through Newport, and by the 12th a portion of the force had approached within five miles of Hereford. The Earl of Stamford then sent out Colonel Kyrle to attempt a surprise of the advance guard, but found he had been deceived by the reports conveyed to him. Kyrle went further than he was instructed, and finding at Pontrilas some royalist soldiers at the entrance of the village he attacked them, and a sharp engagement ensued. Fifteen of the Royalists were killed, and the body of one of the soldiers was hanged upon a tree. Kyrle's men after this marched back to their city quarters. The Marquis of Hertford and his force marched eastward and crossed the Severn, and the Earl of Stamford following came up with him and fought a battle on Tewkesbury plain. The Royalists were defeated, and the vanquished Marquis, with Lord Herbert and what remained of their force, beat a retreat into Monmouthshire. The Earl of Stamford again returned to Hereford. The Royalist army having rallied, appeared but little disheartened, and in about a fortnight made an effort to drive the Earl of Stamford out of Hereford, where he had been for some time endeavouring to strengthen himself. The Royalists hoped that as t he Parliamentary interest was lessened in the dis-

trict, they would have been able easily to accomplish this object, but they were rudely awakened to their error of judgment The Earl of Stamford not only successfully repelled the attack, but killed a large number of the assailants. The Earl, however, found that his continued hold of Hereford constituted a danger, and having withdrawn the garrison from Goodrich, he retired with all his force to Gloucester, which now required his protection. Hereford was immediately occupied by the Royalists, under Colonel Lawdey.

Christmas was now approaching, and the Royalist cause in South Wales looked brighter than it had done since the outbreak of hostilities. The whole of Monmouthshire and South Wales, except Pembrokeshire, was under the control of the King's officers. Recruiting was successfully continued, and there was only one circumstance which occasioned any degree of uneasiness. This was the unpleasant differences which continued between the Marquis of Hertford and Lord Herbert. Lord Herbert desired the King to grant him a commission, and engaged himself "not only to secure the district from opposition and malignity of the other party, but before the spring to raise such a strength of horse and foot, and to provide such an equipage to march with, that might reduce Gloucester, and be then added to the King's army, when he should be ready to take the field, and all this so much at his own charge."

This was a very great offer, and such as Clarendon observes, no man else could so reasonably make, for the Marquis of Worcester was generally reported to be the greatest monied man in the kingdom. The King hesitated, however, as, though reluctant to refuse any favour to one who had shown himself willing to make great sacrifices for the Royal cause, his advisers pointed out many objections, to his giving command to Lord Herbert. The principal of these objections was that he had no experience in the martial profession, and that being a Catholic his appointment would bring a greater brand upon the King than he had yet been reproached with.

While matters in Royalist circles were thus un-

settled, the friends of Parliament were not idle. Pembrokeshire, from the first, had warmly supported them, and the harbour of Milford Haven being open to receive supplies, it was contemplated to send thither a strong force, which it was relied upon to make headway and eventually drive the Royalists entirely out of South Wales. Both Houses of Parliament, too, discussed the advisability of sending into Monmouthshire the Earl of Pembroke, whose estates in the district they recognised were very great, and whose reputation was equal to his territorial influence.

His Majesty made one more effort to smooth the unfriendliness reported to him as existing between Lord Herbert and the Marquis of Hertford by directing Arthur Trevor to come into Monmouthshire and see if he could make up matters between the parties. The effort apparently failed, and the King in February, 1643, removed the Marquis of Hertford from the command of South Wales, and commissioned Lord Herbert as Lieutenant-General of the district, and included Monmouthshire.

Parliament now took cognizance of the circumstance that one of the representatives of the county had deserted the Parliament, and had joined the King's party at Oxford. This was William Herbert, who, with Sir Charles Williams, Knight, was elected to represent the county in the second session of the Parliament, 1640. Sir Charles Williams died soon after, and a writ was issued March 19, 1641, to fill the vacancy. One John Herbert was then elected. We do not find that John Herbert took any prominent part in the contest between King and Parliament, but William Herbert was not ashamed to show that he espoused the cause of his Majesty. Parliament, as above stated, taking the fact into consideration, classed him among the "Disabled Members"—that is, expelled him, on the 5th February. No fresh writ was issued until September 11, 1646, so that for more than three years and a-half the county was partially disfranchised. The succession of Herberts continued, for one Henry Herbert was the next representative of the county.

Since the recovery of Hereford the military force

in Monmouthsire had remained unemployed, but Lord Herbert now made increased exertions to raise the numbers and efficiency of his men, with a view to extended operations. The objections which prejudice raised to his promotion on account of his religion, and the feuds and animosities, that according to the Welsh customs existed between his family and others in the parts to which his authority would extend, were to a great extent overcome; and his zeal and active loyalty and the readiness with which his father (now the Marquess of Worcester), placed his immense wealth at the disposition of the King, were examples not without great effect upon those cognizant of the circumstances. Lord Herbert lost no time in taking the field. The command of the Foot was given to Sir Richard Lawdey (now a Major-General, and a bold and sprightly officer); and Lord John Somerset, the youngest son of the Marquess of Worcester, was placed in charge of the horse. The foot numbered about 1,500; the horse 500. Clarendon says they were well and sufficiently armed, and cost the house of Worcester £60,000.

It was the intention of Lord Herbert, who was commander-in-chief, to move upon Gloucester, hoping that with the forces operating on the opposite side, the city might be reduced. As the force was about moving forward, they were startled by the report that Monmouth had declared for Parliament. It appeared that the Parliamentarians whose feelings we have before seen exhibited, watched their opportunity, and having obtained the presence of Colonel Broughton and other officers, took possession of the town gates and presumed to place the town in a state of defence. Immediately upon its becoming known Lord Herbert placed himself at the head of a body of troops, and joined by a party of volunteers from Goodrich placed them behind a rising ground near the town. Here with about 40 intrepid followers he proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and surmounting an earthen mound which they had thrown up, he passed the ditch and put the guard to the sword. They next succeeded in

breaking the port chain, made an entrance for cavalry, and took the town, capturing Colonel Broughton and other officers, the Republican committee, and all the private soldiers, with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Having accomplished this little diversion, the army of Lord Herbert at once marched for Gloucester, taking the route through the Forest of Dean. The line of march was anticipated by the friends of Parliament, and Colonel Berrowe, who had raised a regiment of men from the Foresters and men who worked among the collieries in the Forest, occupied Coleford with a view to defend it. When the Royalist troops arrived from Monmouth, their further progress was disputed, but the resistance was futile, and those who were not taken prisoners were soon overpowered and driven to take flight. The encounter, however, was an unfortunate one, as without a single soldier of Lord Herbert's being killed, three of his officers came to an untimely end, viz., Major-General Sir Richard Lawdey, Bart., Captain Burke, and Lieutenant Wallinger. Some accounts state that the rabble killed Lawdey with a stone, and others that he was shot. The fact of his death, however, is confirmed by the parish registers of Monmouth, where the following entries appear :—

1642. Fteb.	Sir Richard Lawdey, Baronett, Sergeant Major Generall for his Majesty in South Wales, and Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons.	
—	Randell Wallinger, lieutenant to a troope of horse under ye Command of Captain Henry.	
—	Captain Burke, yt commanded Colonell Lawdey his company these three slayne at ye taking of Colford in ye forest, and were buried in Monmouth Church.	xIIth.

Probably in consequence of the loss of their leaders, the troops broke into disorder. They burnt the market house and committed some other excesses which in all probability they would not have done had there been officers to keep them under control. Without further interruption, the army marched towards Gloucester. In a few days Sir Jerome Brett, who had been Colonel of the

20th regiment in the Scottish expedition succeeded Lawdey in the command of the force.

The city of Gloucester was held for the Parliament by Massey, a brave and impetuous officer, and when Brett, after effectually blocking the city in the west, summoned the garrison to surrender, they treated the proposal with contempt. Massey even sallied out on March 23rd to make an attack upon Highnam House, which had been got into a state of defence. Massey's force consisted of but five hundred men on foot with a few horse, but they gallantly stood their ground when the city was assailed by Lord Herbert's troops. While the fight was proceeding on the second day, Sir William Waller, who had with Massey's knowledge made a forced march from Malmesbury, which he had just captured, came upon the scene. Lord Herbert was absent, for having no fear for the safety of his men, he had gone to Oxford to visit the King, while his brother, Lord John Somerset, who commanded the horse, was away on a reconnoitring expedition. The officers left in charge surrendered without resistance, and night closed upon the leaders on either side arranging the terms of capitulation. In the course of the dark and rainy hours which ensued, the Welshmen were desired by their officers to cut their way through the forces of Waller and escape, but they were dispirited, and flatly refused to follow those who proposed the scheme and were ready to lead. Waller, in his despatch to Parliament, reckons the capture to include 1,444 soldiers and about 150 commanders and gentlemen. These prisoners were paraded in couples, and marched into Gloucester. Lord Herbert is censured for his absence by Clarendon, and accused of being fonder of the intrigues of Court, than fighting in the battle field.

Waller lost no time in following up his success. He had been previously invited by Sir William Herbert, of Coldbrook, and a scion of the House of Tredegar, to drop into Monmouthshire, as they believed that encouragement would thus be given to others of their way of thinking, and that a probability existed of overthrowing the powerful interests of the Marquis of Worcester.

Waller determined to act upon the invitation, and hoped by his movements to follow up and crush out all vitality from the remains of Lord Herbert's army. Waller quitted Gloucester with about 2,000 men and four pieces of ordnance. He occupied Newnham without opposition, the small garrison having at once retired. On Sunday 2nd April, he was at Ross, and rested on that day to refresh his soldiers. From Ross he proceeded to Monmouth, which place he also took possession of, the garrisons in each place retiring without offering the slightest resistance. A detachment was sent from Monmouth to Usk where they levied contributions, and set some prisoners free. Chepstow next fell into Waller's hands, and here he found a vessel, the Dragon, which proved a valuable prize. The reports which reached London of Waller's dashing raid, were somewhat inflated, and it came to be believed that his success was complete. It was stated that Morgan had joined him with men and money, and that Sir William Herbert of Coldbrook, had secured Abergavenny, and that the Marquis of Worcester and his son had fled to Cardiff. These rumours turned out to be altogether incorrect. Abergavenny remained in possession of two companies of the regiment of Herbert Price who commanded at Hereford, and the force which Waller had at his disposal was altogether insufficient to enable him to leave behind him any men to hold in his behalf the places which he had passed through. Moreover, he found himself outmanœuvred. The remnants of Lord Herbert's force were concentrating and watching him, and Prince Maurice, with a view to cut off his retreat, detached Sir Richard Cave from Tewkesbury with about 2,000 men, on the 9th April. This officer, who had had experience of warfare in the Palatinate, and was skilled as an engineer, was prompt in carrying out the instructions he received, for on the 11th he was at the house of Powell, of Llantillio, between Monmouth and Abergavenny. He took possession of Monmouth the same day, and finding Waller had gone forward, made his way to Newnham. Waller now saw that his position was precarious. To advance further into Wales would

have been to court defeat, and to retire once more upon Gloucester was running the risk of capture. He determined to avoid the contingency by passing his artillery, baggage, and foot over the Severn from Beachley to Aust, and by his favourite expedient of a night march with his horse, to run the gauntlet of the enemy in trying to reach Gloucester. The one portion of his force successfully crossed the Severn, but the main body of his cavaliers failed to reach Little Dean, where Prince Maurice's men were posted, until daylight, and in their trying to cut their way through, a number were killed, and some others taken prisoners. Waller, with the remnant, safely reached Gloucester, where he meditated and arranged for further enterprises.

DISPIRITED CONDITION OF ROYALISTS.—RENEWED ACTION.—OVERTURES FOR PEACE.—THE BOROUGH MEMBER "DISABLED."—ARRIVAL OF COL. GERARD.—RECOVERY OF SOUTH WALES.—COL. MASSEY'S ADVENTURES IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Although Cave had seen the last of the Parliamentary soldiers out of the county, much dissatisfaction was smouldering among those who had hitherto given a hearty support to the Royal cause. The indifference alleged against Lord Herbert or the misfortunes which had befallen him in the position which he occupied, had disheartened many of the leading men in Monmouthshire, and men could not be induced to join the King's service with that alacrity which had formerly been the case, and whatever may have been the real cause, many professed that they would rather perish than be under the control of a Papist. This condition of things re-acted upon Lord Herbert. He became conscious of his unpopularity, and when he attended a meeting at Abergavenny, of the Commissioners for forming an association to unite the military strength of Monmouth, Hereford, and the counties of South Wales, he damped the spirits of those present by expressing a doubt as to the dependence to be placed upon his men. In a day or two his suspicions were fully confirmed, and from that time Lord Herbert held his hand, and very soon after resigned his commission. As his successor in command of the district Sir William Vavasour was appointed, and renewed efforts were made to unite the Royalist party in a better frame of mind. On June 9, Sir Trevor Williams, Bart., of Llangibby Castle, was given a commission to raise a regiment of 1,000 men, but up to the end of the year Monmouthshire continued free from any further actual hostilities.

In November Lord Herbert received fresh instructions, and he was empowered to add to Monmouthshire and the district of South Wales, over which he had acted as Lieutenant General, the parts of Glamorganshire west of the Severn, in which some persons resided who had incurred the

King's displeasure by assisting the Parliamentarians of Gloucester. He was also authorised to collect and apply the monthly contributions levied upon the district for the maintenance of the royal forces. From his knowledge of the condition of the people, he was not satisfied with the power which the Royalists had at their command, and sent to Oxford requesting that a man like Colonel Gerard might be sent down to take charge of the military when operations again commenced.

In Pembrokeshire supplies had been plentifully thrown in to aid the Parliamentary party, and Col. Sloughter, in a letter to Prince Rupert, stated that in that county they possessed more arms than all the associated counties under Vavasour and Herbert. The increase apparent in the Parliamentary forces and supplies necessitated a corresponding strengthening of the Royal army, and considerable efforts were made before the close of the year to accomplish this. The King appointed Sir John Wintour, who had performed considerable service in the Forest of Dean, the commander-in-chief there, and for the maintenance of the forces the commissioners and treasurers of the counties of Monmouth and Hereford were to pay him the monthly contributions raised in those counties besides a monthly sum of £800. The precautions he had taken were hoped to prove a sufficient strength to prevent any inroads into Monmouthshire and South Wales of the Parliamentary forces.

In January, 1644, the King summoned a Parliament to meet at Oxford, and on the same day—22nd—the roll at Westminster was called. Each assembly refused to acknowledge the other as the Parliament. The King's Parliament took an early opportunity to make overtures for peace, and a letter was indicted to the Earl of Essex, commanding the Parliamentary forces, with that view. The letter was returned unanswered. Among the signatures to that letter was William Watkins, the member for the Monmouth Boroughs.

This William Watkins was member for the boroughs in 1640, and was superseded in the next Session by one Thomas Trevor. In 1644 both gentlemen seem to have been returned, as we find

that on November 20th, 1644, their election was declared void. Watkins was re-chosen, but being known to be a supporter of the royal cause, he was, like William Herbert, one of the county members, "disabled." It was not until November 18, 1646, that a new writ was issued for a fresh election.

Early in the year 1644, the Parliamentary party in the west of South Wales increased to such an extent that considerable alarm was felt among the Royalists of Monmouthshire, which alarm was intensified by the fact that some dissatisfaction was apparent among the King's troops. Sir John Wintour's difficulties were such that he opened communications with Prince Rupert. In a letter dated Chepstow, February 28, 1644, he describes a mutiny among his men, and the Prince was pressed to come himself into the county to look into matters.

In April, instructions were given to the Commissioners for a press of men, and the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan were each required to furnish a complement of four hundred men. Vavasour was continually writing to Prince Rupert expressing his apprehensions of the danger in which the district was placed, and on the 13th of April he wrote stating that he had desired the High Sheriff of Monmouthshire (Thomas Price, of Llanfoist) to raise all the forces he could, but that they could not be trusted, and that unless Rupert would send help, all South Wales would be lost. Many of Vavasour's apprehensions appear to have been unfounded, and it is clear he had not the qualifications of a soldier. Moreover, being one, as Charles wrote, "who could agree with no man in his dominions," he was soon removed from his command. Colonel Nicholas Mynne then had the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, and Monmouth placed under his care by Rupert, which appointment was confirmed by a commission signed by the King, on the 12th of June, at Worcester.

Swanley and Langharne had in the absence of any active opposition, continued to make great headway in the lower part of South Wales. Haverfordwest, Tenby, and the whole counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen being in their posses-

sion in the early part of May. At the taking of Carmarthen by Captain Swanley many Irish rebels were thrown into the sea. It became evident that unless some strong measures were taken, all South Wales would be soon lost to the King, and so on May 8th, Rupert despatched a regiment of horse and another of foot under the command of Colonel Charles Gerard. It is unfortunate that no writer has yet been able to trace in detail the movements of Gerard in his advance, and Mr C. R Phillips, author of the "Civil War in Wales," states that he searched almost every newspaper of the day without success. From a variety of sources it is ascertained, however, that he landed, what in one account is termed "his Irish and Popish forces" at the Black Rock or New Passage at Portskewett, and from thence advanced to Newport. Here he ascertained that the Pembrokeshire men had boldly advanced out of their own county, and had placed a strong garrison at Cardiff, which had formerly been the head-quarters of the Royalists of the district. Gerard at once attacked Cardiff, and without much difficulty re-took it, and drove the rebels out of Glamorgan and back into Pembrokeshire, where they had first gathered strength. Gerard's treatment of the rebels and the people of the district, was according to all accounts very severe and cruel, and his soldiers became the object of detestation. The enormities perpetrated by him, however, were not in excess of the cruelties of which Swanley, the Parliament general, had been guilty in the earlier part of the year. Gerard had accomplished the greater part of his work by the middle of July, but that he continued active in his operations, is evident from an entry in the Lords Journals, where under the date of August 2, his force is reported to be in Pembrokeshire "destroying all before them with fire and sword." Gerard at length succeeded in cooping up his opponents within the garrison walls of Pembroke Castle, Haverfordwest and Tenby, from which they were unable to move for some time.

Gerard's men were now wanted in another direction, for matters had not been going well for the King in the district surrounding Monmouthshire.

Massey, who had already obtained some renown for his gallant actions on behalf of Parliament, had been watching the doings in Monmouthshire from the garrison at Gloucester, where he was still safe. About the middle of April, finding that Mynne was at Ross, Massey moved out of Gloucester and occupied Ledbury, with four hundred foot and a regiment of horse under Purefoy. Being undisturbed in his movements, he had the confidence to detach a portion of his force to make a dashing reconnaissance one day towards Hereford. They set fire to a lone house within sight of the city in order to provoke a sally by the royal forces occupying the garrison, but none ventured forth against them. The only blood shed on the occasion was that of the old vicar of Stoke Edith, "a reverend man above four score years old," who on being challenged by one of Massey's soldiers, and replying that "he was for God and the King," was barbarously shot through the head with a pistol.

No sooner had Massey's movement been observed, than Prince Rupert made an effort to cut him off from Gloucester, but Massey withdrew in time. In a few days, May 7, Massey made another diversion in the direction of Newnham. On the 8th May he obtained possession of the place, and from thence marched towards Lydney. Here he heard that Mynne, assisted by Lord Herbert's forces, had left Ross and had advanced to Coleford, so Massey prudently retired once more to Gloucester.

Mynne had given up his entrenched position at Ross, and had sent half of his force to Hereford, and the other half to Monmouth, and on Massey's ascertaining this fact, and that the way to the south of Herefordshire was free, he, early on a Monday morning, advanced upon Ross, taking with him two pieces of ordnance. Having overpowered and taken prisoners the small force which attempted to defend the place, Massey pressed onward, going with his own regiment towards Hereford, and directing the Warwickshire regiment to file off towards Monmouth. Of the incidents which befel the latter as they approached Monmouth, a very graphic account is preserved in Mercurius Aulius of May 22. Colonel Mynne, who was at Monmouth,

had received information of Massey's movements and immediately got the troops under arms, in which condition they remained all day awaiting Massey's appearance. As there was no sign of their coming, however, they were in the evening sent to their several quarters, and Major-General Scudamore, and Master Rowland Scudamore, a kinsman, rode out to view some positions of advantage on the side of the town towards Ross. They had with them ten troopers and two of the Major's own servants. They had not proceeded more than twice musket-shot of the town, when they unexpectedly fell upon 100 of the rebels' horse and dragoons, and perceived behind this forlorn hope, above 400 drawn up in a meadow on the river side. The forlorn hope, being within pistol shot, opened fire upon the Major, and he did the like to them; but little hurt was done as the rain which had fallen had rendered their pistols useless. The major immediately sent back one of the troopers to alarm the town, and that Col. Mynne might send out assistance. At the gate of the town the messenger met Captain Roberts, who, riding forward, found Major Scudamore engaged, and that with his two servants and nine troopers he had held the lane against all the rebels. Captain Roberts and his men joined in the fray, and after half-an-hour's hot sword skirmish, Major Somerset, with a party of Lord Herbert's regiment, came up. There was no opportunity for them to charge, for the gallant fourteen filled up the lane, and the rebels could not get round them. This was their advantage, and so well did they bestir themselves that many of the rebels with blood about their ears were forced to retreat to their main body, whence fresh supplies were sent three several times. On the rebels perceiving the reinforcements coming from the town they called off their fellows, who instantly retreated, the gallant major pursuing them a good way towards Ross. Three or four of the rebels were left dead in the lane, and though more of the Royalists are reported to have been killed, several were secured as prisoners, including Major Scudamore's two servants, with their horses, and the major's own arms, which one of the men

carried (he having had no leisure to put them on), and two of Major Somerset's troopers.

Massey gained but little by his adventures. His purpose had been to raise contributions out of the district, to enlarge his quarters, and so endeavour so far as possible to engage the country for the Parliament; but before he could receive the submissions and contributions required, the Parliamentary force evacuated Ross on Wednesday, May 22nd, for more important operations south of Gloucester. Mynne continued for two months at Hereford to watch Gloucester, and at length a plan was arranged for an attack. Massey marched out on the 26th July to meet his opponents, and on the following morning, falling upon Mynne's force before the reinforcements from Worcester came to his assistance, slew the gallant colonel and 170 of his veterans, and took 330 officers and men prisoners. This defeat, says Sanderson, ruined the King's power in South Wales.

At this juncture Colonel Charles Gerard was ordered to retire from South Wales, with a view of concentrating and strengthening the Royal forces at Bristol. Massey had learned that they intended to break through Gloucestershire, and resolved at all hazards to place a barrier in their way to Bristol. When he expected them to pass through the Forest of Dean he burnt all the passage boats upon the Severn, and remained continually on the alert. Some time in September intelligence reached Massey from London that a junction of Gerard's forces with those of Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Prince Rupert was contemplated, and he was instructed to use every diligence to frustrate the enemy's plan. Certain information being also afforded him that the crossing of the Severn would be attempted at the Old Passage, Massey at once proceeded thither, and found this information correct. By orders of Prince Rupert Sir John Winter, with five hundred horse and foot, were commanded to march from Bristol into the Forest, fortify Beachley, and guard the Passage. The soldiers applied themselves to this task with energy, and after four days labour, had nearly half completed a trench from the Wye to the Severn, with other

works necessary for defence. On the evening of the fourth day, Massey arrived at Chepstow with a force of 600 horse and foot, and putting to the sword those who opposed his progress, suddenly appeared before the entrenching party at Beachley. During the whole of that night he remained facing the works within musket shot, and when morning came prepared for an assault. The works were protected, not only by the men engaged upon them, but also by war vessels both in the Wye and the Severn, the guns of which vessels, at high water, were level with the banks. Massey waited until the lowest ebb of the tide before he commenced the attack, which he did by sending ten chosen musketeers to creep along the hedges. These received the first volley of the Royalists, but before they could reload, a general advance was made amid trumpets sounding and drums beating. In a few minutes all was over, and Massey's men had possession of the works. One hundred and eleven prisoners were taken, some few were killed, some were drowned, and others escaped by boats. The guns of the vessels kept up a steady fire for some time, but owing to their low position their shot was spent in vain.

The fight, such as it was, was witnessed in safety by a number of spectators who assembled on the Monmouthshire side of the Wye, among whom most probably was Colonel Tuke, commander of the Northern Horse, who writing to Prince Rupert on the 20th September, and dating his letter from "St. Pierre, at Mr Lewis's house," describes the capture and the consternation of the Governor of Chepstow, and expresses his fears that that important place would be lost if Massey attempted it, to say nothing of the danger to his own troops quartered in the neighbouring villages, many of them without horses, and in a country whose loyalty he suspected.

Massey finding himself master of the position was loath to withdraw without essaying some still more signal service, and accordingly resolved to attempt the capture of Monmouth. At this period the commander of the garrison there was one Lieut. Kyrle, who had originally taken up arms for

the Parliament, but deserting their cause upon the loss of Bristol, he joined the Royalists. Kyrle having one day gone out from Monmouth with a party to fetch provisions, and being as Whitelock observes, "full of jollity and security," Colonel Massey fell upon them in the midst of their mirth, and surprised them. Kyrle fearing that having revolted from the Parliament he should not now find any quarter, made overtures to Massey to betray the garrison in his charge, and to march into Monmouth in front of Massey. The agreement come to was to this effect. Massey proposed to Kyrle that he should feign to have received a sudden summons to return to Gloucester, and acting upon this, Kyrle would have a pretext for drawing out his troops to follow him. Massey accordingly left his quarters at High Meadow on 23rd of September in haste, and Kyrle with 30 horse went after him. Massey soon turned back, surprised them at midnight, and then advanced towards the town. The cornet, however, had escaped, and alarmed the garrison, who stood prepared to meet an attack. The night was dark and rainy. Eventually Kyrle, with 100 horsemen arrived at the Wye Bridge gate, and asked for admittance with 100 prisoners. Colonel Holtby who was left in command, became suspicious, but was prevailed upon by the other officers to let the drawbridge down. A strong guard was present, and after the first party had passed over, the bridge was at once drawn up again. But now was the moment; the men who pretended to be prisoners threw off the mask, overpowered the guard, and allowed the remainder of the force to pass over. These soon spread themselves over the town, and the prize was won. Some sixty common soldiers, one major, three captains, several inferior officers, a few barrels of powder, and some arms were all that were taken. Colonel Holtby and most of the garrison escaped. The loss is said to have been not above six men on both sides. In fact, only three burials are entered in the parish register, viz. :—

Sept.—John Haines, a soldier slain by Coll. Massies entering the town 24

A trayned soldier slayne the 24th in the entring the towne by Collo. Massey 25
Richard Williams, a soldier slayne the same time..... 26

The loss of Monmouth was looked upon as a very severe blow to the royal cause, and in some quarters the possession of the town was regarded as equivalent to that half of Wales. The news "Monmouth is taken" spread far and wide through the country, and being regarded as the key to South Wales, the most gloomy prospects were entertained. The Royalists of Monmouthshire were startled; some fled from their homes, while those who remained in their dwellings to await further events, took precautions to drive their cattle into places of security. The bolder men coalesced for their defence, hoping that some fortunate turn would take place in affairs. Massey at once set himself to work to make his position secure. He sent the intelligence to Parliament on the 24th, and also on the same day forwarded a request asking for the assistance of Lord Denbigh's horse a second time, and acknowledging their good services "lately done unto the State, and the latest, the entering this night of his Majesties garrison at Monmouth."

Colonel Harley, Sir Robert Harley's son, was made governor of Monmouth.

The occupants of Raglan Castle. not hitherto affronted by so serious an ill neighbour, were put on their mettle; the *posse comitatus* was now raised, and the people offered themselves unanimously. Massey was active in endeavouring to prevent the assembling of any force. Some northern cavalry, however, joined the soldiers from the garrisons of Raglan and Chepstow, and these, with the trained bands, making a force of about five hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, attacked Massey's force at Wonastow, on the 28th. They, however, got worsted, and would probably have been all dispersed had not a small river and the destruction of a bridge checked the pursuit. About fifty men of Lord Herbert's forces were killed and sixty taken prisoners.

Massey tried to conciliate the people of the dis-

trict, but hardly one of the gentlemen to whom he sent letters of invitation responded to his appeal. On the other hand the summonses of the Marquis of Worcester were in many cases disregarded, and those who had deserted their homes kept silence in the distance. The people had already suffered so much that they were dispirited, and the conduct of Kyrle and others induced a feeling of distrust, reserve, and caution. Some were evidently angry and vindictive, for Colonel Samuel Tuke, who was at Chepstow when Massey scored his victory at Beachley, in again writing to Rupert on the 30th of September from Llantarnam, says there could be "no trust in the county generally—the greater part niggling traitors—their tenants rise, disarm and wound their men for coming to quarters assigned to them." On the same day (30th) the Commissioners of the county met at Caerleon, and from thence addressed a request to Rupert for infantry and ammunition "in this our great and urgent necessitie." The first signature to the document is that of Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby, at whose castle at this time there was a garrison of sixty men.

Gerard, hearing of all that had transpired in Monmouthshire, and realising that if he did not exercise great diligence his passage to the King at Worcester would be endangered, speedily came into Monmouthshire, where his presence was most inspiriting to the Royalists. Wintour again attempted to fortify Beachley, to allow Gerard to reach Bristol. He had 100 of his own engaged in the work, Rupert sent him a number, and four hundred others were obtained from Bristol. From that city was also procured a quantity of palisades of different lengths, strengthened and pointed with iron, so that they were ready for fixing at once into the ground. The most assailable point between the Wye and the Severn was protected by a tall hedge and strong ditch, and the line was flanked by guns planted at each extremity. Pieces of ordnance were also placed on the west bank of the Wye, the guns of the rebels being only serviceable at high tide. Massey saw the danger which this would be to

him, and resolved to make another attack upon it without delay. On the night of the 13th October he approached the works with 100 musketeers, eight troops of horse, and the garrison of Newnham. At the break of day, the tide being then at low ebb, he took the lead in storming the place. In the act of forcing his horse over the hedge, he was unseated, and tossed headlong among the royalist defenders. A musketeer at once discharged his rifle at him, but without effect, and seeing this his assailant reversed his weapon, and with the butt end dashed the helmet from his head. Colonel Harley and his men rescued him from further danger and remounted him. Kyrle, with the main body of assailants, had a desperate encounter, but were ultimately successful, killing some 30, and taking prisoners 230 officers and men. Wintour had resolutely kept his ground, and being pointed out by the traitor Kyrle, who called aloud to his men "pistol him," he suddenly disappeared down a precipice supposed unapproachable to man or horse, and plunged into the river. The horse was taken, and Wintour thought to have been drowned; until a few days later it was announced that he was safe in Bristol.

Rupert was to have been at Beachley the night following this affair, and Massey found his tent up and his bed ready. A council of war was held, and it was determined that as the place could not be held by any who were not masters of the sea, that every building should be levelled, and every tree and hedge cut down. This determination was carried into effect.

Gerard, at this further unexpected success of his opponent, was somewhat disconcerted, but evaded Massey by passing through Newport, and marching at once to Usk and Abergavenny. Here he remained some days, and a number of petty skirmishes took place. Gerard not only vigorously exerted himself, but his example had an excellent effect upon all around him. His men were continually traversing the high roads and visiting the remote farm houses and seats of the gentry, where armed regulars had never been seen before. Powell, of Llantillio, a veteran of the House of

Raglan, recorded in his diary that he had soldiers from Abergavenny in his house every night. Massey's forces were still at Monmouth, but made no attack. It cannot be supposed from Massey's character that he was afraid of his rival, but having much upon his hands at this time, and engaged in trying to secure Chepstow, he probably preferred to avoid the risk, and thus not unwillingly allowed Gerard to slip by. Gerard was anxious to reach the King at Worcester, and therefore had no great wish to come into contact with his victorious enemy. Whilst at Abergavenny Gerard made a levy of £1,000 upon the county; but he did not wait for its complete collection, and it would seem that the whole sum was never raised. Gerard left the county and reached Evesham on the road to Worcester in safety on the 30th October.

Massey, who had been so thoroughly successful in what he had undertaken, was held in high esteem by "the Committee of both Kingdoms," who probably were led to over-estimate his ability. They would not brook the idea of Gerard's escape, and hearing of his whereabouts and his intended line of march from Monmouthshire, instructed Massey to interpose and frustrate his movements. Massey, who, being on the spot, was best able to judge of the circumstances, and his prospects of success, doubted the wisdom of the orders given, but sacrificing his judgment to obedience left his position at Chepstow to follow Gerard. He took with him from Monmouth only his own regiment of horse, and made his way to Evesham, but Gerard had been there ten days before him, and was too strong to be attacked by Massey's small force.

This expedition of Massey's, undertaken contrary to his judgment, proved disastrous to his cause. On leaving Monmouth he entrusted the command of the garrison to Major Throgmorton, an officer of his regiment. Young Edward Harley, on the 13th of October, had been by a message from the House of Commons recommended to Colonel Massey as Governor of Monmouth, but it seems to have been a mere post of honour, and never occupied by him. Massey's instructions

to Throgmorton were strictly to abstain from all enterprises; but ambition overcome discretion, and Throgmorton disregarding his orders, was soon made to rue the consequences. Offers of assistance in attempting Chepstow Castle already made to Massey, being renewed to Thogmorton, he yielded to temptation, and arranged to make a surprise attack. Selecting three hundred of the best men of his force, he started from Monmouth on the morning of Sunday the 17th November. No sooner had they departed than the Royalist party sent word to the commanding officers of Raglan, and Abergavenny, and encouraged them to make an effort to recover possession of the town. Lord Herbert took up the idea, and although there was nothing like an army in the district, he secured the assistance of the few soldiers from Raglan, Abergavenny, Llangibby, Goodrich, and Hereford. With all the horse and foot he could thus muster on the Monday he marched upon Monmouth, which place he reached about daybreak on Tuesday. The *reveille* was beaten within the walls, but no one took alarm. The *Perfect Diurnall* records that while the sentries were kept in friendly talk by seven or eight Raglan soldiers in the disguise of countrymen, forty of the attacking party scaled a bank of earth which had been for defence thrown up between the Monnow and the Wye, and led by Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, rushed to the Dixton Gate, mastered the guard, broke the chains, and let in the entire body of horse. These at once charged through the streets, and after a trifling resistance, the whole garrison, numbering some 200 officers and men, were taken prisoners. Several pieces of ordnance, including the hammer guns which Massey captured at Beachley, some ammunition, provisions, and many arms were also secured. Not more than thirteen men were killed in this adventure, some of whom, if we may believe the *Weekly Account*, were "barbarously smothered in their beds." Among the prisoners taken were Colonels Broughton and Stephens, and Messrs Cathmay of Trelleck, and Jones of Usk. These men were members of the Committee, and only a few hours before they awakened to their position they had

been labouring at taxing and sequestrating the property of the very men in whose hands they were now prisoners. The recapture of Monmouth was soon made known in London, and a News letter sent to Trelawney, in Cornwall, the seat of Sir John Salisbury Trelawney, Bart., containing the sentence—"From Wales, excellent news of the recovery of Monmouth"—shows how soon and far the tidings spread.

So soon as the report reached Massey, he instantly retraced his steps, but found that with the town of Monmouth the whole county had been lost to him. The force under Throgmorton, which marched upon Chepstow, failing in the object for which they had set out, crossed the Wye at Tintern and struck into the Forest of Dean, and here Massey joined them, and endeavoured once more to concentrate his forces, and strengthen the position he occupied.

ENFORCED CONTRIBUTIONS.—VISIT OF PRINCE RUPERT TO MONMOUTHSHIRE.—THE KING SEEKS REFUGE IN THE COUNTY.—HIS RECEPTION AT RAGLAN.

Gerard, it would seem, once again returned to Monmouthshire to secure the prize which had been so fortunately won back to the Royal cause. On the 11th of December he met the High Sheriff of the county, Thomas Price, of Llanfoist, and several of the Commissioners at Newport, and they directed the issue of a warrant dated that day to the effect, "That whereas by God's great mercy the county stood in a good condition of safety, it could probably be preserved by no other means than keeping up such forces in the garrisons as might prevent any inroad or violence from the enemy." For some time past many of the soldiers had been living at free quarter among those of the inhabitants whose assessments were in arrear, but the warrant proceeded to inform them "that in lieu of free quarters and all arrears, the favour of the general had indulged them with a levy of £1,000 to be paid in eleven days. Orders were given for its punctual collection. In January, 1645, a fresh warrant was issued for no less a sum than £1,670, and an addition of £160 wholly in money as a contribution for the governors of the garrisons. In the following months of February, March, and April, similar orders were issued. Heavy as these amounts may seem, they were really a relief to the exactions previously made; for, in consideration of their being paid, the militia were to be released from garrison duty in towns; no free quarter for either horse or foot was to be allowed, except by the special order of the General himself, and then only for a night when they happened to be on the march; no arrears of former contributions were to be called for; no persons nor goods were to be seized without warrant from the General and Commissioners, and no post horses were to be taken in town or country without the General's express order. Notwithstanding the relief which the new levy afforded, the contributions were slowly

and reluctantly made, and most of these, as usual, half in cash and the remainder in provisions which were taken at the market value, viz., wheat 6s per bushel; cheese, 3d per lb.; bacon, 6d; malt, 4s per bushel; hops, 16d per lb.

In January, 1645, William Lawes, treasurer for the county (a favourite with the King, and one of the Royal musicians). more then once visited Newport, Chepstow, and Caerleon, to hasten the levy of money, and call up the arrears which should have been paid in December. Powell, of Llantilio, who had been appointed receiver for the Hundred of Skenfrith, placed on record the difficulties against which he had to contend. He pleaded indisposition, and sent his son to the treasurer with a small sum, but which was all he had been able to procure. Lawes, in reply, said this would not answer the purpose, and wrote to Powell as follows:— "Let me sudainly (immediately) hear from you, or else I must be forct to render (return) you very negligent and backward to the King, the generals, and the countreys service. If you are not well, employ your sonne or some that may be more active in it, that I suffer noe more delay." Lawes also referred to an unpaid contribution of £2,000 to the Prince Rupert, and threatened to come "with parties" to examine into the neglect.

When the campaign opened in the spring, Prince Rupert made a visit in haste to Monmouthshire from Bristol, to inspect the garrisons and attend to other matters pressing. Here, as in other parts, his power was absolute, but from some cause the members and supporters of the house of Raglan never gave him that welcome which an officer so high in the King's service and favours might reasonably expect. The same feeling of jealousy which had existed between Lord Herbert and the Marquis of Hertford at the opening of the war, apparently prevailed, and although the soldiers of Raglan intermixed with the soldiers under Rupert, their co-operation was never cordial. Rupert was as loyal and as high spirited as the Marquis of Worcester or his sons, and while these jealousies obtained, he cared not to mix in their company. Viewing the zeal which they all dis-

played in the same cause, and the numerous occasions in which Rupert visited the county, it is strange that only one single instance is known of his having darkened the portals of Raglan by his presence.

One of the first things Rupert did when in the county, was to issue a warrant against defaulters. The case of Powell before mentioned will give the reader of modern days a fair idea of the trial which honest men in those days had to endure whether they were favourable to the King or the Parliament. As the money for which levies had been made was not paid warrants were addressed to Powell by Rupert, dated April 15, to arrest John Davies, of Llangattock, and Jenkin Scudamore, of Llangua, the Chief Constables, for their neglect, and the former was lodged in prison until the arrears were paid. When Easter came round free quarter was again resorted to, and Powell had both men and horses put upon him. That he complained of the circumstance as being an injustice, he having paid his quota, was of no avail, soldiers of fortune being seldom encumbered with tender mercies.

Rupert did not overlook the case of Wintour, who was shut up at Lydney by Massey's forces, and efforts were made to relieve him. Lunsford swept round the west and southern part of Monmouthshire, as far as Chepstow, and carried back to Monmouth 3,000 head of cattle, and leather to the value of £2,000 which had been collected at Brockweir, and such a quantity of wheat at Llancaut that he failed to find enough boats to remove it. Massey wrote to Rupert about the latter, but he was told that Lunsford had only taken what had been lost; but if the governor of Gloucester chose to come and reclaim the corn and cattle he would have them all ready for him. This was the taunting style adopted at the period. Wintour was not relieved, and in anticipation of another attack from Massey he set fire to his house and withdrew with his garrison, leaving his guns behind.

After the battle of Naseby, fought on the 14th of June, King Charles sought an asylum in South Wales. On the 19th he reached Hereford, where the governor still maintained the King's authority.

Here the King remained 12 days, and from thence despatched Rupert to secure Bristol. Up to this time reverses had been accompanied by compensating victories, and there was little to create anything like a feeling of despair in the mind of the King; but while at Hereford Charles gave evidence of the dismal forebodings which pressed upon him. To the Earl of Glamorgan he wrote on the 23rd that he was no way disheartened by the late misfortune; and the manner in which he had been received made him hope well of the neighbouring shires; but on the same day, in the privacy of his chamber, and unknown to his council, he wrote a letter to his son the Prince of Wales, which seems to testify to different feelings. He anticipates the possibility of his own capture, and commands his son in the most stringent terms, and upon his blessing, to entertain no dishonourable or derogatory conditions, though it were for the saving of his father's life. Hiding these sad misgivings of an aching heart, Charles set about by the best means that could be devised to repair the serious loss his cause had sustained. On the 28th he attended a meeting convened in a meadow near the city, and asked for a further supply of recruits. The meeting was not a success, the attendance was scanty, and on the same occasion 300 men who had been pressed, ran away to Gloucester. The King's horse guard was on the 30th sent to Grosmont, and the next day, Tuesday, 1st July, his Majesty left Hereford for Abergavenny, dining on the way at Mr Pritchard's, Campston house. Here he knighted some of his Herefordshire adherents, and borrowed a sum of money from his host, giving a written agreement for the same under his sign manual. The same night Charles reached Abergavenny, and took supper at Mr. Guncer's. The royal guards were quartered in the villages of Tregaer, Bryngwyn, Bettws and Clytha.

On the 2nd July, 1645, Charles met the Commissioners of Array for South Wales. They were for the most part persons of the best quality and largest fortunes of those counties, and all had manifested great loyalty and affection from the beginning of the war. They had sent many

good regiments to the army, to which their sons and brothers and nearest kindred were attached, many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the field. The Commissioners now made as large and ample professions as ever, and led the King to believe that they should be able in a very short time to raise a good army of foot, with which he might again look upon the enemy. Accordingly they agreed what numbers should be levied upon each of the counties; but though they professed to be as devoted and loyal as ever, there was a reticence in their expressions and a dilatoriness in all they did. Walker says they "promised mountains," but the men they undertook to raise were not forthcoming. It was understood that Gerard had displeased the people by his severity, and the King's service was no longer popular, but regarded as a burden to be evaded, if possible.

Finding that little could be gained by a prolonged stay at Abergavenny, Charles moved on to Raglan, where he was certain to meet with a hearty welcome. Mr Webb, in his "History of the Civil War in Herefordshire," has in fancy well depicted the scene. It was on the evening of the 3rd July his Majesty's coming was expected, and preparations accordingly made. When his approach was heralded, the drawbridge was let down and the portcullis raised. The King entered with his guards, the garrison being drawn up to receive him. The ladies and other inmates of the castle crowded every window of the court yard, and every eye was bent upon the august person of the Monarch. Presently the aged Marquis of Worcester, the governor of the castle, steps forward, and according to custom, handed the keys of the fortress to the Monarch. His Majesty was about graciously to return them, when the Marquis said, "I beseech your Majesty to keep them if you please, for they are in a good hand; but I am afraid ere it be long I shall be forced to deliver them into the hands of those who will spoil the compliment." Charles had never before seen Raglan, but its name, and the munificence and staunch loyalty of its possessor, were deeply graven on his heart. The noble entrance, its stately

towers, its charming courts, the lovely scenery from its walls, must at least for the time have had a soothing effect upon the mind of the King, but the waving of banners, the trumpet's note, and the din of warlike sounds, must again have reminded him of the grave circumstances which had driven him to find refuge within its walls. Efforts were made to cheer the King, and rouse him from the depression with which his sorrows began to weighten him. The humour of the old Marquis and and the learning of his chaplain, Bayle, proved attractive for Charles, but only for a time. Jest and sport created passing mirth, but the ghost of events would again re-appear in still deeper gloom. During his stay, Charles failed not to take the opportunity of thanking his host for the pecuniary support he had so readily given, but the Marquis replied, "Sir, I had your word for the money, but I never thought I should be so soon repaid ; for now you have given me thanks, I have all I looked for."

After a few days at Raglan, Charles is supposed to have gone over to Monmouth. The "Mercurius Viridicus" asserts that he was at Monmouth between the 12th and 19th, and that the contribution of £30 was handed to him "on a pewter platter." His visit to Monmouth is commemorated by a plaster medallion affixed in the bar room at the King's Head Hotel, which His Majesty is supposed to have occupied, but the date is not given.

That Charles began now to regard his position in a serious light is evident from many sources. His attendants were no less anxious. Amid all the seductions of Raglan Charles did not neglect close attendance to matters of war and State so pressing upon him. Day by day the news of disasters to his forces reached him, and his enemies seemed to be drawing more closely around him on every side. Bristol for the time seemed to be the key of the position, and thither Charles desired Rupert to go, and sent to his assistance many of the new levies which had been raised in the Monmouthshire district. On the 10th Goring, at Langport, in Somersetshire, was defeated by Fairfax, which occasioned the King additional alarm. The

matter was laid before a Council held at Raglan, and on the 13th Lord Digby communicated to Rupert what the Council thought on the subject of resisting Fairfax, preserving Wales, and disposing of the King's person. In their opinion there was no chance of reaching Goring "without infinite danger," and the King preferred to remain in Wales. If Rupert disagreed with these views the King begged that he would come over immediately.

In the meantime we find that the King had arranged to again meet the Commissioners of South Wales at Cardiff, on the 16th. On that day he set forth, accompanied by the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Lindsey, Lichfield, Kernwagh (Carnewath), Lords Digby and Bellasis, and two troops of horse, passing in the morning through Usk, Llangibby, Caerleon, and Newport, in each of which places his Majesty was duly honoured. At Newport the garrison of 50 men was commanded by Colonel Richard, Lord Herbert, son of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who held St. Julians. From Newport his Majesty proceeded to Tredegar House, where he dined with Sir William Morgan and then proceeded to Cardiff, where he supped at Sir T. Tinnel's, the latter meal, as stated in the Iter Carolinum "being defrayed at the country's charge."

THE KING RETURNS TO RAGLAN.—PREPARATIONS TO GO TO BRISTOL.—SUPPOSED CROSSING OF THE PASSAGE.—PROCEEDS TO NEWPORT, RUPERRA, AND CARDIFF.—DISAFFECTION AT CARDIFF.—HIS MAJESTY LEAVES THE DISTRICT.

His Majesty's visit to Cardiff was not productive of any important results, and on the following day, Thursday, the 19th July, 1645, he returned to Tredegar House, and slept there that night. On Friday morning his Majesty and his retinue wended their way back to Raglan, not dining until they reached the Castle. Rupert, in accordance with Earl Digby's letter of 13th July, was coming to meet the King. The 20th of July was Sunday, a day which the King would gladly have passed in calm repose. His Majesty never neglected the opportunity of attending public worship, but his sacred devotions must have been sadly interrupted by the gravity of State matters. On this very Sunday no less than three councils of war were held, at the first two of which his Majesty was present. The disposal of troops and ammunition of war were the subjects which chiefly occupied attention. At the second council Prince Rupert was present, and the first thing resolved on was that his Majesty on the morrow should go to Bristol. Preparations for the journey were considered, and 50 men from Raglan and 50 from Chepstow were ordered "to guard the pass" on the Wye, at Tintern. At the conclusion of the council Rupert went back to Bristol, but to-morrow came, and the King irresolute, still remained at Raglan. On Tuesday the 22nd, however, his Majesty set out with a view to cross the Severn, and his nephew came over the water once more to meet him. The King, who was attended by the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Lindsay and Lichfield, Lords Digby and Astley, and many other gentlemen, met Prince Rupert at Crick House, then occupied by Nicholas Moore, a gentleman who had served the office of High Sheriff in 1639. A council of war was held, but contrary to all preparations, the King did not proceed to Bristol. Rupert returned that night alone, and

the King went back to Raglan once more. His arrival, however, was delayed to so late an heur that great alarm was felt among his friends for his Majesty's safety.

The writer of the Iter Carolinum appends the following remark to the entry in his diary for this day:—"The Scots approach, and our own ceaseless apprehension of fear make us demur and doubt; on the first what to resolve, and in the latter how to steer our resolutions, which involved us in a most disastrous condition."

On the 23rd, a meeting of the Commissioners was held at Abergavenny, to associate Monmouthshire and South Wales against the Scots, who were now approaching Hereford, but the result of this meeting had no influence on the King's movements, who, with a desire still to remain in Wales, had not given up his intention to depart for Bristol, and on the 24th he again started off, and reached Crick House a second time. A council was held at which his Majesty presided, and here the intelligence was imparted that Bridgewater had fallen to the attacks of the Parliamentary forces. The King was earnestly persuaded thereupon not to proceed to Bristol, as that city would probably soon be attacked, and he was informed that crossing of the Passage would necessarily be incurring a great risk, as a party of the enemy's dragoons were near at hand and watching the royal movements. His Majesty at last determined not to cross, and soon after, with his own servants and a troop of horse, started for Newport.

The intention, or attempt of the King to cross the Passage at this period, has given rise to many traditions concerning it, in most of which there is a substratum of truth. The broad outline of the stories is that his Majesty being closely pursued by a strong party of the enemy crossed the Severn at the New Passage. Immediately on the return of the boat a corps of about sixty Parliamentarians came down to the Black Rock, and having satisfied themselves that the King had passed over, compelled the boatmen at the point of the sword to ferry them across. The boatmen, although staunchly loyal to the King,

obeyed the behest of the soldiers but landed them on a reef called the English Stones, separated from the Gloucester shore by a lake. It is fordable at low water, but at the time the soldiers were landed the tide began to flow, and running up with great rapidity they were all drowned before reaching the shore. A tradition is preserved in the neighbourhood that the pursuit of Charles was so close that the King made his exit by one door of Crick House as his enemies entered at the other.

The incident of his Majesty's escape was related with much circumstantiality in connection with some Chancery suits which took place from 1723 to 1728 between the Duke of Beaufort and Mr Thomas Lewis, of St. Pierre. In the course of these proceedings, one Giles Gilbert deposed that he remembered when a boy seeing the King ride through Shirenewton in order to cross the Passage; and about an hour afterwards he saw Cromwell's soldiers going hastily in pursuit near Portskewett. Upon their coming to the Black Rock Passage, and finding the King to have just passed over, they drew their swords upon the boatmen who were there and forced them to take them over. This they did, and landed them on the English Stones, when the tide coming on them they were all lost or drowned, as the deponent believed, and was informed by the boatmen next day, and that in consequence the ferry was discontinued by order of Parliament. Other witnesses gave a somewhat different version, stating that the King, with a suite of about 26 persons, passed over, and that on the same day 12 others of the Royalist party, being in haste to pass forced the boatmen to pass them over before the tide was sufficient to carry them over, therefore they were landed at a place called the 'Sandbed," and directed how to ride to Chesil Pill, but the flood came upon them and destroyed them all. As that event happened some 80 years before the witnesses gave evidence, inaccuracies in their statements are to be expected, but the fact that the King had a "very narrow escape of being taken near the Black Rock" is corroborated by the newspapers of the time.

From the diaries of his Majesty's personal atten-

dants, however, it is clear that the King never crossed by the ferry, but yielding to the desires of his friends went forward to Newport. That some of the royal party crossed is most probable, and as the King was known to be in the neighbourhood, it is not surprising that the idea of his Majesty having crossed should be entertained. It may, too, have been so alleged in order to mislead the enemy. The persons ferried over may, however, have only been couriers or officers with important despatches for Prince Rupert.

On the arrival of the King at Newport there was no royal reception, and his Majesty was content for that night to accept the somewhat humble entertainment provided at the house of Mrs Pritty, a relative we imagine of Mr. Priddy the first Mayor of Newport under the charter of James I. Next morning, July 25th, the King rode on to Ruperra, the residence of Sir Philip Morgan, and here he fixed his quarters for several days. Some of his troops were sent on to Llandaff, and some to Caerphilly. His Majesty could find no more rest here than at Ragland. Despatches were constantly received, and most of them of a very gloomy nature, making the King's heart sink within him. Among the smaller incidents of the time, the journalists of the day record that about 80 of the King's life guards were captured by a frigate or shallop in an attempt to cross at the Passage, and that the King had subsequently to pay nearly £1,600 for their ransom. Slingsby mentions that some things sent over by the King were lost, and Symonds, a Royalist officer, records that the habitable part of Abergavenny Castle was burnt and the garrison thereupon withdrawn.

From other accounts it would appear that on the same day the King went to Ruperra, he returned to Usk, where a meeting of the gentry of the county was held, and the disposition of the recruits considered. His Majesty could not refrain from expressing his sense of the unsteadiness of the recruits in serious action, and proposed that they should be employed in a kind of guerilla warfare. The idea was readily accepted, but it was easier to talk than to take action, and matters becoming

every day more confused, nothing came of it. On Sunday, the 27th, the King was still found at Ruperra, and in the absence of any record of Council or business transactions on that day, his Majesty may, amid the charms of that secluded retreat, have obtained a small portion of that repose which he at this time so greatly needed. From the calm and quiet of Ruperra the King started for Cardiff on the 29th, being accompanied still by the Duke of Richmond, Earl of Lindsay, High Chamberlain, Earl of Lichfield, Lord Kernwagh, and his regiment of guards. The King dined that day with the Governor as on the previous visit, but the writer of the Iter Carolinum very significantly adds that on this occasion it was "at our own charge."

The King soon found that a spirit of disaffection was abroad, and during the week he remained at Cardiff used his best efforts to ascertain the cause of this disaffection, with a view to remedying it. In accordance with his Majesty's orders, the *posse comitatus* of Glamorganshire had been brought together, to the number of four thousand, with the object of marching to the relief of Hereford, and the King took the opportunity of meeting them at St. Fagan's. Gerard, who had been desired to come up from South Wales, was there, but his presence proved anything but a source of strength. His harshness and severity, and the cruelties which his soldiers had been guilty of in Pembrokeshire, had offended the Welsh to a man, many of whom, though loyal to the King, had not lost their pride of nationality. Charles, therefore, found that those who had formerly strongly supported him, were now cool and alienated from him. They were, however, courageous enough to state roundly the ground of their complaints. They alleged that the King had imposed upon them a levy of £800 per month, within a week after Gerard produced a royal warrant for £1,600 per month. From these levies arrears of £7,000 had accrued, and they demanded the remission of this amount. Gerard's injustice still rankling in their breasts, they desired his removal from among them; and, further, that the governor of the castle should be

displaced, and all Papists sent out of the country. Following up these requests, they desired to have the choice of their own officers. The force termed themselves "The Peaceable Army," which seems to show that their thoughts dwelt more upon securing peace than protracting the war. They made it clearly known that the full concession of their demands was a condition of their service, otherwise they would voluntarily disperse. No king with the grasp of real power would for a moment have listened to such representations; but unfortunately for Charles, his prospects were getting more gloomy, and "nothing but loss and ruin every day ensued," as Dugdale remarks. Charles promised to concede all that was required of him, and returned to Cardiff. The assembled force bivouacked in the open air. Next day the governor was deposed. This step temporarily pacified the Welshmen, and the new governor doubtless entertained the King and his suite, for in the diary of his Majesty's attendant no further entry appears of anything having been provided "at our own charge."

The difficulty with the Cardiff army, however, was only one of many which followed in quick succession, and during the week's stay in Cardiff the Scots had marched within sight of Hereford. Pontefract Castle, Scarborough, and Bath had all fallen; in Pembrokeshire, from which district Gerard had been withdrawn, Laugharne had routed the royal forces remaining, and stormed the town and castle of Haverfordwest, while off the Holmes two of the Parliament ships, sent into Kingroad to block up Bristol, had captured sixteen Welsh barques provided for the transport of soldiers. The despondent yet manly spirit of Charles in such adverse circumstances is well exhibited in the letter which, during his stay in Cardiff, he addressed to Prince Rupert, and from which the following is an extract:—

"If I had no other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess that speaking either to mere soldier or statesmen, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to

Christian I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or His cause to be overthrown, and whatsoever punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon me must not make me repine, much less give over the quarrel.

"I cannot flatter myself with expectations of good success, more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience.

"Though I must avow to all my friends that he that will stay with me at this time must expect and resolve either to die for a good cause, or which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining of it as the violence of insulting rebels can make him."

In the midst of intelligence of these disasters, Charles resolved to leave Cardiff, deeming it unsafe any longer to remain there. Abandoning too the idea which he had entertained of crossing to Ireland, he saw his last hope in a junction with Montrose in the North. Prince Charles, who had been for a while staying at Raglan Castle, came on to Cardiff to accompany his Majesty, and they left together with about 3,000 horsemen, on the morning of Tuesday the 5th August. Proceeding that day to Glancaich, they dined with a Mr Pritchard, and went on to Brecon, his Majesty and son sleeping at the Priory that night. Here the King wrote a letter to his son, pathetically beginning, "Charles, it is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst."

Our limits preclude us from following the King to Radnor (where the Court dispersed) and thence to Ludlow, Doncaster, and back once more to Oxford, and must therefore, as far as possible, confine the narrative to the transactions which took place in the district and neighbourhood of Monmouthshire.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEACE ARMY.—WAVERING OF ROYALISTS.—RECOVERY OF HEREFORD.—FALL OF BRISTOL.—FAREWELL TO RAGLAN.—DEFECTION OF GLAMORGANSHIRE—LOSS OF SOUTH WALES—CAPTURE OF CHEPSTOW.—SURRENDER OF MONMOUTH.—ATTACK UPON ABERGAVENNY—RESISTANCE AND INFLUENCE OF RAGLAN.—ATTEMPT TO SECURE CARDIFF.

Parliament discerning the weakness of the King's cause, sought without delay to take advantage of it. They revived the question of the loss of Monmouth, and the Commons by a resolution passed on July 31, ordered that Lieutenant-Colonel Throgmorton be examined by the Committee of Examinations, concerning it, On the 9th of August they appointed Captain Moore governor of the town, and on the 13th made Colonel Morgan governor of all the forces in Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Glamorgan, and Hereford.

Newport being still safe for the King, was selected as a general rendezvous for the royal forces; and the men as they were collected together in other centres of the district, were to be forwarded here. When Charles left Cardiff, it was with the understanding that 1,000 men would at once be sent forward to join the other troops already at Newport, and that the levies would be paid or money advanced to him; but no sooner had he departed than the Peace Army rebelled against the officers over them, and threatened to burn the town unless Sir Richard Bassett, the governor, submitted to them. So violent were they, that three of the officers who Charles had left to take on the 1,000 men, were hunted and compelled to "shift" out of the town.

Sir Jacob Astley, who was in command, was thus left almost single handed. He found the force altogether intractable, and could not otherwise than be distrustful of them. He had convened a meeting of the inhabitants of Monmouthshire and South Wales to be held at Abergavenny on the 8th, and a very large assembly gathered there. Sir Jacob laid before them the critical position of the Royal cause, and the necessity there was that speedy relief should be sent to Hereford, then

invested by the Scots, but there was a sullenness apparent among the Welshmen present, which ultimately found expression in the demand again renewed, that English officers should be removed from all Welsh garrisons. It was not then a time to take such matters into consideration, but argue and persuade as he would Sir Jacob could elicit no consent to join him in any operation at Hereford; and being convinced at length that no good would result from further parleying he imperatively called upon all around him to say who they were for, "those who were for the Parliament to stand by themselves, and those that were for the King to stand by themselves."

The challenge was taken up by Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby. Hitherto he had been regarded as a royalist, but now it was somewhat disconcerting to find him stand forth and declare "that they came for both King and Parliament, and not to divide between them, as they perceived his (Sir Jacob Astley's) intention was." No concerted action could be taken under these circumstances, so the gathering dispersed, and Sir Jacob Astley returned to Cardiff. Here matters were evidently not improving. On the 11th of August, in a letter to Prince Rupert at Bristol, Sir Jacob Astley writes, "the county of Glamorgan is so unquiet, as there is no good to be expected. Shall strive as far as I can to put things in order, which I despair of, because it is *power* to rule these people, and not entreaties with cap in hand to such as deserve the halter." Sir Jacob's efforts in Breconshire were not more successful, for only four days later (August 15th) he writes from Newport that the gentry of Brecknock were most of them inclined to be neutral, and to join with the strongest party, which made it difficult for him to engage them to join together to relieve Hereford. A fortnight later, and the necessity for their aid was at an end, as the Scots, who had everything ready for the final assault upon the city, were seized with a panic upon intelligence reaching them that the King was marching upon them, and was close at hand, and speedily "vanished out of sight," as a local historian observes. This was on the 1st of September, and on the 4th the King entered the city.

The King having secured the city of Hereford, his Majesty's attention was immediately given to the condition of Bristol, which was now beseiged by Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, and on Sunday, the 7th, he proceeded to Raglan with the object of organising relief for the latter. With the assurance of Rupert that he could hold out for four months, the King rested satisfied; and proceeded the very next day to Abergavenny to inquire into the conduct of those gentry in Monmouthshire who had proved "chief hinderers to relieve Hereford." On the 11th he was at Abergavenny again for the purpose of committing them to prison. Five of them were brought before him, the foremost being Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby. With him were Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, Mr Herbert of Colebrook, and a Mr Baker. The fifth offender is not named. The King was advised to order them to an immediate trial, which probably would have resulted in a conviction; but all five excusing themselves as best they might, and Sir Trevor Williams protesting his innocence with tears in his eyes, the King's merciful heart was affected, and he released Sir Trevor on bail, and committed the others only for a temporary imprisonment. It is related that when the King returned to Raglan and told the Marquis of Worcester what he had done, the shrewd old man exclaimed, "Well, sir, you may chance to get the Kingdom of Heaven by such doings, but if you ever get the Kingdom of England by such ways I will be your bondsman." A few hours after this the King received intelligence of the fall of Bristol. The blow was a heavy one, and bewildered the King. The next morning, September 12th, he left Raglan and marched with his guards some miles towards Hereford, but in the afternoon he returned again to Raglan, and remained there over the following Sunday, 14th of September.

In the meantime the Lord Herbert had been sent into Ireland for supplies for the King, and Charles had himself despatched Astley and Langdale to Cardiff to confer once more with the Peace Army, who still held together in their dissatisfaction. By the bold show of the Royal troops, though they were few in number, the army lay

down their arms, and renewed their promise of support to the King.

On Sunday, the 14th September, Charles sat down to his last supper in Raglan Castle, and next morning bade address to the Marquis and his supporters, among whom he had received some degree of solace in the midst of his deepest trials. It was a sad farewell.

The King went to Monmouth with a view of proceeding to Chester, which city, after many devious wanderings, he at length gained. Here new dangers arose, and "by unknown ways, and passages with many dark and late marches," made his way once again to Oxford.

After the fall of Bristol, Berkeley Castle soon succumbed and then Colonel Morgan, who in July had been made commander of the forces in the district, pushed out from Gloucester, and found no difficulty in making headway in Monmouthshire.

On the 25th September the Glamorganshire men declared themselves for the Parliament, and at once seized the town and Castle of Cardiff, which seems to have been ill-defended by the governor, Sir Richard Bassett. Sixteen pieces of ordnance and a store of arms and ammunition was captured. Next day came letters from Major-General Laughorne with intelligence that he had cleared Pembrokeshire for the Parliament, and thus all South Wales, it might be said, was now lost to the King. Raglan and Chepstow Castles were the only important places which still maintained a bold front, but on the 6th October a force of Morgan's men, consisting of 400 cavalry and 300 infantry, were sent to reduce the latter They were strengthened by a party from Monmouth, and possession of the town was soon gained. A summons was sent without delay for the surrender of the Castle, but the governor, one Colonel Fitzmorris sent what Whitelocke calls "a positive answer in the negative." An attack was made with cannon, and after some time a breach effected. The garrison then offered to capitulate, but a parley was peremptorily refused. On their knees the garrison once more implored that they might surrender, and on the 11th October they were permitted to do so. Seventeen pieces of

ordnance, stores of arms, and an abundance of ammunition and provisions became the property of the captors.

News of the taking of Chepstow Castle, and of the ordnance, arms, and ammunition there, was immediately conveyed to Parliament, and the House of Commons ordered a letter of thanks to Colonel Morgan, gave £10 to the messenger, and further ordered that the ministers should give thanks to God for the success of their cause.

Chepstow was then made the seat of government of the county. It became the seat of the committee and was placed under the command of Col. Thomas Hughes, of Moynes Court.

Sir Trevor Williams now unreservedly threw in his lot with the Parliament, and with the assistance of other gentlemen of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, raised a force of 1,500 men for the Parliament.

The news sheets of the time state that Washington, with a number of Royalists, having returned from a fruitless expedition to Cardiff, passed aside from Chepstow without fighting, and were pursued by Morgan for three days and three nights until they crossed the Wye beyond Hereford. In a letter signed K. R. (probably Robert Kyrle) the number of the force so pursued is given as 600, but Morgan's account gives the number as 1,500. With this force driven to a safe distance, and Chepstow in the hands of the Parliament men, it may be surmised that Monmouth stood but little chance of successful defence. With his force of 1,500, Morgan turned towards the town, and closely invested it. Beside his own force, he had the aid of 1,500 Clubmen of Monmouthshire, a number of men commanded by Kyrle, and 200 horse under Sir Trevor Williams. The town soon submitted; but as the garrison at the castle still held out, active operations were commenced to mine it by men who had been purposely brought from the Forest of Dean. On the 24th October the garrison surrendered, and seven pieces of ordnance and a store of provisions were taken. Thus the whole county was reduced excepting the castle of Raglan. On the 27th Parliament ordered thanks to God for this success, and a letter of thanks to Colonel

Morgan. Sir Trevor Williams, on the 28th, was appointed governor of the castle, but he seems to have had in his cause more faith than the men under him, for they speedily deserted him, giving him to understand that they had not come to keep garrisons. The townspeople, too, manifested some disaffection, so that for his safety Morgan was necessitated to call in more forces to keep things quiet.

In November we find Morgan making an incursion to Abergavenny with about 600 men, including the garrison from Monmouth, with a view to gather strength if possible in that quarter for an attack upon Raglan, but he found his expedition to little purpose. He left Colonel Hopton in the town as governor, with about 80 horse; but early one morning royalist forces from Raglan and Hereford entered the town and carried off five of the leading inhabitants as hostages for contribution. Morgan had a skirmish with the soldiers from Raglan and then withdrew once more to Gloucester.

In other quarters the Royalist cause was rapidly declining. Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Cardiff had already declared for Parliament, which being the winning side, received large accessions to its ranks. Whitelock mentions, under date of November, that the Glamorgan forces having joined with a party of Laughornes, had in several encounters defeated 2,000 of the King's forces, and beat off General Stradling from any recruits; and that the governor of Cardiff defeated another party of the King's under Mr Herbert. Before the year closed the loss of Hereford was added to the long list of disasters to the royal cause.

At Raglan alone in this district was there any display of energy on behalf of the King, and here, notwithstanding the reputed blockade, the force increased in strength so much as to overawe the the whole county, and occasion alarm in the Parliament.

There was known to be at Cardiff a strong Royalist feeling, and frequent communications between the leaders in that town and the commanders at Raglan, resulted in arrangements being made for an attack upon the town and the amalgamation of the Royalist party. In January, 1646,

the forces at Raglan destroyed whatever attempt had been made to blockade the place, and made approaches towards Cardiff. Monmouth, Chepstow, and Cardiff, were still in the hands of Parliamentary forces, but everything between these three points, including the castles of Caerleon, Newport, and Pencoed, was cleared of visible opposition, and secured for the King. The Parliament soldiers that had for a brief period occupied Caerleon and Newport, being incapable of defending the position, were driven out, many of them finding a temporary lodgment in the farm houses on the Moors. That the extended influence of the Raglan forces gave additional cause of anxiety to the Parliament is disclosed in a letter addressed to the Speaker, in January, 1646, by Captain John Crowther, in command of the ship Entrance in King Road, Bristol. He reports that the enemy had defeated the Parliamentary forces in Monmouthshire, and that the town of Cardiff being in want of ammunition, he had sent some there fearing for the security of the place. He also states that, having seen a letter directed to the Admiral, Captain Robert Moulton, about sending some persons from Glamorganshire to London, he had sent a vessel to Cardiff for the purpose. Crowther desired an order to justify his conduct.

In the first days of February the forces from Raglan drew near to Cardiff, upon which a meeting of the Committee of the county was called, and a consultation held with the Governor, Colonel Pritchard. They called upon the High Sheriff, Colonel Carne, of Ewenny, to rally the military forces, which he did, but contrary to the expectations of many, when the Raglan forces attacked the town on the 6th of February, Colonel Carne joined with them and forced the Governor, with Colonel Leyton and about 300 of his men and "well affected supporters" to take refuge in the Castle. The forces of Colonel Oxford and Sir Charles Kemeys, who came to assist in the attack, joined with those of Carne, made up about 3,000 men. With this force the Castle was strictly invested and summoned to surrender, quarter being offered to all except Committeemen and seamen. The critical affairs at Cardiff soon spread widely. Crow-

ther from King Road had, since his letter to the Speaker in January, come over to Cardiff with six vessels of war, and prior to the attack upon the town had succeeded in landing a few seamen, who unfortunately were shut up in the Castle with the garrison. Day by day Crowther, with his ships, approached the town and fired upon it with his six large ordnance guns, and made use of his boats to the best advantage with a view to encourage the garrison to hold out. A sally from the castle was made, but half the garrison were taken prisoners, and the condition of the remainder was reduced almost to a state of helplessness. They courageously held out, however, for twelve days, when they were relieved.

DEFEAT OF ROYALISTS BY CARDIFF.—NEWPORT AGAIN SECURED FOR PARLIAMENT.—EXPERIENCES OF A KING'S MESSENGER IN THE MOORS.—SIEGE OF RAGLAN CASTLE.

From the first movement of the Royalists the enemy lost no time in making arrangements to frustrate the design of making Cardiff secure. Assistance was sought from all quarters. Laugharne was implored to come from South Wales with his dragoons; and Colonel Morgan collected all the troops under his command, with those of Sir Trevor Williams and Kyrle. Crowther, we have already seen, had brought his warships to aid, and now a military detachment from Bristol, under Major Skippon was sent across the Passage to augment the force intended for the relief. Colonel Morgan found no difficulty in concentrating the troops and pushing forwards to Cardiff. On the 18th of February they were within a short distance of the town, and the royalist force found it necessary to act on the defensive. To meet the anticipated attack the Royalists left the town and formed a position on the Heath, between the town and the Rhymney river. There was a vigorous attack and a gallant resistance, but the Royalists were overpowered. "In the nick of time," as an old account of the battle phrases it, Colonel Morgan, with a detachment of troops from Gloucester, came up and pursued the royalists into the town, killing many, and taking a large number of prisoners. Major-General Laugharne sharply followed, and by his efforts relieved the Castle, the garrison of which was reduced to dire extremities. The Royalists, finding further resistance hopeless, made terms with the enemy, and on the 20th February surrendered, the articles agreed to permitting them to march out with all the honours of war, that is, colours flying, matches lighted, &c. The terms of the surrender were so far carried out that the Royal forces were allowed to march out of the town unmolested, "but having marched a pretty distance from the town," either by some misunderstanding or dishonourable conduct, a breach of the

articles was alleged, and they were followed and attacked by Laugharne's dragoons. A second hot fight ensued, but the resistance of the Royalists was in vain. Four hundred of them were killed or drowned, and upwards of five hundred taken prisoners, among whom were Colonel Carne and Sir Charles Kemeys. Whitelock states that not 140 of them were left upon the rally, and further mentions that Col. Morgan fell between the flying remnant and Raglan. Laugharne's own account seems to be that 200 were slain and 800 taken prisoners, with a store of arms, bag and baggage.

The news of the success was received by Parliament with much satisfaction, and Mr Moore Pye, the messenger who conveyed the information from Cardiff was rewarded, March 13th, with a payment of £20.

The command of the county of Glamorgan was on the 13th of March, given to Major-General Laugharne, and an order for £1,000 made for paying his forces, and a delinquent's estate conferred upon him and his heirs "for the singular good service now and formerly performed by him most faithfully for the King and Parliament."

The defeat recorded above rendered Cardiff once more safe for the Parliament, and not only this but rendered Newport also untenable by a hostile force. Both Newport and Caerleon, which lay also in the line of the retiring and victorious party, was now again held for the Parliament. It was at this juncture, we believe (although we have been unable to obtain the exact date), that Pencoed Castle, which guarded the road between Newport and Chepstow, was taken possession of by the Parliamentary forces. From this cause Sir Edward Morgan, who resided there, removed to Itton, where he died on the 11th July, 1648.

Raglan was now the principal place throughout a wide extent of country which remained unsubdued. The owner's attachment to the King had received a severe wound, and conviction was forced upon his mind that the Sovereign so recently feted and honoured at the castle was at least "wavering and fickle." Charles's conduct in reference to the commission of the Earl of Glamorgan in Ireland,

which has never been satisfactorily explained, had probably been more instrumental than any other cause in bringing about this change. But great as was "the grief of his heart," the aged marquis swerved not in his loyalty, and justified to the full the motto of his house "*mutare vel timere sperno.*"

The straits to which Raglan was at this time reduced, and the difficulty of maintaining communication with his Majesty, is well described in a narrative of Allan Boteler, one time his Majesty's cup bearer. Commissioned now by the King as a royal messenger, he was sent from Oxford, February 22nd, with despatches, among which were some for the Marquis of Worcester. Having been conveyed to Iron Acton in Gloucestershire, he there lay concealed five days waiting for an opportunity to cross the Severn, which both by sea and land was very strongly guarded. Procuring then a disguise, he hired a boat for the Black Rock, and passed over as a grazier, with a friend as farmer to assist him. No sooner had they landed than they learned from another grazier that throughout the Moors were Parliamentary forces driven by his Majesty's party from Newport and Caerleon. The farmer thereupon took the messenger to the chapel at Sudbrook, then, as now, a very few yards from the sea side. The despatches were concealed in the rock, and Boteler placed himself and his horse in the church porch where they remained until nightfall. The farmer in the meantime had secured the services of an acquaintance (who, whilst being well known to the enemy's party, was still honest to his Majesty), to act as guide and convoy to the royal messenger. Boteler now assumed the name of a butcher of Bristol, and thus with his guide successfully evaded the Parliamentary guards. They travelled for several hours in the darkness of night unmolested, and at break of day they put spurs to their horses with a view of pushing on at speed through a lane which they thought safe. Suddenly, however, they were charged by three Parliamentary officers who they presently ascertained had just landed at Goldcliff from Bristol. The messenger was brought

up and questioned who he was for, but being an expert, he was not likely to be easily caught. His answer was that it was no time to ask impertinences, and that by his being there they might easily judge who he was for. Then, assuming a tone of frankness and confidence, he stated that he was intended for Caerleon and Newport on important business of the State. His guide however, had informed him that Lord Charles Somerset with 300 horse was close at hand, and would they for God's sake tell him how he might avoid them. At this statement the Parliament officers were more frightened than Boteler was at the summons they gave him to stop, and hastily giving him directions which way to take, galloped off themselves back to the Moors. Boteler then came without further molestation to Caerleon, but found unfortunately that the King's party had left the town two days before. He found, however, refuge at St. Julian's, the residence of Colonel Richard Herbert, and there learnt that the road to Raglan was full of dangers, as there was a force at Llangibby Castle, the residence of Sir Trevor Williams, and many soldiers quartered on the way. Boteler thereupon despatched a message to Lord Charles Somerset at Raglan stating the business he was upon, and desiring a convoy to be sent. An answer was speedily returned that by one of the clock punctually the next day, by a windmill, on Christchurch Hill, a party should meet him. Boteler was early on the ground, but much to his chagrin the party that came to meet him was of the enemy's horse and foot. He therefore distrusted them, and hid himself away in an adjoining wood until they took their departure. Subsequently he found his way back to Colonel Herbert, but soon ascertained that the enemy, being aware of his presence, was making arrangements to take him so soon as it was dark. Lady Mary Herbert was equal to the occasion, and obtaining possession of the despatches, secured them in or under her bed, and packed off Boteler and a servant to make their way to Raglan together on foot. The weather was most bitter, and the roads bad, but by dawn the next morning they arrived at the Castle. The royal messenger

delivered to the Marquis of Worcester his Majesty's most gracious and comfortable message concerning the Lord Glamorgan, but the Marquis was in ill-humour, and expressed his displeasure that his son should be unjustly imprisoned by the Marquis of Ormonde, for what he had his Majesty's authority for. For fourteen days Allan Boteler remained at Raglan, and the despatches which he had brought from the King still lay at St. Julian's. He began then to think that there must be some object in delaying to make an effort to obtain them from a place so near, and consulted with some of the Protestant officers of the garrison, between whom and the marquis and other Catholics some differences had begun to appear. A council of war was held, and on the 19th day a party was sent for and brought the despatches to the Castle. The circumstances, however, occasioned such unpleasantness that the Protestant officers deserted the Castle, and the service of the Marquis of Worcester, and with the royal messenger went to Abergavenny. Whether the despatches for others than the Marquis of Worcester ever reached their destination we know not and it is not necessary in this place further to follow them.

The desertion of the Protestant officers was generally supposed to have resulted from communications and promises made to them that on leaving their posts they would have a favourable reception at the hands of the Parliamentary party. One of the deserters was Colonel William Pretty, of Gwernycleppa, adjacent to Tredegar Park, probably a relative of Mrs Pritty, at whose house the King was content to sleep on the night of the 24th July in the previous year, when he avoided the risk of crossing the passage to Bristol.

The date of Colonel Pretty's submission is given in the Parliamentary records as March 24, 1646, and he having real property to the annual value of £84 10s, was fined £126 15s.

The last scenes of active warfare in Monmouthshire were now approaching. The special attention of Parliament was given to the condition of the county, and the efforts of all its available forces in the district were concentrated upon Raglan. Sir

Trevor Williams, the renegade Royalist, upon whom the King had bestowed such merciful consideration, was the first to take the lead in the attacks which shortly began. Laugharne, who had now mastered South Wales, and who was to a great extent at liberty, was besought to give his personal aid in the enterprise, and being willing to do so, sent forward some of his forces for the purpose.

Among the incidents preliminary to the grand attack may be mentioned that in March a party from Hereford and Monmouth surprised 60 horse in the stables of Goodrich Castle, burnt the stables, and besieged the castle. In the beginning of April (13th), Sir Trevor Williams is said to have routed a party of 100 of the garrison from the castle with a loss of 14 slain and 45 prisoners and arms, a disaster which was aggravated by subsequent desertions. On April 25th Colonel Morgan was appointed to be governor in chief of the forces in Monmouthshire, and an order was made for a new High Sheriff. The appointment was conferred on William Herbert, a member of a family which at this period seem to have received special marks of Parliamentary favour. On the date, May 2, appears in the Lords Journals, a draft order for the payment of £3,000 to William Herbert and Henry Herbert by sale of woods belonging to the Earl of Worcester; a draft order for William Herbert to be captain of a troop of horse to be employed in Monmouthshire; and a further draft order for William Herbert to be sheriff of the county. Though William Herbert is mentioned in three separate orders he is presumed to be the same person. Henry Herbert, in all probability, was the member who represented the county at that period.

On the night, 20th of May, the Parliamentary forces crept up to the village of Raglan undiscovered, and finding in the meads between the village and the castle a number of horses grazing, they were "so bold as to borrow three score and ten of them, most of them belonging to Goodrich Castle, whence they came but the night before." They were attacked before retiring, and by a sharp fire of musketry they lost three men. On the

other hand they killed five or six of the Royalists, took twelve men prisoners, and secured the horses. To prevent a recurrence of such a surprise many buildings in the village were subsequently burnt and destroyed by the garrison, and in a pamphlet dated May 30th, it is stated that they levelled the stately steeple of the church with the earth. This fabrication is, however, refuted by an inspection of the building itself. The interior of the church was woefully mutilated; this damage, there can be no doubt was done at the hands of the infuriated Parliamentarians. Day by day the castle now became more closely straitened; more desperate became the defence; more frequent and eager the attacks. On the 25th of May, according to the *Perfect Diurnall*, the head quarters of the combined forces of Williams, Morgan, and Laugharne were at Llandenny, and comprised in all about five thousand men, and with this formidable force the investment of the castle commenced in earnest. Approaches were begun under the supervision of Captain Hooper, an accomplished engineer, who had rendered valuable service at the siege of Banbury. While the works were proceeding the garrison, which, according to some accounts, comprised at this time 800 foot and 100 horse, made occasional sorties, with varied success, Morgan always encountering them personally with great gallantry.

On May 29th a diversion was occasioned by a vigorous attack being made upon the castle of Usk, which still remained faithful to the King. The lead was entrusted to Sir Trevor Williams, who, for the purpose of attack, according to the reports in the newspapers of the period, withdrew 50 horse and foot from Pencoed Castle, a like number from his own castle at Llangibby, and 150 men from Chepstow. Sir Trevor succeeded in obtaining possession of both town and castle. About 16 of the Raglan horse, it is stated, were killed, and 20 taken prisoners. The loss on the Parliament side is not stated.

When the approaches to Raglan Castle were nearing completion, Colonel Morgan sent a curt summons to the Marquis demanding a surrender.

The refusal was indignant and peremptory. The works still went on; the garrisons maintained the same bold front. It is told that one day a musket ball entered the window of the castle drawing-room, and glancing from a marble pillar of the window struck the Marquis upon the side of the head, and fell flattened upon the table. Taking the flattened lead in his fingers, he said to the gentlemen present, "Those who had a mind to flatter me were wont to tell me that I had a good head piece in my younger days; but if I do not flatter myself, I think I have a good head piece in my old age, or else it would not have been musket proof." On the 28th of June, Morgan sent a second summons to the Marquis, and intimated that if he obeyed he might "haply find mercy," as other garrisons had done; and if he refused he must expect the ruin of himself, his family, and the poor distressed country. He also informed the Marquis that Sir Thomas Fairfax, having finished his work over the Kingdom, was upon his march to Raglan with all the materials fit for the siege.

To this summons the Marquis replied on the same day, his letter concluding thus:—"Your second summons makes it too evident that it is desired that I should die under a hedge like a beggar, having no house left to put my head into, nor means left to find me bread. Wherefore to give you answer I make choice (if it so please God) rather to die nobly than to live with infamy; which answer if it be not pleasing to you I shall not think you worthy to be stiled by me your loving friend and servant, H. WORCESTER."

The Marquis was again communicated with by Colonel Morgan, who was desirous, before sending the Marquis' letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, to satisfy him as to the surrender of the garrisons he had named in his previous communication. To this the Marquis replied as follows:—

Sir,—In respect of your maintaining any respect or kindness towards me lest to be divulged to the world might do you any prejudice, I have thought fit in your own letter to return you thanks for the same. And for Sir Thomas Fairfax, if he were here with all his army, he should receive no other from me than you have had. I hope I serve (though not so well as I should) a master

that is of more might than all the armies in the world; and to His holy will and pleasure I submit myself, and yourself to do what you think fitting, and so rest

Your friend and servant,

H. WORCESTER.

From my dwelling at Ragland,
June 28.

The siege continued, and though approaches were made nearer and nearer to the walls of the castle, the besiegers seemed to lack the confidence for making an attack. Occasional sorties and skirmishes took place, in which considerable valour was displayed on both sides. On June 20th two more regiments were sent to Raglan, and skirmishing was actively renewed with more or less success to Morgan's forces. On the 15th of July Major Price and others were taken prisoners, and we find on the 28th July, Colonel Morgan writing a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which he testifies to the valour of Cornet Richard Castle.

On August 3, Colonel Birch succeeded in obtaining an entrance to some of the works at Goodrich Castle, whereupon the garrison hung out a white flag for a parley, which Birch refused, and went on storming. The garrison then submitted to mercy. There were 50 gentlemen, 150 soldiers, with arms, ammunition, and provisions. Birch now, with Colonel Rainsborough, who had taken Worcester, added their forces to those surrounding Raglan. The slow progress which Colonel Morgan made with the siege induced Fairfax himself to come into the county and take the matter in hand, and "put life into the siege." The Lord-General fixed his head quarters at a farm house called Cefntyla (since replaced by the modern residence known by the same name), and lost no time in renewing the demand for the surrender of Raglan, which Colonel Morgan had fruitlessly made. The following is a copy of his letter to the Marquis of Worcester :—

My Lord,—Being come into these parts with such a strength as I may not doubt, but with the same good hand of Providence that hath hitherto blessed us, in short time to reduce the garrison of Ragland to the obedience of the Parliament; I have in order thereto, thought good to send your Lordship this summons, hereby requiring

you to deliver up to me for the Parliaments use, the said garrison and castle of Ragland; which as it only obstructs the kingdom's universal peace, the rendition may beget such terms as by delay or vain hopes cannot hereafter be expected.

I remain, my Lord,
Your lordship's most humble servant,
THOS. FAIRFAX.

Leaguer, before Ragland,
August 7th, 1646.

Your lordship's speedy answer to this summons is desired.

The following characteristic reply of the Marquis was sent on the same day:—

Sir,—Although my infirmities might justly claim privilege in so sudden an answer, yet because you desire it, and I am not willing to delay your time, to your letter of summons to me to deliver up my house, and the only house now in my possession to cover my head in; these are to let you know, that if you did understand the condition I am in, I dare say out of your judgment you will not think it a reasonable demand. I am loth to be the author of mine own ruin on both sides, and therefore desire leave to send to his Majesty to know his pleasure what he will have done with his garrison. As for my house I presume he will demand nothing; neither am I knowing how either by law or conscience I should be forced out of it. To this I desire your return, and rest

Your Excellency's humble servant,
H. WORCESTER.

From my poor cottage at Ragland,
August 7th, 1646.

Fairfax at once informs the Marquis that if his house had not been formed into a garrison he would not have been troubled; and that were it disgarrisoned, neither the Marquis nor his house should receive any disquiet.

On the next day the Marquis represents that upon his Majesty's promise of satisfaction he was about twenty thousand pounds out of purse, and if he should do anything displeasing to his Majesty, all that would be lost. If he might quietly receive means of subsistence, and be in security with the Parliament's approbation, and freed from the malice of those gentlemen of the Committee within the county, he should quickly rid himself of the garrison, for he had no great cause to take delight in it. He further desired to know what conditions he might have.

The correspondence was continued for a week and ultimately on the 17th August, a treaty was concluded, and the surrender of the noble castle agreed to. On the 19th the garrison marched out with all the honours of war. Fairfax immediately entered and took possession of the castle and had a conference with the aged Marquis, and departed the same day for Chepstow, where he was entertained by the Committee. The next day he reached Bath, where he remained some time to recruit his health.

According to Rushworth there marched out of the castle the aged Marquis, Lord Charles Somerset his sixth son, the Countess of Glamorgan, wife of Lord Edward the Marquis's eldest son, Sir Philip Jones, and Lady Jones, his wife, who lived at Treowen, and who probably retired from their own house to the castle for better security; Dr. Bailey, the Marquis's chaplain ; Commissary Gwillim, four colonels, eighty-two captains, sixteen lieutenants, six cornets, four ensigns, four quartermasters, fifty two esquires and gentlemen. There were delivered up twenty pieces of ordnance, three barrels of powder, great store of corn and malt, wine of all sorts, and beer. The horses left were not many, and these were nearly starved for want of hay. The store of goods and furniture in the castle was given into the care of Mr Herbert, a commissioner of the army.

When the news was communicated to Parliament, the bearers of it, Mr Heath and Mr Curtis were rewarded with the payment of £20.

Upon the surrender of Raglan the noble residence was ordered to be 'slighted' and rendered untenable, and the command was effectually obeyed, followed by the sale of the whole estate of the Marquis. It had been previously sequestrated, and as we have seen, much timber had been cut down and disposed of for the benefit of the Parliament. The lead that covered the castle was sold for six thousand pounds. The library, esteemed one of the finest in Europe, was totally destroyed, and has since been regarded as a national loss. The rental of the Marquis' estate, according to the Parliamentary audit of that year, was £20,000

per annum. The whole of this was appropriated to the use of Parliament. Of the uses to which they applied it we quote one or two instances extracted from Whitelock :—

"October 20.—Upon the petition of Mr Pennoir and Mr Hill for payment for pursuers sent by them to Ireland ; ordered that the profits of the estate of the Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert, and Sir J. Somerset should be paid to them in part of satisfaction."

"March 21.—Order for £100 per annum to be settled on Mr Peters, out of the Earl of Worcester's estate."

The aged Marquis being "left to the mercy of Parliament," soon experienced the bitter meaning of the phrase. He was taken to London and there immured in a prison from which he had no deliverance until death put an end to his sufferings. As the winter approached the noble prisoner, bound down with the weight of fourscore years, deprived of the society of friends he valued, and the comforts of life which had been his privilege, felt his position most keenly, and on November 6 he sent a petition to Parliament setting forth that upon the surrender of his house at Raglan he chose rather to cast himself upon the favour of the Parliament than to secure the liberty of his person and disposal of his goods upon the articles offered to him by Sir Thomas Fairfax. His reason for fortifying his house was to defend himself from the unruliness of soldiers ; and during all the time he was himself Governor there, he never levied any contributions from the country, nor oppressed his neighbours with free quarters or other incumbrance. He did not embrace a commission sent to him by the King to be General of South Wales, intending nothing but his own preservation ; and has for these three years kept his chamber, and most part of that time his bed, through his great infirmities ; and never summoned a council of war, nor issued any one order save that for the delivery up of his castle. By their lordships' commands he was brought up to London in great weakness, and remains a prisoner to death, as well as to their

honours' pleasure. He prayed for gracious consideration of his misery.

The story of the remaining days of the Marquis is soon told. On December 16th he again petitions the House of Lords, and again are the circumstances of his case recounted. The petitioner represents that he is near upon four score years of age; that upon the treaty of Raglan he put himself wholly upon Parliament, and was brought up to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, where he has remained eight or nine weeks. On account of his age and infirmities, he cannot walk in his chamber, nor to his bed without help, and has no means of his own to defray his necessary charges and pay his great fees. He prays their Lordships that inasmuch as his life cannot continue many days, they will be pleased to order that he may be freed of that charge, and that he may die out of restraint, and not in the nature of a prisoner; and may forthwith have such allowances for his maintenance as they in their wisdom shall think fit.

This petition was ordered to be sent to the House of Commons, that in regard of his sickness and want he might have some means allowed him out of his own estate. On the 18th the House was informed of the Earl's death, and application was made for the means to bury him. The petition is noted, "Read 16th December, 1646. Nothing done. Dead, 18th December, 1646."

The characteristic humour of the Marquis did not desert him even in the last extremity, for when told just before his death, that Parliament would permit him to be buried in his family vault in Windsor chapel, he cried out "Why God help us all, why then I shall have a better castle when I am dead, than they took from me when alive."

Thus died the most noble Marquis of Worcester, who was remarkable for his wit and wisdom, his unswerving loyalty, and unequalled generosity to his sovereign.

TEMPORARY QUIET.—RENEWED HOSTILITIES AT CARDIFF.

With the fall of Raglan there was a cessation of all show of loyalty to the King, and with it all opposition to the Parliamentary forces in the district. Many of them were at once removed from Monmouthshire, and in October Parliament sent down an order for the disbanding of the South Wales Horse, commanded by Col. Herbert.

As the county quieted down, Parliament too was disposed to listen to the appeals of some of the gentry for the removal of the sequestration upon their property. Thus on November 3rd an order was made for taking off the sequestration of Captain Anthony Morgan's estate.

The traitor Kyrle, too, who still remained governor of the Castle of Monmouth, sought to set himself right, and regain that which while a Royalist, Parliament had taken from him. In his petition to Parliament he set forth that in June 1644, finding himself to have been misled he deserted his Majesty's service, and joined that of Parliament; and in January 1645-6, was appointed governor of Monmouth, and raised a regiment of foot and troop of horse at his own expense, besides other services to Parliament, yet the Committee for Hereford sequestrated all his estate in that county that came to him from his father, who had always adhered to Parliament. He prays that the sequestration may be taken off, and the committee ordered to restore anything already taken away. Kyrle was successful in his petition, and on January 13th, 1647, a draft ordinance was agreed to removing the sequestration.

In May, we find "the humble remonstrance and petition of William Morgan to the House of Commons, freely elected and returned Knight of the Shire of Brecon." He relates his efforts in opposing the Commisaioners of Array in the county, that he was subsequently made prisoner and carried to Raglan Castle, and thence to Oxford, and he was forced to sit in the Parliament there; but as soon as he was able he returned on bail to

his own county and declared for the Parliament. He prays that a difference may be made between himself and others who joined the King, and that he may be permitted to take his seat in the House. What was done in his case we know not.

Another petition presented about the same time to Parliament illustrates the sad and deplorable condition of things which prevailed at the time in all classes of society. It is the petition of one Matthew Wolfe, who states that about twelve years previously he entrusted the evidences relating to his lands in Monmouthshire to Elizabeth Williams, who, by confederacy with the tenants, allowed them to get possession thereof, thereby wrongfully to detain his lands from him; petitioner obtained an order from the Committee of Obstructions for the offenders to appear and answer, but he was unable to serve it, as that part of the country was then in the hands of malignants; he is aged, feeble, poor, and naked, and ready to starve for want of sustenance. He prays that his grievances may be referred to the Commissioners, and that he may be protected until his case is tried.

The deep seated loyalty of the people of the district, chilled for a time by the discourtesies of Gerard and the cruelties of his followers; and depressed by the unchecked successes of the Parliamentary forces, began to revive as restraints were removed, and was enhanced by a knowledge of the piteous death of the Marquis of Worcester; and the indignities offered to the King, now a prisoner in the hands of Parliament. It was soon fanned into a flame, and further hostilities were resorted to. The particulars preserved are somewhat meagre, but there is in existence an old pamphlet published at the time entitled "A Declaration of proceedings of divers knights and other gentlemen in Glamorganshire who declare for the King and Sir Thomas Fairfax, 1647." Major-General Sir Henry Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle, seems to have taken the lead in this somewhat unimportant outbreak, and succeeded in getting about 1,000 followers. They marched within two miles of Cardiff, their object being, as subsequently shown,

to obtain possession of the castle, commanded by Colonel Pritchard. A demand having been made for the surrender of the castle a long correspondence ensued between the rival commanders previous to the commencement of hostilities. The following is an account of some particulars :—

Proposals dated from Llandaff, 15th of June, 1647, are made to Colonel Prichard, governor of Cardiff, from divers knights and gentlemen at Cardiff, calling on him to declare for the King, Parliament, and the army, as they had coalesced. As no answer was received, another letter was on the next day sent demanding an immediate answer to the preceding one, this being signed by John Stradling, H. Stradling, Thomas Stradling. Charles Kemes, Edward Thomas, Robert Thomas, Thomas Not, Richard Bassett.

Colonel Prichard replied on the same day, and calls on them to know by what authority they disturb the peace of the county, and invade a garrison held for the service of the King and Parliament.

The next letter, dated 17th June, 1647, contains a declaration of hostilities "of the blood of which the Colonel will be guilty."

From Cardiff, on 17th of June, Colonel Prichard calls upon them to disband their illegal forces, expecting an immediate answer.

On June 19th, the Committee of the County of Monmouth, met at Usk, and "Resolved that all Papists and delinquents be disarmed ; that all desperate persons be seized and secured by the High Sheriff of the county with such assistance as can be raised to assist him ; that all persons as act or adhere to continue this commotion, they shall be left to the mercy of the soldiery." It was also ordered by the Committee "that places of strength are secured as well as dangerous persons, suspected houses searched, and Papists disarmed The Sheriff's troop will be made up one hundred horse in a few days."

Major-General Stradling failed to take the castle, and in a few days the siege was raised. Major-General Laugharne went to suppress the rising, but found all opposition had vanished.

The proceedings of the Committee at this period were regarded as most despotic and alarming. The Royalists offered to pay £1,300 a month to Major-General Laugharne for his army, their rising being only to get rid of the servile yoke of the Committee.

Among other acts perpetrated by the Committee, it is recorded that a bribe of twenty pounds was received "of a reverend, learned, and faithful Divine, for sparing to make him a delinquent;" and a "fanatic's wife" was threatened that unless she gave them thirty pounds she should be denounced. The money was paid.

In the beginning of 1648, Parliament seemed to be of opinion that the loyalty of the people in South Wales had been crushed out, and therefore that the military repression might be safely removed. Accordingly on February 17, orders were issued to the Sheriffs to assist in disbanding the forces maintained there. Parliament, however, soon found that their judgment was in error. There was really in the hearts of the people but little sympathy with their cause, and their despotic proceedings created a complete revulsion of feeling. Though the loyalty of the people grew daily stronger, Whitelock would have it believed that it was occasioned partly by influences not so commendable. He states that Hudson, the King's guide, was employed to carry letters to Major-General Laugharne, inviting him to betray his trust, and revolt to the King. At all events, within a very brief period, we find in South Wales that Major-General Laugharne, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powell, and other officers who had been the mainstay of the Parliamentary power in that district, acting in a most zealous manner in the cause of the imprisoned King; while in Monmouthshire, Sir Trevor Williams, no less convinced by his short experience that the evils of revolutionary Government were greater than those of the most despotic monarchy, again embraced the royal cause with no less fervour than he did at the first outbreak.

The centre of this new rising appears to have been in Carmarthen, and about eight thousand men

having assembled, they were marched eastwards towards Cardiff.

Parliament was just at this time busily occupied in settling the disposal of the plunder in their possession, and one project which concerns us was for the settling an allowance out of the Earl of Worcester's estate of £2,500 annual value, upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell and his heirs, professedly in recompense of his great services. This project was agreed to in March and sent to the House of Lords for approval. Scarcely had this business been completed than the attention of Parliament was of necessity given to the affairs in South Wales, intelligence from that quarter representing matters as being somewhat alarming. No time was lost in taking steps to suppress the rising, and on the 1st of May, Fairfax informed the Speaker of the House of Commons that he had sent forward Cromwell with a suitable body of forces.

Before Cromwell, however, could reach Wales, the Parliamentary forces under Colonel Horton, one of his favourite officers, had advanced to Cardiff, towards which place also, as we have above stated, the Royalist troops were making their way. The opposing forces came into conflict at St. Fagan's on the 8th of May, and a very sanguinary battle was there and then fought, many particulars of which are given in a letter written on the field by Colonel Oakey, one of the Parliamentary officers engaged in the battle. He thus writes :—

SIR,—Hitherto, till this day, I could not give you a good account of our Welsh expeditions. We have had so many obstructions through unseasonable weather, rugged ways, want of necessaries, and other inconveniences, that we may well say of these things, "Except the Lord had been with us they had swallowed us up quick." But besides this, we had attending on us a numerous army before us, and behind us a great party. We divers ways sought an opportunity to fight with them, which, till this instant we could never do; they before taking always the advantage of their Welsh ways, hills, and rivers. This posture they continued in, till divers of our soldiers were wearied out, and both foot and horse so far spent, as the enemy himself knew. This great advantage over us, and out of that consideration having mightily increased his army, and we, through all these inconveniences, somewhat decreased ours, he upon the eighth

of this instant, about eight of the clock in the forenoon, proffered us battle. We, seeing his number, and he being upon us before we were well aware of him, quitted our present station, which was at St. Fagan's. The enemy drew into the place of our guards, but we, being very loath to retreat upon a little hill near St. Fagan's, made good our ground, drew up our army, faced the enemy. A forlorn hope of horse and dragoons were drawn up under the command of Lieutenant Godfrey, and another forlorn hope of foot, under a lieutenant of foot. Next them marched the firelocks, under the command of Captain Garland; in the right wing marched Colonel Horton, commander-in-chief, in the left flank marched the horse under the command of Major Barton, with some dragoons. The body being thus drawn up, the forlorn hope of horse advanced, and immediately charged them, routed them, and killed some of them. Colonel Oakey upon this taking advantage of the enemy's running, commanded presently Captain Garland with the firelocks, Captain Mercer with a commanded party of dragoons and some horse, to second the forlorn hope. These falling on into another ground where the enemy were lining the hedges, drove them from hedge to hedge, and pursued them. The enemy in this retreat having so many reserve of foot at every hedge, he makes a stay with a new party. Still Colonel Oakey commanded the party, both of firelocks, dragoons, and horse to advance. The enemy having a numerous army of foot, still ever and anon sends fresh reserves, but at the end he was beat by his party of foot and horse to a water, and from thence over a river, where again he made good his ground. There the dispute lasted a long while, till our body of horse and foot advanced where the horse with the foot making way and charging with the foot upon the musqueteers, through the goodness of God, after an hours dispute they were put to rout. We pursued, took divers prisoners, the number as yet unknown, and the quality. We hear of some men of quality both killed and taken, this for the present in brief. We can give you an account that there are far more prisoners taken than the number of our army was, so that we can well say, 'God has done great things for us, in mightily stirring up the spirits of officers and soldiers, so as courageously each one in his place in this business doing his part. We can truly say that this was the hand of God, we being but a handful in comparison to their great army, which might have been a sufficient motive to have caused us to refuse to fight, yet the consideration of the great disadvantage the retreat would have been to us in future proceedings. These were motives, notwithstanding all the former difficulties, to induce us to fight where through the Lord we had an answerable success in which let the glory be given to God and not to man. Our victory

being an abso'ute rout of them with very little loss to ourselves some few by men we had killed, the smallness of the number caused great admiration both to us and the enemy. Divers of the enemy were killed, forty to one, and about 2,500 taken. The chief of them that we can hear of, was Major-General Stradling, but none of our party (*i.e.*, officers) either kil'ed or wounded. Captain Nicholas and Corret Oakey were both shot through their hats, but free from any other hurt. There have been a few men of my troop killed, and some hurt, but not many, for which and all other mercies I desire God may have the glory. By the next post you shall hear more, this being done in haste on the field; in the meantime I refer you to Captain Mercer, who can fully resolve you. No more for present. I take my leave and remain,

Your servant to command,

JOHN OAKEY.

From the field by St. Fagan's, this eighth of May, 1648.

From other accounts it would appear that the battle commenced about eight o'clock in the morning, and for about two hours the fighting was very severe. By ten o'clock the Parliamentarians were victorious all along the line, and the Royalists routed and disorganised in endeavouring to escape were slaughtered in large numbers. In attempting to ford the river Ely many were drowned, and such was the sacrifice of life tradition affirms, that "the waters of the river Ely were red with blood on the day of the battle;" and that "the battle gave 65 widows to the parish of St. Fagans, and upwards of 700 to the county of Glamorgan." Three thousand prisoners were taken, 30 colours and standards, 300 horses, and all the ammunition, so that the army of 8,000 was almost annihilated.

On the news of the victory at St. Fagan's being made known to Parliament, the House of Commons, on the 11th of May, granted Captain Mercer £100, and Colonel Bethel £150 for being messengers of "this good news;" and as a punishment to Laugharne, who had deserted their cause, they ordered the landed estate they had formerly given him to be sold, and the proceeds thereof to be given as gratitude to Colonel Horton and the officers and soldiers who engaged in the action. On the very next day a committee of the House was appointed for the disposal of the prisoners taken, and it was ordered that Prince Philip, of the State

of Venice, should have 1,000 of them on giving good security for the landing them in Italy. The city of London was desired to call together the Common Council that the good successes in Wales might be communicated to them. The 17th of the month was appointed as a day of thanksgiving for the events. The House kept the day; but it was not much observed in the city.

CROMWELL IN WALES.—FINAL SIEGE OF CHEPSTOW CASTLE.—LETTER FROM CROMWELL.

Reverting now to Cromwell's proceedings in Wales, we find that he arrived at Monmouth on the 10th May, and here it was that he received the first intelligence of the victory which his troops under Colonel Horton had gained two days before. On the following day, May 11th, Cromwell proceeded to Chepstow, which town had been since the surrender of the castle in October, 1645, the seat of the Parliamentary Committee for the county. The castle had also been held for the Parliament by Colonel Thomas Hughes of Moynes Court, whose brother Charles, who seated himself at Trostrey, was a major in the Marquis of Worcester's regiment, and as zealous and useful an adherent to the royal cause as Thomas was to the Parliament. A few days before Cromwell's arrival, and during the absence of the governor, a correspondence with some officers in the garrison was opened up by royalist officers in the neighbourhood, at the head of whom was Sir Nicholas Kemeys, of Llanvair Iscoed, colonel of a regiment of horse in the King's service. Mr Thomas Lewis, St. Pierre; Mr William Morgan, of Pembridge, the High Sheriff of Monmouthshire; and, strange to say, Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby, once again a supporter of the royalist cause, are mentioned as giving support to the project they had in hand, viz., the surprise of the garrison. The attempt, when made, was successful. Possession of the post was gained one night, and though an officer of the garrison named Cantrell, with a few of the soldiers, retreated to a tower and made a show of defence, the castle soon fell into the hands of the royalists, and Captain Herbert, chief in command, with all the garrison, were made prisoners.

When Cromwell left Monmouth, he thought to take Chepstow by storm. He found some of Col. Herbert's forces assembled with a view to recover the place. Colonel Pride's men have the credit of attacking the place so furiously that they

found little difficulty in gaining possession of the town and beating the soldiers back into the castle. An assault was made upon the castle in vain, and Cromwell sent to Bristol for some good guns, and being anxious to lose no time in reaching South Wales, left Colonel Ewer behind him with instructions to lay siege to the Castle. Cromwell pushed forward through Newport and Cardiff, where he was on the 15th; and finding there no matters of importance to detain him, started for Pembroke, which place he reached without opposition on the 24th.

Colonel Ewer, by Cromwell's orders, began energetically to lay siege to the castle. The attacking force comprised a train of artillery, seven companies of foot, and four troops of horse. The garrison under Sir Nicholas Kemeys, a gentleman remarkable for his stature and strength, consisted of only 160 men. This small force most gallantly defended themselves until their scanty store of provisions was exhausted, and even then refused to surrender on assurance of quarter given them. They relied as a last extremity upon being able to effect an escape in a boat, but in the design they were prevented by the intrepidity of a soldier in the Parliamentary army, who courageously swam across the river with a knife between his teeth, cut the rope, and brought the boat away.

Colonel Ewer's graphic report of the surrender of the castle, in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, is as follows :—

Sir,—Lieutenant-General Cromwell having to march towards Pembroke Castle, left me with my regiment to take in the Castle of Chepstow, which was possessed by Sir Nicholas Kemys, and with him officers and soldiers to the number of 120. We drew close about it and kept strong guards upon them to prevent them from stealing out, and so to make their escape. We sent for two guns from Gloucester, and two off a ship board, and planted them against the castle. We raised (razed) the battlements of their towers with our great guns, and made their guns unuseful for them. We also played with our shorter pieces into the castle. One shot fell into the governor's chamber, which caused him to remove his lodgings to the other end of the castle. We then prepared our batteries, and this morning finished them. About

twelve of the clock we made a hole through the wall, so low that a man might walk into it. The soldiers in the castle perceiving that we were like to make a breach cried out to our soldiers that they would yield the castle, and many of them did attempt to come away. I caused my soldiers to fire at them to keep them in. Esquire Lewis comes upon the wall and speaks to some gentlemen of the county that he knew, and tells them that he was willing to yield to mercy. They came and acquainted me with his desire, to which I answered that it was not my work to treat with particular men, but it was Sir Nicholas Kemeys, with his officers and all his soldiers, that I aimed at; but the governor refused to deliver up the castle upon these terms that Esquire Lewis desired, but desired to speak with me at the drawbridge, while I altogether refused to have any such speech with him because he refused Lieutenant-General Cromwell's summons; but being over persuaded by some gentlemen of the county that were there, presently I dismounted from my horse and went unto the drawbridge, where he through the port hole spake with me. That which he desired was that he, with all his officers and soldiers, might march out of the castle without anything being taken from them; to which I answered that I would give him no other terms but that he and all that were with him should submit to mercy, which he swore he would not do. I presently drew off the soldiers from the castle, and caused them to stand to their arms; but he, refusing to come out upon those terms, the soldiers deserted him, and came running out at the breach we had made. My soldiers seeing them run out, ran in at the same place, and possessed themselves of the castle and killed Sir Nicholas Kemys, and likewise him that betrayed the castle, and wounded divers, and took prisoners as followeth:—Esquire Lewis, Major Lewis, Major Thomas, Captain Morgan, Captain Buckeswell, Captain John Harris, Captain Christopher Harris, Captain Mancell, Captain Pinner, Captain Doule, Captain Rosstree, Lieutenant Kemys, Lieutenant Leach, Lieutenant Codd, Ensign Watkins, Ensign Morgan, with other officers and soldiers to the number of 120. These prisoners we put into the Church, and shall keep them till I receive further orders from Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

This is all at present, but that I am your humble servant,

ISAAC EWER.

Chepstow, May 28, 1648.

From other accounts we learn that no less than forty men of the garrison were killed. The gallant commander, Sir Nicholas Kemys, is said to have been killed by the soldiers in cold blood, and that they mangled his body in the most horrid manner,

and wore portions of his remains in their hats as trophies of their victory.

Whether so barbarous an act were committed or not, certain it is that not a stone or memento of any kind marks the spot where the body of this distinguished officer was deposited.

The re-taking of the castle was considered by the Parliament of such importance that the captain who brought the news was rewarded with £50, and the Parliament directed that a letter of thanks should be drawn up, and sent from that House to Colonel Ewer and the officers and soldiers employed on that service.

On Cromwell's arrival at Pembroke, he encountered fierce and stubborn resistance from the stout-hearted, though eccentric, Poyer; and while here waiting for heavier ordnance, and enduring repeated discomfiture of his assaults, he writes to Colonel Saunders, at Brecon, to arrest Mr William Morgan, of Pembridge, the High Sheriff of Monmouthshire, and Sir Trevor Williams, for their share in the plot for surprising Chepstow Castle.

The letter is as follows:—

To Major Thomas Saunders, at Brecknock; These
Before Pembroke, 17th June, 1648.

Sir,—I send you this enclosed by itself because of its great moment. The other you may communicate to Mr Rumsey, as far as you think fit. I have written I would not have him or other honest men discouraged that I think it not fit at present, to enter into contests; it will be good to yield a little for public advantage, and truly that is my end; wherein I desire you to satisfy them.

I have sent, as my letter mentions, to have you remove out of Brecknockshire, indeed into that part of Glamorganshire which lieth next Monmouthshire. For this end; we have plain discoveries that Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby, about two miles from Usk, in the county of Monmouth, was very deep in the plot of betraying Chepstow Castle, so that we are out of doubt of his guiltiness thereof. I do hereby authorise you to seize him; as also the High Sheriff of Monmouth, Mr Morgan, who was in the same plot.

But because Sir Trevor Williams is the more dangerous man by far I would have you seize him first, and the other will be easily had. To the end you might not be frustrated and that you may not be deceived, I think fit to give you some characters of the man, and some

intimations how things stand. He is a man, as I am informed, full of craft and subtility; very bold and resolute; hath a house at Llangibby well stored with arms, and very strong; his neighbours about him are very malignant and much for him—who are very apt to rescue him if apprehended, much more to discover anything which may prevent it. He is full of jealousy, partly out of guilt, but much more because he doubts that some in the business have discovered him, which indeed they have; and also because he knows that his servant is brought hither, and a minister to be examined here who are able to discover the whole plot.

If you should march directly into that county and near him, it's odds he either fortify his house or give you the slip; so also, if you should go to his house and not find him there, or if you should attempt to take him and miss to effect it, or if you make any known inquiry after him, it will be discovered.

Wherefore, as to the first, you have a fair pretence of going out of Brecknockshire to quarter about Newport and Caerleon, which is not above four or five miles from his house. You may send to Colonel Herbert, whose house lieth in Monmouthshire, who will certainly acquaint you where he is.

You are also to send to Captain Nicholas, who is at Chepstow, to require him to assist you, if he (Williams) should get into his house and stand upon his guard. Samuel Jones, who is quarter-master to Colonel Herbert's troops, will be very assisting to you if you send to him to meet you at his quarters, both by letting you know where he is and also in all matters of intelligence. If there shall be need, Captain Burgess' troops, now quartered in Glamorganshire, shall be directed to receive orders from you.

You perceive by all this that we are, it may be, a little too much solicitous in this business; it is our fault, and indeed such a temper causeth us often to over act in business, wherefore without much ado, we leave it to you; and you to the guidance of God herein.—Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S.—If you seize him—let him be brought by a strong guard to me. If Captain Nicholas should light on him at Chepstow, do you strengthen him with a strong guard to bring him. If you seize his person, disarm his house, but let not his arms be embezzled. If you need Captain Burgess' troop it quarters between Newport and Chepstow.

Cromwell, in another letter, tells Richard Herbert, of St. Julian's, that if he harbours or aids either of these offenders, he will cause his treasonable nest to be burnt down about his ears.

Another letter of Cromwell's written about this

time, but of the circumstances to which it relates we are not cognisant, is as follows :—

Coll Hughes,—It is of absolute necessity that Collington and Ashe doe attend the Councell of Warre, to make good what they say of Edwards. Let itt be your especial care to get them into Monmouthshire in order thereunto. What Mr Herbert and Mrs Craddock hath promised to them in point of indemnity I will endeavour to have it performed, and I desire you to certify as much to them for their encouragement. I pray do this speedily, and I shall remain your Servant,

June the xxvth, 1648. O. CROMWELL.

The Scottish army was at this time so threatening that Cromwell alone, in the opinion of Parliament, was able to check it. He was accordingly desired to retire from South Wales and proceed to the North for the purpose. He hastily passed through Newport and from thence to Monmouth, on his way to Gloucester. At Monmouth Cromwell had a difficulty with his soldiers, some of whom mutinied on account of their pay being in arrear. This flying visit to Monmouth was also memorable inasmuch as Cromwell's career was on the point of being brought to a close. He was, it appears, being entertained at the house of a Mr Fortune when the circumstance becoming known to a hot-headed Royalist named Evans, he waited for an opportunity, and was subsequently detected in being about to shoot at Cromwell through the parlour window of Mr Fortune's house. He was restrained by the by-standers, and Cromwell departed for Gloucester uninjured.

Scott, in the history of Newport, records a tradition that when Cromwell's forces were encamped on Fairoak Hill, in the parish of Christchurch, a man in disguise entered the tent of the general and offered to betray the castle of Newport by the discovery of a subterranean passage leading to its centre. It is stated that the offer was accepted, and the bribe bestowed, and by this mode of treachery possession of the castle was gained. The betrayer, however, was hanged on the nearest tree. With a view to strengthen the tradition, Scott adds that a subterranean passage was discovered when excavations were being made for the Monmouthshire Canal. A similar tale is told with regard to Cardiff Castle and a dozen other

castles throughout the kingdom with which the name of Cromwell has been associated.

The insurrection of 1648 was at length entirely suppressed, and King Charles was brought to trial in January, 1649, beheaded at Whitehall.

At the trial of the King several witnesses were examined against him, on the 25th June, 1648, who were residents in Monmouthshire. Among those named are "one William Jones, husbandman, of Usk, aged 22 years or thereabouts," and "David Evans, smith, aged about 23 years." Both these witnesses were present at the unfortunate battle of Naseby.

The death of the King was the culmination of the civil struggle, and after that event, the proceedings in the county were for some years comparatively unimportant.

In June, 1649, the question of dismantling the several castles in the county was considered, and that of Goodrich was referred to the Council of State, by whose orders the work of demolition proceeded; but no sooner was the work accomplished than, regreting the haste with which they had acted, Parliament atoned for the destruction by paying the Countess of Kent £1,000. The order was made on the 14th September, and its issue was probably brought about through private influence, for Whitelock, relating to this circumstance, adds, "herein by the desire of Mr Selden, I did the Countess some service."

Whitelock took occasion to notice that at the assizes held at Chepstow in April, 1650, "there was as great an appearance of gentlemen and freeholders as ever was seen in the county," an evident indication that peace and tranquility prevailed. The idea of permanent peace is, however, shocked by a statement of the same authority, that a Scotchman was at the same time going about the county disguised as a beggar, assuming that disguise in order the better to notify to the King's friends that there would be shortly a strong party of Scots in the county to join them in setting up King Charles II.

HISTORICAL

TRADITIONS AND FACTS

RELATING TO

THE COUNTY OF MONMOUTH,

BY A

MEMBER OF THE CAERLEON AND MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

PART VI.

THE CHURCH DURING THE PURITAN PERIOD.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

NEWPORT:
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PART VI.

THE CHURCH DURING THE PURITAN PERIOD.

The last chapters in this series of Facts and Traditions related to the scenes and events which occurred in Monmouthshire during the Civil War of the 17th century, and closed with the death of King Charles I. To the military aspect of the struggle waged between King Charles and the Parliament, chiefly on the question of prerogative, chief attention was there given, but another issue equally affecting the welfare of the people had been raised between between different sections of the community holding opposite religious views, which only became fully developed after the death of the King. It is now therefore proposed to carry the history a stage further, and lay before the reader some facts which will enable them to form an idea of the state of the district during the period when the country was agitated by the great Puritan movement.

At the present time, when Liberationists are loudly clamouring for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church, when a Minister of the Crown is found declaiming against the existing order of things, inciting the masses to deeds of violence, and eliciting their sympathy on account of a debt which he says he has to pay for wrongs alleged to have been done to his ancestors; and further, when to a large extent history threatens to repeat itself, it is well that more light should be shed upon transactions dimmed by lapse of time

and thrown into the shade by the glare of minor facts illumined by the heat of unceasing bigotry and prejudice.

It is pretty well understood that the great contest of the 17th century which culminated in the power of the sword, was not only a contest between the King and his Parliament, but a struggle also by the Puritan party to destroy in the English Church not only the impress, but the semblance of Popery, with which it was supposed the King had much sympathy. The Church being naturally on the side of law and order, gave countenance and aid to the cause of the King, though perhaps not all too wisely. Parliament was supported to a man by the party of Puritans to whom the form of religion as established under the influence of Archbishop Laud, was more hateful than the the system of limited monarchy against which they fought. The supporters of the Church and Crown were one party; the Parliamentary and the Puritan party were one also, and equally as compact. The existence and force of this state of things throughout the contest is generally very lightly set forth, but on a close investigation it will be found to have had a considerable effect in engendering great bitterness of feeling among all classes.

The acts of the King, whatever violence they did to the constitution, were such as could not be immediately or directly felt injuriously by the bulk of the people, especially in remote parts of the country. If the King enforced loans, it was the monied classes who parted with their riches, the poor man being none the worse. If ship money were levied, the impost was not universal, and where collected not in its amount a very heavy burden. A church, however, existed, and its influence was exerted in every parish. To raise an outcry against this, to revive a smouldering agitation against Popery, to denounce every clergyman as scandalous and malignant, and to persecute every schoolmaster because he was an adherent of the Church and an aid to the minister, were not a difficult task. It was a work congenial to a section

of narrow-minded, unscrupulous men, who, not content to stop in their struggle at a constitutional equilibrium, pushed forward until they attained the summit of power. They succeeded in obtaining many followers, and the zeal engendered by them in the name of religion stimulated the people to action against the King, supported as he was by the Church party, far more than any of the delinquencies of which his Majesty was justly or unjustly accused.

It is questionable whether the members of the Church of England have in their charity been wise in not making special effort to keep alive in the memory of the people a knowledge of the cruel treatment of her clergy at this period. Walker's Attempts towards Recovering their Number and Suffering, wide and comprehensive as it is, contains by no means a complete record, and although a meritorious work is comparatively unknown. The great body of Protestants possesses Foxe's Book of Martyrs in a form convenient to be placed in the hands of every child, and Nonconformists, both from pulpit and platform as well as in their numerous publications, never tire in narrating the circumstances of the ejectment of 2,000 of their ministers under the operation of the Act of Uniformity. It therefore seems that at the present juncture when the Church of England is once more seriously assailed, that a great and valuable lesson which past history should teach will be ineffective if pains are not taken to bring into prominence, and impress the public mind with the persistent and malignant persecutions which the clergy of the Established Church endured at the hands of the Puritans during the last years of Charles I., and the period of the Commonwealth.

Details of the proceedings against the Church and clergy in Monmouthshire seem almost incredible at the present day, and if the events which here occurred may be taken as a specimen of the manner in which Puritanical principles were administered throughout the kingdom, they reveal a state of things absolutely without parallel in its religious history. It must in candour be admitted that the

treatment of Monmouthshire was exceptional. In this county more church livings were sequestered, more clergy ejected, and more fraud and injustice perpetrated under the cloak of religion than in any other county in the kingdom.

Upon the errors or the weakness of the Church, or the origin or aim of the Puritan movement in the early stages of its existence, it is not our intention to enter. Much has been written on both sides, both for and against. It is intended here to show, particularly with respect to Monmouthshire, how those who prated of liberty of conscience acted towards those who differed from them when they had the opportunity to wield the power of persecution and oppression; how they destroyed a religious institution, that hypocrisy, novelty, and nonsense might prevail, and overthrew beneficial laws and constitutions to establish anarchy, confusion, and tyranny.

The Puritanical opinions which had for some years been developing in the Church were represented and promulgated in this district by several of her ministers who afterwards became prominent in the widespread contest which followed. When King Charles, in 1633, under the influence of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, revived the Declaration of James I. regarding the Book of Sports, and ordered it to be read in all churches, the Archbishop desired the bishops of his province to report to him how far the clergy in their respective dioceses had conformed to the King's commands. In accordance with this request Bishop Murray, of Llandaff, in reporting upon his diocese, forwarded the names of three ministers as having been disobedient, and further, that they had preached very schismatically and dangerously, leading many simple people after them. The three ministers named were the Rev William Wroth, vicar of Llanvaches, near Newport; the Rev William Erbery, vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff, and his curate, Walter Cradock.

We have in this work previously narrated the principal incidents in the life of Mr. Wroth, and therefore it will not be necessary again to

dwell upon them at any length. He was proceeded against by the bishop, and suspended from his living, but according to the bishop's account hesubmitted in 1635. In November 1639, his friends assembled at Llanvaches and constituted themselves the first Nonconformist church in the Principality of Wales, choosing Mr. Worth as their pastor. Earlier gatherings of Dissenters have been mentioned, but it is generally acceded that the association at Llanvaches was the earliest recognised as a regularly constituted Nonconformist church. This Nonconformist church soon became wonderfully successful as to numbers, and was by the Rev. Henry Jessy, the pastor of the first Independent Church in London, likened to "the mother Church of Antioch in the Gentile country of Wales—being very fameus for her officers, members, order, and gifts."

William Erbery, whose name is joined with that of Mr. Wroth in the report of the bishop, commenced his ministry at St. Woolos Church, Newport. He is said to have been born at Roath, Cardiff, in 1604. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and after taking degrees, received ordination, and commenced ministerial work as stated at St. Woolos. He was soon, however, presented to the living of St. Mary's Cardiff, and it was his conduct while holding that incumbency that brought upon him the censure of the bishop. He was prosecuted in the courts, but being of an intractable disposition, neither prosecution nor suspension influenced him in his conduct as a preacher. After considerable dissension among his congregation, arising from his erratic practices, he resigned the vicarage and left the diocese.

Walter Cradock was born in Monmouthshire, at a farm called Trevella, in the parish of Llangwm Ucha, probably about 1608. He is stated to have been heir to an estate worth £60 a year at that time. Like Erbery, he was an Oxford man, though his name has not been found in the registers of that university. Having spent his boyhood near Llanvaches, he may be supposed to have well known Mr. Wroth, and very likely was influenced

by his teaching. Having completed his university education, he received an appointment as curate at Peterston upon Ely, near Cardiff, and subsequently became curate of St. Mary's, under Mr. Erbery, the vicar, already mentioned. Being only a curate he was not so difficult to deal with as the vicar. His license was suspended in 1638, and his privilege of using the churches in the district for preaching was denied to him. It would appear that after his suspension from the living at Cardiff, Cradock obtained a curacy at Wrexham, where he created by his preaching considerable excitement. After the lapse of a year we find him at Shrewsbury, staying with a friend named Richard Symonds, a person of Nonconformist views. Cradock also made the acquaintance while here of Richard Baxter, from whose writings we glean that Cradock was in concealment from the bishop's officer, and that at this time he passed by the name of Williams. From Shrewsbury he found refuge under the wing of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Brian, in Herefordshire, who was a good friend to the early Nonconformists, and harboured their ministers in his house. In 1639 Cradock was once more in Monmouthshire, and was present at Llanvaches when the first Nonconformist church was there established under the pastorate of Mr. Wroth, as already noticed.

Soon after the formation of the Nonconformist Church at Llanvaches a second Society gathered at Mynyddislwyn, where a Mr Henry Walter was, as Rees says, in his History of Nonconformity in Wales, "the instrument to call most or all the original members." This Henry Walter, the second son of John Walter, Esq., of Piercefield Park, near Chepstow, was born in 1611, and matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, April 12, 1633. His first ministerial charge was the perpetual curacy or vicarage of Mynyddislwyn. He was a sympathiser and follower of Mr Wroth, being probably one of the many by whose ministry it was stated it "pleased the Lord to convert." Soon after his induction he began to display an independence of spirit with an earnestness for

preaching not common among the ministers in his neighbourhood. We find, too, that he was accustomed, like Mr Wroth, to go over to Bristol and preach, his name being mentioned as one of the Reforming ministers of South Wales.

The earnestness and energy of the ministers named would not allow them to be silent. Though deprived of the churches formerly used by them they still preached to the people, both under cover and in the open air, not only on Sundays, but every day as an opportunity offered. The story of their prosecution was received with much sympathy, and a band of followers gathered around them determined so far as they were able to stand by them and seek redress for the supposed wrongs they had suffered.

When the differences between the King and Parliament became acute, and the people were almost compelled by circumstances to declare for one side or the other, the schismatic preachers named, with their followers, joined politics with their profession of religion and gave their support to the Parliamentary cause. Wroth, who was now a very aged man, died shortly before the war broke out, and was in accordance with the desire he had expressed buried in the chancel of the church of his own parish. The other ministers experienced so strong a feeling against them in the district that they deemed it prudent to leave. Cradock and Erbery travelled the country for a time and became as preachers more notorious than popular. With the Rev. Henry Walter they are found to have frequented the rendezvous of Nonconforming ministers in London, and in the religious arrangements which were afterward carried out in Wales, all three were appointed to take a leading part.

In the more central parts of England an agitation against the Church of a somewhat different character had been promoted by men like Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick, who assailed the Establishment and its Bishops with a violence of language unequalled in the present day, so that when the Long Parliament met in November, 1640,

there was a readiness shown to present petitions craving for redress of grievances alleged to exist in the Church and State. These petitions gave encouragement to those in the House who favoured them. A Committee of Religion was appointed, and an attack upon the Church was made *pari passu* with that on the Monarchy. The Bishops were the first object of attack, and a bill was framed and brought in to remove them from the House of Lords, and also from holding any office whatever in secular affairs. The action of Parliament stimulated the agitators out of doors, and the agitation soon became general throughout the country. Clarendon states that the Press was used to publish the most invective, seditious, and scurrilous pamphlets that wit and malice could invent. The clamour maintained in the country gave increased boldness to those in Parliament.

In January 1641, the Commons by their own authority, ordered that Commissioners should be sent into all counties to deface, demolish, and quite take away all images, altars, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and relics of idolatry out of all churches, &c. The execution of this order in some cases was carried out by men blinded by ignorance or fanaticism, who destroyed many valuable monuments and profaned many churches. It was in virtue of this order that the celebrated Paul's cross in London was taken down, a structure at which, as one writer remarks, "More learned men had appeared, and out of which more sound and good divinity had been delivered than perhaps any one pulpit since the first preaching of the Gospel could ever glory in." It was in virtue of this direction of the Commons also, that the crosses standing in nearly all our parish churches were everted and destroyed. The cross has been an object of veneration from early Christian times, and in England it had been customary to erect them, not only in churchyards, but in public places for the purposes of public prayer. Now, however, the sacred erections wherever found were desecrated, and worshippers who regarded them as emblems of the Christian faith saw them

ruthlessly demolished. In some churchyards the base, and in others portions of the pedestal of ancient crosses still remain and may to the reader have been the object of curious inquiry. The remains of such crosses are still visible in the churchyards of Goldcliff, Magor, Undy, Marshfield, Sudbrook, Llantarnam, and no doubt in many other churches of the county. Portions of ancient crosses exist also on the roadside at Redwick and one such will be familiarly recognised at the entrance to Havelock-street on Stow Hill. The remains we have referred to, after a period of at least 240 years, testify at least to the fanaticism, if not the godlessness, of their destroyers. The defaced monuments and broken effigies in the parish church of St. Woollos, Newport, as well as the beheaded sculptured figure on the front of the tower may be likewise assigned to the period during which this iconoclastic fever so severely raged.

It is probable, however, that the destruction of crosses and monuments in the churches of this district was not accomplished until some time after the promulgation of the order referred to, as the Parliamentary party had no opportunity of exercising power among a people so thoroughly loyal both to the Church and the King as were the inhabitants of Monmouthshire.

The weakness of the Parliamentary party may be gathered from the fact that they were unable after several attempts to remove the contents of the county magazine from Monmouth to Newport, being frustated by the determined and successive efforts of the Mayor, the Deputy-mayor, the bailiff, and justices of the former borough, all of whom were taken to London in custody. The matter was considered to be of sufficient importance to be laid before Parliament in a petition supported by as influential a deputation as the supporters could get together. The contents of the petition can be pretty accurately judged from the reply of the Speaker to the deputation. The Speaker assured them that effectual order had been taken for the removal of the magazine to Newport. The Speaker's assurance, however,

proved a mere empty phrase, as Parliament for some time after was utterly impotent to take any steps in the matter. As regards the complaint made by the deputation respecting the great number of Papists who flocked about the houses of recusants in Monmouthshire, and of the great number of papists that were inhabitants of the county, the Speaker again assured them that Parliament had taken the complaint into consideration; but beyond obtaining and publishing a list of "the names of great recusants that live in and near the town of Monmouth, with the value of their estates and the distances at which they live from that town," nothing more seems to have been done. The fact was that the people named as recusants were not so much obnoxious on account of their religion as that they were loyal to their Sovereign. To be loyal to the King was not yet a penal offence, but recusants were under the ban of the law, and liable to be disarmed, fined, and imprisoned. To weaken their support to the King, therefore, advantage was taken of their recusancy. Parliament sent Commissioners down to Raglan Castle to disarm the Earl of Worcester, who was the recusant of greatest note in the neighbourhood, but owing to an ingenious and humourous trick played upon their credulity by the Earl, they left the castle without completing the errand for which they had been sent.

Roman Catholics generally in the kingdom supported the King, and those in the county of Monmouth formed no exception. In Rushworth we find that when the Queen sent circulars to Roman Catholics to put them under contribution for the King's service against the Scottish Covenanters that collectors were appointed to gather in the recusants' money, and that among the names so mentioned are those of Sir Charles Somerset, son of the Earl of Worcester; Mr. William Morgan, of Llantarnam; and Mr. George Morgan, of Itton.

The question of recusancy was soon lost sight of in the wider and more general attacks made against the Church and the Crown.

Early in 1641 the general outcry made against

the Church gathered round the persons of the Bishops. Numerous complaints were laid before Parliament relating to the episcopal body generally, and also against individual members of it. A committee of Parliament was appointed on February 23rd to consider some of these complaints, and among others those made against Dr Owen, who had only recently been appointed to the see of Llandaff. It was found, however, that there was little ground for the complaints, and the proceedings were never followed up. Other circumstances soon occurred which equally answered the desire of the Commons. In March the House instituted proceedings against the Bishops for making Canons in Convocation. Archbishop Laud was sent to prison, and the infliction of very heavy fines upon the several Bishops proposed. The bill was dropped, and their Lordships subsequently impeached. In this cause, however, Parliament displayed more haste than wisdom, as there soon appeared a difficulty in determining what crime the Bishops had been guilty of. The laws of the land were searched in vain to provide for the case, and when it was urged that it might well be treason, the answer of the eminent men of the long robe was that it might as well be called adultery. The matter was adjourned, and those who had impeached the Bishops, finding their proceedings utterly wrong and illegal, slunk away in silence. Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, was among the thirteen bishops so impeached. The agitation went on apace, and petitions to Parliament poured in from all quarters—petitions which appear from all accounts to have been of a character as genuine as those we have become acquainted with in the present day in favour of Welsh Sunday Closing! The apprentices of London among others prayed that prelacy might be rooted up; and even the London porters petitioned against it as a burthen too heavy for their shoulders, a circumstance which cannot be regarded as other than a huge joke. With no less truth than humour the author of Hudibras hit off the spirit of the times when he wrote,—

"The oyster women locked their fish up,
And trudged away to cry 'No Bishop!'"

By and by the friends of the Church got up counter petitions and forwarded them to the House of Commons, but the House discouraged them, alleging they were mutinous and malignant. This was stated in a Remonstrance sent to the King, which led his Majesty to remark as follows :—"Hath a multitude of mean, unknown, inconsiderable, contemptible persons about the city and suburbs of London had the liberty to petition against the government of the Church, against the Book of Common Prayer—and been thanked for it? and shall it be called mutiny in the gravest and best citizens of London, in the gentry and commonalty of Kent, to frame petitions upon these grounds, and desire to be governed by the known laws of the land, and by orders or votes of both Houses. To stir up men to a care of maintaining the discipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the reverence and solemnity of God's service, encouragement of learning, is mutiny! Let Heaven and Earth, God and man judge between us."

The Remonstrance was printed and circulated by order of the House of Commons, and the Bishops having been singled out for censure, an intense feeling was aroused against them. The Archbishop of York was one day set upon by an excited rabble in the street, and, amid cries of "No Bishop," had his robes torn from his back. Upon this he called some twelve of the Bishops together—Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren, of Ely, being in prison at this time—and they resolved upon a Protestation (December 27, 1641,) against the force that had been used against them, and against all the Acts of the House of Lords during the time that they should be prevented from attending it. The Protestation had no sooner been delivered to Parliament than the Commons once more accused all the Bishops who had subscribed to it of High Treason. The Usher of the Black Rod was immediately sent to take them into custody, and the whole episcopal body, excepting the Bishop of Llandaff, who could not be found until next day,

stood committed to the Tower. Here they remained until May, 1642, and were then a second time released on bail by the Peers, and were never brought to trial.

Before they were liberated, however, the Commons had prepared a Bill for the forfeiture of the whole of their estates, for the imprisonment of their persons during their lives, and the disposal of all livings that fell within their gifts. The Bill was subsequently modified so as to make some allowance to those whose estates were confiscated. The Bishop of Llandaff was to be allowed £200 a year, and the other Bishops sums of various amounts. The Bill was, however, like other extreme measures proposed, ultimately dropped.

The Bishops were now enjoined under penalties to appear in their places three days after having received notice. To the Bishop of Llandaff, having a charge so far distant from London, this proved a hardship, which to remedy or overcome he petitioned the House praying that the time for his appearance before the House after notice given may be enlarged, as the limit of three days prevented his visiting his diocese. To this petition no attention seems to have been paid, and in less than a month another petition was preferred by him, in which he set forth more fully that the diocese of Llandaff, and his residence at Matherne, in the county of Monmouth, were distant more than 130 miles from London, and further that he had been absent from his charge a long time, and could not, although he desired, go thither, while he was bound to appear before their Lordships within three days after notice. He therefore prayed for the time to be extended. It must be assumed that Bishop Owen was unsuccessful in his request, as the Bishops were becoming every day more obnoxious to the Commons, and their wishes altogether ignored.

On the 10th July, 1642, the Commons passed a resolution that ecclesiastical power for the government of the Church be exercised by Commissioners, and on the 15th of the same month they

resolved that archiepiscopal and episcopal jurisdiction should be exercised by themselves. This was followed by a resolution that the members for every county should bring in the names of nine persons who were to be Ecclesiastical Commissioners upon whom the power of Church government should be devolved. It was expressly provided that no clergyman should be on the Commission. There remained, therefore, no need for Bishop Owen to visit his diocese—that is no need in the eyes of Parliament.

The members for the county of Monmouth at this period were William Herbert and Henry Herbert; the former a zealous loyalist, the latter subservient to Parliament, and one who used his influence to carry out their desires. Of the action of the members in naming Commissioners we possess no information, and it seems probable that none were then named.

In another month King Charles had raised his standard at Nottingham, and the civil war commenced.

William Herbert at once threw in his lot with the King's party, and was found among the Assembly at Oxford. When this became known to Parliament he was at once "disabled." This "disabling" of members was the method adopted by the tyrannical majority of Parliament to expel members of the House who were loyal to their King. Monmouthshire thus lost the voice of one of its members, and as no new writ was issued the county remained partially disfranchised until September, 1646, or a period of three years and eight months. At the expiration of that time, and after the Parliamentary forces had attained some successes in Monmouthshire, a new election was ordered.

After the process of "disabling" members had been vigorously pursued, the remnant of the Commons appear to have bent their efforts to overthrow the Church as well as the King. They passed a Bill for removing the Bishops and Clergy from the Commission of the Peace, and from preventing the Bishops from voting in the House of

Lords. On the bill being sent to the House of Lords there appeared a willingness for the sake of peace to assent to the removal of Bishops and clergy from the Commission of the Peace, but the Lords refused to agree to the removal of the Bishops from Parliament, and threw out the Bill on the second reading. The Commons became infuriated, and disregarding the well understood rule that the same bill shall not be presented a second time in the same session, they sent another bill with the same object to the House of Lords and endeavoured in a variety of ways to intimidate the Lords to pass it.

While the Bishops were being attacked in the way described, the clergy in general had received a considerable amount of attention. The condition of the clergy was no doubt lamentable at this period. Macaulay says respecting them that "not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holes appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of his parsonage, and in his single cassock. Often it was only by toiling on his glebe, by feeding swine, and by loading dung carts that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiff from taking his concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted to the kitchen of a great house and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough, and his girls went to service. Study he found impossible; and he might be considered unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dog-eared volumes amongst the pots and pans on his shelves. Even a keen and strong intellect might be expected to rust under such circumstances."

Since the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the sweeping away of the Preaching Friars with other religious orders, in the time of Henry VIII., nothing had been substituted to supply the reli-

gious instruction which they afforded to the people. The system of parochial ministration and organisation as witnessed in our own day had never been developed. The Scriptures in Wales, including Monmouthshire, was almost unknown in the common tongue of the people.

The earliest books known to have been printed in Welsh were a translation of the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the Creed; and a translation of the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Festivals. Both these were published during the reign of Edward VI., the former in 1546 by Sir John Price, of Brecon, and the latter printed in 1551, by Robert Crowley for William Salesbury. During the reign of Mary nothing was done in this direction, but in 1563 Queen Elizabeth ordered the Bible to be translated into Welsh and a copy placed in every parish church. The translation was not, however, completed for 25 years, the country being chiefly indebted for this great work to Morgan, Bishop of Llandaff. In the meantime (1567) a translation of the New Testament had been made by W. Salesbury and R. Davies, Bishop of St. David's, but the number printed of these works was not sufficient to supply a single copy for half-a-dozen parishes. A second edition of Morgan's Bible was printed in 1620, and a third in 1630, but it may be fairly said that not one in a thousand of the population had ever possessed a copy of the Scriptures to read in their native tongue.

In Convocation in 1640, Dr. Griffiths made a motion for the publication of a new edition of the Welsh Church Bible by Bishop Morgan, pointing out the many errors and omissions which the printer had made in the previous edition. Nothing is known to have resulted from the motion, and although the necessity for the work may have been acknowledged, parties were too excited to settle down to carry out any such useful undertaking.

Within a week of the opening of Parliament (November, 1640), a Committee of Religion was formed, which body appointed sub-committees to assist them in their work. One sub-committee was

authorised to enquire into the causes of the scarcity of preaching ministers, and how preaching ministers may be set up where none were, and how they could be maintained; and to consider of some way for removing *scandalous ministers* and putting others in their places. This committee consisted of sixty-one persons, and was generally spoken of as the Committee of Scandalous Ministers—a humourous appellation which contained a truth never contemplated when first applied to them.

It seems impossible to find out exactly what was done by the committee under this resolution, but by records in the Commons Journals, v. ii. 189, it is clear that certain appointments of preachers were made, and that among the number appointed was Walter Cradock, the suspended curate of Cardiff.

During several years Cradock had not ceased preaching and agitating, and that his great popularity had been brought under the notice of Parliament is evident from an entry concerning "the humble petition of certain ministers of Wales authorised by the Committee of this Honourable House to preach where there was a want of preaching."

In the petition it is stated that there were found upon strict enquiry scarcely as many conscientious and constant preachers in Wales as there were of counties, and that those, too, were silenced or much persecuted. The remarks, of course, having reference to Wroth, Erbury, Cradock, and their associates especially.

If the statement were true, it would show how highly fortunate was the condition of Monmouthshire, that while in the whole of thirteen counties there were not so many conscientious and constant preachers, that no less than four—viz, Wroth, Cradock, Erbury, and Walters—should have sprung up into notoriety within a dozen miles of the town of Newport.

The small number of conscientious and consistent preachers in Wales, as ascertained by the Parliamentary Committee in 1641, must be a matter of surprise, and although explanations may be given which would show in a large degree a

mitigation of the lamentable state of religion disclosed, still there were doubtless wide grounds for complaint. Many of the clergy held a plurality of benefices; and in many parishes the clergy were non-resident. The services of the church were very irregularly performed; and in parishes where the clergy resided they held converse with their flock as often in the alehouse as in the House of God. It is evident therefore that grievances existed which required to be redressed. But much as the clergy may have been disturbed in other parts of the kingdom, in Monmouthshire they pursued for a time the even tenour of their way. They ploughed and sowed, and prayed and preached as before. The services of the church were carried on as usual, and the parishioners witnessed the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial as their fathers had done before them. The clergy on the whole dwelt in amity with the people, and enforced upon them, probably with more earnestness than ever as their primary duty, to Fear God and Honour the King. If bitterness of feeling existed it was not displayed by the parishioners to their ministers, but towards the political Nonconformist who unhinged the minds of many by ceaseless agitation.

Walter Cradock, as one of those who subscribed the petition to Parliament already referred to, was called before the Committee, and having avowed his connection with the same, it was ordered, "That the petition be referred to the Committee for Scandalous Ministers where Mr. Corbet hath the chair; and it is likewise ordered, that the parties complained of in that petition be summoned to appear before that Committee."

From this petition and the entries concerning it, it is clear that Cradock and others had received from the Parliamentary Committee appointments as preachers in Wales, and that they had been obstructed in their labours. It would almost be inferred that Cradock and his fellow preachers, having obtained such appointments, were afraid that they would fall through, the House having on the 1st of June limited the existence of the Com-

mittee to a period when a Bill should be reported to the House. The petition was dated and presented to the House on the 26th of June, 1641, and within three days, viz., on the 29th, the Committee was revived.

Instead of Parliament now exerting itself to provide a remedy, they used the sad condition of the clergy as a means for their overthrow and to further the design they had formed for the destruction of the Church and Crown together. Helpless in their poverty, the clergy were charged with crimes as various in their character as they were vile in their conception, and being uniformly loyal to their King they were persecuted and relentlessly ill-treated by every man and officer of the Parliamentary forces when an opportunity occurred The long list of crimes charged upon ministers usually concluded with the sting and gravamen of the whole, viz., malignancy and disaffection to the Parliament. The committee continued its operations, not so much, it appears, in appointing "preaching ministers where none where" as in "removing *scandalous* ministers and putting others in their places."

Cradock and his associates soon felt their position in Monmouthshire so uncomfortable that they left the district almost *en masse*. Walter Cradock and Henry Walters are known to have taken up their quarters in Bristol, where some particulars are preserved of their doings. In the Broadmead Records it is stated that the members of the Church at Llanvaches joined with the Church at Bristol, and that Mr. Cradock, who had on the death of Mr. Wroth been chosen as his successor in the pastorate of the Church at Llanvaches, administered to them the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. It is also stated that the people of Bristol had been occasionally cheered by visits from Mr. Wroth, and that they would run after him and the other reforming ministers of South Wales like hungry souls for food.

The Church fellowship which Cradock and other Monmouthshire ministers enjoyed with the Bristol friends was disturbed when the city was delivered

majority of cases the charges were utterly groundless, but the sweeping manner in which the charges were made, and the inquiries instituted, implied that the crimes mentioned were rife among the clergy, and the effect was that by the common people generally the bare charges were assumed as guilt of the most flagitious nature. It is not a matter for wonder therefore that the feeling excited against the clergy was in many instances most intense. The Committees were authorised to receive petitions from any parishioner, no matter of what standing, and there are numerous instances of men of learning and unblemished lives being brought under notice and made to suffer by the petition of mean and profligate persons. Lord Clarendon remarks that if the meanest and most vicious parishioner could be brought to prefer a petition against a clergyman, he was sure to be prosecuted as a scandalous minister, and the same writer further records that no less than 900 ministers were brought before one sub-division of this Committee.

The work of the Committees not proving so efficacious as desired, the Commons resolved to proceed further, and so in April, 1643, they passed an ordinance blending both clergy and laity together under the general title of Delinquents, and ordering the sequestration of their estates, in order to provide funds to prosecute the war. The ordinance declares how agreeable it was to natural justice that the estates of those who are instruments of public calamities should be applied towards the support of the Commonwealth, and provides that the estates of the Archbishop of Canterbury and . . . the Bishop of Llandaff shall be forthwith seized into the hands of sequestraters and committees.

A subsequent ordinance, passed August 19th, defined Delinquents as persons who absented themselves from their usual places of abode or betook themselves to the King's forces.

In the ordinance of April a clause was inserted empowering the committees to allow the wives and children of a Delinquent for their maintenance any portion of his goods and estate provided it did not

exceed one-fifth part, but Parliament soon discovered that the operation of the clause was more benevolent towards the dependents upon the clergy than it was designed to be. Accordingly, on September 8th, another ordinance was agreed to restricting the allowance of fifths to the wife and family of those ministers who did not reside in their parishes. If a minister continued to live among his parishioners he forfeited his claim to any allowance, and if he had not a wife or children he was not entitled to anything.

In many places the confiscation of estates and property was carried into immediate operation, as for instance the seizure of £17,000 which had been collected for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. This sum was seized and used to carry on the war with the King, and all the materials intended for the completion of the building was turned into money for the same purpose. But the blow took fuller effect as time went on, and the cities and counties, wherever the estates lay, came under the dominion of Parliament.

After a few months of civil war the King's forces proved so successful that the Parliamentary leaders were almost inclined to give up the contest. In their despair they turned towards Scotland for help, and at this juncture circumstances favoured them. Though the Puritans had ruthlessly plundered the Church there were many who had no wish at this time to destroy it as a national institution, but the form in which it was to be retained was a question which they could not settle. The differences between the Presbyterians and Independents were so strong that no scheme could be agreed to without a compromise, and the slightest departure from principle was regarded as apostacy. Scotland was devoted to the scheme of Presbyterianism, and when the English Commons sought help from this quarter, one of the conditions was that the Parliament should bind themselves by oath to use every means to extirpate popery and prelacy, and to establish the Presbyterian form of Church Government. The Solemn League and Covenant as it was called having been

thus accepted by the Parliament, was next sought to be enforced upon the clergy. An order was published that it should be hung up in every church and read by the minister to the people on Sunday, October 1st, 1643. Any default in these respects were to be reported by the Committee to the House of Commons. Very few clergy obeyed the order, and the Committee being not slow to report the delinquencies, many thousands of the clergy were in consequence driven from their livings.

It can be easily understood that the expulsion of the loyal clergy from their benefices was more easily and readily accomplished in England than in Wales, which was then regarded as a very remote part of the Kingdom, and whose people as a whole, though rude, simple, and ignorant in manners, were thoroughly loyal. The exemption from misery which the clergy of Wales enjoyed as compared with their English brethren was not of long duration, for as soon as Parliament was able to direct its attention in that quarter, it put in force the acts of confiscation and violence with, if possible, double energy. That the Committee, acting under the authority of Parliament, began their work of ejecting ministers from their livings at an early period is evident from the records of Parliament itself, although the sequence of their proceedings cannot be traced.

In the Ordinance appointing the Committee previously referred to, no Committee was named for Oxford, nor any county or place in Wales, the Principality being then entirely under the control of the King and his staunch supporters. Parliament, however, sought to remedy the omission on the first opportunity. This occurred in May, 1644. Early in that month General Massey, who was in command of the Parliamentary forces at Gloucester made a successful inroad into Monmouthshire, and on the 10th of the same month the Commons passed an Ordinance appointing Committees for Monmouthshire and the adjoining counties, for the purpose of "putting into execution the Ordinance of April, 1643," and "for seizing and

sequestering the estates of delinquents" in the counties named. These Committees were to consist of not more than ten nor less than five persons, and each acting member was to be paid a salary of four shillings per day, a sum which was afterwards increased to five shillings. The primary duty of the Committees was to raise money to carry on the war. The simple seizure and sequestration of the estates of delinquents was the most ready means they adopted, but in some instances the persons declared delinquents were desireus to compromise the matter or compound. In these the Committee had power to make temporary arrangements until the circumstances should be heard and determined upon in London. If the estates of delinquents failed to supply the wants of the Committee, they had a further power to levy taxation of whatever kind to make up their requirements. Beyond matters of a pecuniary nature the Committee rendered great assistance in collecting and communicating intelligence to the Central Committee in London, and to the local military authorities. General Massey, like other Parliamentary officers, found the Monmouthshire Committee of great service.

The instructions to the Committee as regards the clergy were to be "speedy and effectual in the discharge of their office," and they were empowered to call to their assistance some "well affected men" in each hundred of the county, and enquire into "the lives, doctrine, and conversation of all ministers and schoolmasters." To the parishioners in general papers were issued inviting "all ingenuous persons . . . to be very active to improve the present opportunity." The invitation, however, was not complied with, and in subsequent papers it was set forth that "it is found by sad experience that parishioners are not forward to complain of their ministers though scandalous"—an expression which certainly implies that as a rule the parishioners were so satisfied with the conduct of their ministers that in most parishes there was not the slightest ground for complaint as to their conduct. The Com-

mittees proved equal to the circumstances, for failing to receive complaints from the parishioners, they engaged paid agents, or, in other words, common informers, who were instructed to go about and seek accusations against both clergy and schoolmasters. This scheme was commonly called "parson hunting," and admirably answered its purpose, for now charges began to flow in freely, and the Committee had ample work provided for them.

It is evident that the powers given to the Committees under the two ordinances referred to, over the estates and persons of *delinquents* were quite sufficient to bring under sequestration every one of the clergy without particularly specifying them as a body, but Parliament, gaining another advantage in the county, were not slow to act upon it with vigour. In September, 1644, the town of Monmouth was captured by Massey, and many of the Royalists fled from the county. Now was the time for Parliament to operate. Powers were at once given to Commissioners, the Deputy Lieutenants, and Committees of the county of Monmouth and adjacent counties, to call before them all ministers and schoolmasters who were regarded as scandalous or ill-affected towards the Parliament, and upon proof being given of the charges, to eject such ministers and schoolmasters, and nominate in their places such godly and fit persons as they should think proper, and put them in possession of the churches, schools, &c.

There is plenty of evidence to show how arbitrarily and cruel the Committees worked. They robbed the helpless clergy right and left, and exercised the powers which they either possessed or assumed to possess with unpitying rigour. The Committees, although originally formed of men of position and respectability, became in time composed of inferior agents without character or principle, who made men delinquents at their pleasure, seizing property and money in the most illegal manner, and never accounting for large sums so obtained. Any two were competent to act, and their proceedings exhibited a revolting system of barefaced imposition and extortion. Complaints were

naturally made, and the House of Lords by their repeated reminders to the Commons compelled them at last to institute inquiries, which disclosed a mass of iniquity reflecting the greatest culpability upon the whole Parliamentary party.

The Commons now gave further proof to the Scots of their desire to annihilate any remnant of Episcopalianism and to promote Presbyterianism, by imprisoning the clergy in large numbers, and persecuting to death the aged Archbishop Laud. The clergy secured in custody were so many that new gaols had to be built, and when these were found insufficient for their confinement the ministers were thrust on board hulks, where they endured, as may be imagined, great sufferings. Archbishop Laud, after remaining in prison for some time, was charged with treason, but on being brought to trial the judges declared that the charges preferred against him did not amount to treason. The Commons, however, had resolved on his death, and proceeding by the more tyrannical mode of attainder, they passed an ordinance for his execution. Notwithstanding that Laud produced a Royal pardon, he was by an act more arbitrary than any the King had ever perpetrated, beheaded on January 10, 1645, being then 72 years of age. On the news of Laud's death being communicated to Morgan Owen, the Bishop of Llandaff, that prelate instantly dropped dead. Laud had been the Bishop's friend, and it was by his influence that Morgan Owen was promoted to the See. After Owen's death the See remained vacant for sixteen years, no new bishop being appointed until the Restoration in 1660.

Immediately following the death of Archbishop Laud, the use of the Book of Common Prayer in Divine Worship and in private places and families was practically abolished, and a further order was promulgated enforcing the general use of a book called the Presbyterian Directory. While the use of the Prayer Book was forbidden under a penalty of £10, or a year's imprisonment, all ministers of the Church were enjoined to use the Directory under a penalty of 40s for each omission. There

was another penalty provided of not less than £5, nor more than £50, for who ever ventured to speak against it.

In opposition to this the King at Oxford set forth a proclamation (dated November 13th, 1645), enjoining the use of Common Prayer according to the law, notwithstanding the pretended Ordinance published by Parliament for the use of the new Directory. The people stood amased and perplexed between the two orders. In many parts of England the Common Prayer daily decreased, and the Directory, by the power of Parliament, advanced; but throughout Monmouthshire and South Wales the Old Prayer Book still maintained favour with the people.

It is both amusing and confusing to find the record of so many Orders and Ordinances of this Parliament. Fuller says that in bulk and number they not only equalled but exceeded all the laws and statutes made since the Conquest.

What progress in sequestration the Committees in South Wales had made up to the middle of 1645 is not clear, but they had not been idle. They had at all events secured possession of the lands of the Bishop, Deans, and Chapter of Llandaff and St. David's, and on the 15th of August the House of Commons proceeded to utilise the funds arising from the said lands by resolving that a sum of £300 per annum be allowed and paid out of the funds to Mr Henry Walter, Mr Richard Symonds, and Mr Walter Cradock, ministers, during the pleasure of the House.

With the name of Walter Cradock the reader must be already familiar, and Mr Henry Walter, it may be remembered, has been mentioned as first curate of Mynyddislwyn, and subsequently pastor of the newly formed Nonconformist community at that place.

What little is known of Henry Symonds is that he was born in Abergavenny in 1609, and matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1627. He afterwards opened a school at Shrewsbury, and had the celebrated Richard Baxter among his pupils. When Cradock was in hiding from the Bishop's

officers, he found refuge at Symonds' house at Shrewsbury, and made acquaintance with Richard Baxter there. Symonds left that town in 1635, and proceeded to South Wales where he identified himself with the Puritanical movement going forward.

The amount to be paid to the ministers named was specified to be equally divided between them —that is one hundred pounds per annum each— and it was especially stated that the money was "towards their maintenance in the work of the ministry in South Wales" The Parliamentary phrase was, however a euphemism. The fact being that the work of the ministry was at a standstill. Many of the regular ministers had been ejected from their livings, and the agitating preachers paid by Parliament to labour in Monmouthshire and South Wales, spent both their time and salaries in London.

On the 11th October, 1645, Chepstow Castle was taken by the Parliamentary forces, and this success, with the possession of Monmouth gained on the 24th of the same month, gave them the command of a great part of the county. Chepstow was at once selected by the Committee as the seat of Government, and here they sat to carry out the various purposes for which Parliament had appointed them.

It may be supposed that this Parliamentary success would have given encouragement and protection to Cradock and his friends, and that they would have gladly left the busy metropolis to minister to the wants of the spiritually starving people of South Wales. But no, they still occupied themselves at Great All Hallows, and occasionally preached to their patrons in Parliament grossly flattering sermons.

With the opening of the year 1646, the Parliamentary forces concentrated before Raglan Castle, the seige of which was more prolonged than was at first anticipated. In July, Colonel Morgan reported favourably to Parliament of the progress of the seige, and up to that time Cradock was continuing his agitation in London. On the 21st July he

preached a sermon before the Parliament, and urged his case thus:—"Is it not a sad case that in *thirteen counties* (Monmouthshire being one of the thirteen counties of Wales) there should not be above thirteen (God grant there be more! I know not so many) conscientious ministers who in these times expressed themselves firmly and constantly *faithful to the Parliament!* and formerly preached profitably in the Welsh language twice every Lord's Day?"

It would be difficult to obtain stronger evidence than this of the universal loyalty of the Welsh clergy. For in the face of Parliament assembled to hear the Word of God preached to them by the leader of the religious movement which they had inaugurated and countenanced, they were assured that not so many ministers throughout Wales as are counted in a baker's dozen were firmly and constantly faithful to their cause.

The influence of the agitator had its wonted effect, for on the very next day in the House of Commons, July 22nd, an ordinance was passed for constituting Mr. Richard Symonds, Henry Walter, and Walter Cradock, ministers to preach itinerantly in the several counties of South Wales, and for allowing each of them one hundred pounds per annum out of the rents and revenues of the deans, deans and chapters, and prebends of St. Davids and Llandaff, for their pains, and likewise for constituting a committee to sequester the said rents and revenues and pay the said stipend to the said ministers out of them. The ordinance was ordered to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

In the course of another month (August 19), Raglan Castle fell; but even then, when the power and influence of the Royalists were finally broken in Monmouthshire, the salaried itinerants seem to have felt an indisposition to leave London, for a period of three months elapsed and they were still found in the great city. Then the Commons by another order dated October 28th, commanded that Mr. Cradock, Mr. Symonds, and Mr. Walter, who were formerly appointed to go into Wales to

preach the Gospel there, do with all speed proceed thither according to former appointments; and that the former allowance ordered to be paid to them for their pains be now paid unto them by the Committee of the Revenue. The draft order for the appointment and payment of these preachers appears *in extenso* in the Lords' Journals VIII., 569, and is dated November 16, 1646. What these itinerants did after their arrival in the Principality, except to draw their salaries, we do not know. They had the whole country for their labours, and are supposed to have travelled up and down the country as they thought proper, but Mr. Rees, who has done his best to show these ministers in a good light, gives no particulars of their work during the remainder of that year (1646), nor until 1648, when he merely observes that the second civil war which broke out, interrupted the work of evangelization, and Cradock and his friends fled back to England. Cradock is credited with having published in 1646 and 1647 two editions of the New Testament in Welsh, but the evidence given is not sufficiently strong to warrant the statement being unreservedly accepted. Translations in Welsh had already been made by William Salesbury, Bishop Morgan, Dr. Parry, Richard Heylin, Sir Thomas Middleton, and the Rev. William Wroth, and it is possible that Mr. Cradock may have urged forward the printing of another edition. Although the author of several works, and a notorious preacher, he is not known to have published anything in the Welsh language —a fact that militates very much against the belief that he was competent to do the Welsh spiritual good when it is remembered that amid the deep-rooted ignorance of the people there were few things they lacked more than a knowledge of the English language, in which it seems Walter Cradock both wrote and preached. His only complaint against the ministers of South Wales, beyond that they were not faithful to the Parliament, was that they did not preach twice a day in the Welsh language, and it would appear that while making the complaint he was himself unable to remedy it.

The close of the year 1646 brought with it what is known as the Black Christmas Day. Fanatic preachers had urged Parliament to do away with all habituated and doted-on customs, and accordingly the observance of the Feast of the Birthday of the World's Redeemer—being one of those customs which the English people had for centuries indulged in—was prohibited. The feast was changed into a fast, and the fast declared to be obligatory upon all. Like other commands of the Parliament it was not universally obeyed. Both Houses of Parliament sat on this day for the transaction of usual business, and, as the papers of the time tell us, "had a long dispute." The churches throughout the country were all closed, but the people generally would not open their places of business. Puritanical shopkeepers, however, in London took down their shutters, and Puritanical masters compelled their servants to work without relaxation as on any ordinary day; but the people generally, wedded to the old custom of keeping Christmas, revolted at the Puritanical tyranny, and serious rioting occurred throughout the country.

The triumphant Presbyterian party had now been enabled to a large extent to carry out their programme for the reformation of the Church and reconstruction of the Government. The condition of things at this time may be shortly summarised. The King was a prisoner, and loyalty to his Majesty suppressed; episcopacy had been abolished; the clergy as a body had been robbed of their livings; the Prayer Book condemned, the Presbyterian system formally established, and the universities, schools, and benefices, so far as they could be, filled by ministers of that persuasion. With all the change, the moral and spiritual state of the people had not improved. It was simply lamentable. The *Mercurius Britannicus* declares Monmouthshire and adjacent counties in Wales to be as dark as the country of Egypt.

V. Powell, in the preface to his Scriptural Catechism, published in 1646, says:—"Having finished this little Catechism in English, it is translated into Welsh for my dear and soul-

hungering countrymen, who have not to my knowledge any except one, (if one) of this nature, nay far worse, have not of godly able Welsh ministers one for a county, nor one Welsh Bible for 500 families."

The Puritan writer Edwards, in a book entitled "Gangrena," which he dedicated to the two Houses of Parliament, summarises the religious situation of the country thus :—"Things every day grow worse and worse; you can hardly imagine them as bad as they are. No kind of blasphemy, heresy, disorder, and confusion, but is found among us, or coming in among us. For we, instead of reformation, are grown from one extreme to another, fallen from Scylla to Charybdis; from Popish innovations, superstitions, and prelatical tyranny, to damnable heresies, horrid blasphemies, libertinism, and fearful anarchy. The worst of the prelates held many sound doctrines, and had many commendable practices; but many of the sects and sectaries of our days deny all principles of religion—are enemies to all holy duties, order, learning, overthrowing all. What swarms are there of all sorts of illiterate mechanic preachers; yea, of women and boy preachers, &c." Referring to Cradock and a sermon preached by him the same writer says :—"What a sad thing it is that men so principled should go among such people as the Welsh, with so large a power of preaching, as he and his fellows have."

Dugdale states that "during the calamitous war kindled and carried on by the Presbyterians more country mansion were plundered and burnt, more churches robbed and profaned, more blood spilt within the compass of four years, and in short more frightful scenes opened of savage slaughter and confusion than had been acted in the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster."

The early part of the year 1647 was comparatively uneventful. Loyalty was crushed and tyranny paramount. The triumphant party now carried out their designs with impunity unopposed, and consequently we find the Preaching Ministers

on the increase, and taking the place of the banished clergymen. The so-called churches of Llanvaches and Mynyddislwyn sent forth a score of itinerants, who went up and down the country and found excellent opportunities for exercising their gifts.

The work of sequestration, too, went quietly on. Now that the Committee could unrestrainedly exercise their power, it was no longer necessary to go from Monmouthshire to London to make accusations against Scandalous Ministers. The instruments of oppression were brought home to the very doors of the Plunderers, as Walker puts it, and it was rendered as easy to dispossess as it was to invent accusations against innocent men.

In June the Committee, having removed from Chepstow, met at Usk, and fearing from circumstances which became known that the suppressed loyalty would again gather head, they took steps to disarm all persons whom they considered Papists and Delinquents, and ordered the High Shoriff, who appears to have been one William Herbert, to seize and secure all "Desperate persons." The Committee also ordered all places of strength to be secured, as well as dangerous persons, and to search suspected houses as well as to disarm Papists. Very few records of the proceedings of the Sequestrators are preserved, but there is sufficient to enable a judgment to be formed of the spirit in which the Sequestrators acted, and the rapacity of their desires. Their proceedings at this period were regarded as despotic and alarming. They are reported to have received a bribe of £20 for sparing "one reverend learned and faithful divine" from being made a deliuquent, and they are said to have extorted from one "fanatic's wife" the sum of £30 under a threat that she should otherwise be denounced.

The estate and possessions of the noble Marquis of Worcester formed a fine picking, the rents and tithes alone amounting as it appears from a report of the Sequestrators, to no less than £4,631 4s 5½d per annum. How a portion of this was disposed of is shown by the following statement :—

		£	s.	d.
"Disposed of" by Ordinance to Cromwell ...		465	17	0½
,, ,,	Rectories in the county and South Wales	675	0	0
,, ,,	Marquess' two Granddaughters.....	866	11	8
,, ,,	A farm let to Cromwell	200	0	0
,, ,,	Two Manors sold, yearly value	161	16	8½
		£2,369	5	5

An allowance was also made out of some portion of the estate, of £200 per annum to Hugh Peters, one of the leading itinerants, the draft order for which appears among the House of Lords records dated November 28, 1646. To increase the resources of the Sequestrators the timber in the noble parks belonging to the Marquis were cut down, the value of which was estimated at £6,000, the loppings alone amounting to 37,000 cords. Much of this timber was sent to Bristol, and used there in repairing and re-building houses which had been burnt on the old bridge.

The whole estate, as appears by a Parliamentary audit, was valued at £20,000 per annum, and this remained in the hands of Cromwell until his death, a period of 14 years.

Among other estates sequestered was that of Sir Edward Morgan, of Pencoed, but this gentleman seems to have compounded with the Committee by a payment of £1,007. Money the Committee wanted, and money it appears they would have. The county was assessed for the support of the army at £192 19s 1d, but Royalists voluntarily offered a contribution of £1,300 a month to the commanding officer if the servile yoke of the Committee could be removed. Their oppression was intolerable, and ere another year had passed the second civil war had broken out. Major-General Langharne and Colonels Poyer and Powell, who had fought against the Royalists in the first war, were now defying Cromwell, and protecting the people from the tyrannous conduct of his Government. At this time petitions in favour of the King and of the Book of Common Prayer were put into circulation

and numerously signed by the people of Monmouthshire and South Wales. The conflict of parties threw the country once more into confusion, and again necessitated the itinerant Puritan preachers to seek safety in flight.

Cradock, as we before observed, returned to London, and published there a sermon, in which he referred to the progress religion had made during the war, and in the *absence of preachers*. He says: "Since I have been from you of late I have observed and seen in the mountains of Wales the most glorious work I ever saw in England, unless it were in London. The Gospel is run over the mountains between Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire as the fire in the thatch. And who should do this? *They have no ministers;* but some of the wisest say that there are about eight hundred godly people there, and they go from one to another. They have *no ministers*, it is true: if they had they would honour them, and bless God for them. They are filled with good news, and they tell it to others."

From the statement of Cradock in this passage it would appear that all the ministers had been ejected at this time, and that, notwithstanding the resolution of Parliament, there was still an absence of itinerant preachers to carry on the work of the Gospel.

Matters were growing darker, day by day, and it was evident that a climax was approaching. The Church had been stripped, and in the opinion of many had received its death-blow. The attack was now concentrated upon the Crown, and on the penultimate day of January, 1649, King Charles was beheaded. In less than a week the Commons, proceeding rapidly in their work of utterly destroying the constitution of the country, began to discuss the question of retention or abolition of the House of Lords. On February 6th they voted by a majority of 44 to 29 that the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished. By the same Act it was declared that those Peers who had demeaned themselves with known courage and fidelity to the

Commonwealth should not be excluded from the councils of the nation if qualified to be elected.

It was not a question, let it be observed, dependent upon the voice of the electors, but one to be determined by the Rump of the Parliament whether a Peer had been their supporter, or loyal to his King and country. Such was the exacting tyranny of the Caucus in 1649.

Only three Peers are known to have been so elected, one of whom was Lord Philip Herbert, who, in 1641, was appointed by Parliament as Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Monmouth. In February, 1650, his father, the Earl of Pembroke, died, and being then a Knight of the Shire of Berks, he continued to represent that constituency in the House of Commons.

The drastic measures of reform which had been carried out with regard to the Church did not prove so satisfactory as many of its promoters desired. The Episcopal form of Church Government had been destroyed, and Parliament had passed an ordinance for the setting up of Presbyterianism, but the matter was not easy of accomplishment. If men were wise in modern times they would recognise that it is not difficult to combine for destruction, and that it may not be easy to provide a substitute for that which is destroyed. In opposition to the Episcopal Church both the Presbyterian and the Independent parties had been united, but now that the Church no longer existed, a jealousy sprang up as to which religious party should be dominant in the State. After much and prolonged squabbling, the Independents, with Cromwell at their head, got the upper hand, and the new religious scheme which had been formulated on the Presbyterian model came to grief. Respecting its chief promoters Dugdale remarks than when they thought of nothing less than dividing the prey and raising vast fortunes out of Crown and Church lands, their hopes were suddenly scattered, they were turned out of their scandalous acquisitions, and publicly exposed to contempt and scorn. For now with the triumph of Cromwell the Independents forced them to

retire from Westminster, seized their posts, and made themselves masters both in Church and State. As the Presbyterians robbed the Episcopalians, so now the Independents filched from the Presbyterians all the good things with which they had enriched themselves. We are concerned only, however, with what they did with poor little Wales.

The greatest desolation which seemingly was inflicted upon the country resulted from the operation of a special Act passed February 22, 1650, entitled, "An Act for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales, and for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and redress of some grievances."

The great deep-laid scheme of the Act was to pluck out of their livings all the clergy under the the name of Malignants *alias* Royal; to get possession of the whole ecclesiastical revenues, and to supply the churches with stipendiary ministers and itinerant preachers.

The design of this Act is credited to Hugh Peters, and this is the version Walker gives of it. Peters had gone to Ireland with Cromwell, under whom he held a commission, and was sent back to Wales in the position of a Colonel to raise a regiment of soldiers to strengthen Cromwell's army. In the carrying out of this charge he seems to have mis-spent his time, and neglected his duty. At a time when Cromwell was looking out for the support of this new regiment, he ascertained that Peters had only raised three companies. Cromwell's wife seems to have interfered, and drew up articles against Peters, who in his defence, hit upon a novel plan of justifying himself by stating that in conjunction with Colonel Philip Jones, of Swansea, he had managed "to settle a Congregational Church of their own invention." The defence seems to have been considered good, and his neglect condoned, for Peters was afterwards sent to London and was consulted there as to the best means "to drive on the great design of propagating the Gospel in Wales." His advice in brief was simply this: "Sequester all ministers without exception, and bring the revenues of the Church

into one public treasury; out of which allow a hundred pounds a year to six itinerant ministers to preach in every county." The suggestions made by Peters were adopted and carried into effect, but it soon became evident how grievously they failed to meet the necessities of the case, or to supply the void created by the expulsion of the godly men who had previously ministered in every parish.

In the Act for the propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales seventy-one commissioners are named who were empowered, or any five of them, on behalf of the Commonwealth, to hear all charges made against any minister or schoolmaster, and eject them from their offices if proved to be delinquent, scandalous, malignant, or non-resident; to induct to livings or schools such preachers and schoolmasters as would be recommended to them by the *Approvers*; to manage the profits of all sequestered livings, which they were to divide, as specified in the Act, between the wives and children of the ejected ministers, the approved preachers and schoolmasters, and the widows of godly ministers. Among the names of the commissioners, who appear to have been men of some standing, we find those of Hugh Peters, Col. Philip Jones, Henry Herbert, William Herbert, John Herbert, Reese Williams, Bussey Mansel, Edward Prichard, and Edward Stradling—all names familiar in this district. Colonel Philip Jones was one of Cromwell's officers who displayed courage and tact at the battle of St. Fagans, and was left as Governor of Swansea (of which place he was a native) when Cromwell went to Ireland. He was elected in 1658 as representative of Monmouthshire in the Little Parliament, and returned again in 1654. He was afterwards raised by Cromwell to the Upper House, and appointed Comptroller of the Protector's Household. Cromwell further favoured him by appointing him High Steward of Swansea, under the charter which he granted to that town, and leased to him on favourable terms some property in the seignory of Gower, of which the Royalists had been deprived. As a compliment

in return Colonel Jones was among the number of those who offered the crown for the Protector's acceptance.

Reese Williams was a native and resident of Newport, of whose circumstances we know but little. It is clear, however, that he was one of the leading Nonconformists of the time, and held in great respect if not in reverence. In a letter to Cromwell, Walter Cradock refers to him as "a renowned ancient saint," who had served the State in many places, but who had gained no pecuniary advantage therefrom. And if we may be forgiven for the profanity, we may add that Walker states that in a sermon preached in Monmouthshire by an itinerant named Williams, probably Philip Williams, of Monmouth, he affirmed "That Christ Jesus was such another man as old Rice Williams, of Newport, and that he had a large grey beard."

The Act also provided for the appointment of twenty-five Approvers who were to recommend and approve of persons to fill the places of the ejected ministers and schoolmasters. The name of Henry Walter heads the list, and it is followed by the names of Walter Cradock and Richard Symonds, particulars of whom we have already given. Then among the nominated twenty-five we find Roger Charnock (presented to the Vicarage of St. Mary's, Monmouth, in 1654) Edmond Ellis, of St. Fagan's; Jenkin Jones, John Miles, and George Robinson (of Caerleon.) Respecting Edmond Ellis, Walker in his "Suffering of the Clergy," makes the following statement:—The Rector of St. Fagan's, one Lewis Williams, having been ejected, he was succeeded by one Ellis. This preacher, who was a skinner from London, had £100 a year paid him by the sequestrators, and preached down tithes as unlawful and anti-Christian, but the Government after some time, finding it troublesome to take the profits of the livings and pay the ministers themselves, issued an order that all such as were possessed of places which were worth £100 a year should receive the tithes, whereupon Mr Ellis, thinking it too shameless to preach up what he had before preached down, gets Richard

Symonds, a brother itinerant, to preach for him on Malachi iii, 10—"Bring ye all the tithes into the store house," &c., taking occasion himself to stop out of the way. The parishioners were offended at both, and looked on them as a couple of knaves.

Of Jenkin Jones, who Calamy states was a Catabaptist (*i.e.*, against all baptism), and one Robinson, we have some mention in the Note Book of Walter Powell, of Llantilio, from which, as illustrating the history of the district at this period, we quote the following :—

1650—May 27.—The new Prayers began at Llantilio.
July 27.—Jenkin Jones preached at Llantilio.
Sept. 1.—Lieut. Rogers preached at Llantilio, and the smyth of Malpas expounding.
Sept. 29.—Jenkin Jones preached at Llantillo.
1651—May 22.—John Morgan Robinson preached damnacion to Llantilio people.
June 2.—Phi: Williams, of Monmouth, preached.

John Miles, mentioned in the list, was a preacher at Swansea, and founder of the Anti-Pædobaptist interest in Wales. After the Restoration he went to America.

Some of these Commissioners and Approvers were themselves approved of as preachers, and obtained full benefit of the salaries allowed to itinerants. One of these was the chief designer of the Act, Hugh Peters. It is true that Peters is said to have asserted in one of his sermons that he never received a penny for his pains and preaching, but Walker points out the services he performed were equal to any amounts paid to him, for he was one of the most zealous and efficient commissioners and itinerants. In the accounts of the Sequestrators for South Wales and Monmouthshire, £53 is charged against him, and although it is well known that the amounts charged were not always paid, it is scarcely possible to believe that those in charge of the accounts would put down the Chief Commissioner as being party to a cheat.

Henry Walter, again, who devoted his time entirely to preaching, is said by Walker to have received a separate salary for Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, his labours being chiefly confined to the border between the two counties.

Hugh Peters soon left the district, and the execution of the Act was entrusted chiefly to Walter Cradock and Vavasour Powell, a conspicuous preacher and an enthusiast, who had been converted by Cradock.

The sequestration of livings and the ejectment of ministers in Monmouthshire prior to the Special Act of 1650 for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, was only partial, in consequence of the limited district over which the Parliamentary forces had command. In many parts of the county the people were still thoroughly loyal, though their active hostility had ceased; and in the absence of military power the ordinances of Parliament were disregarded with impunity. After the possession of the towns of Monmouth and Chepstow had been acquired, and free communication established with Newport and Cardiff, the whole southern portion of the county was held in subjection and little difficulty was then experienced in effecting the sequestrations desired. A comparison of the list of parishes sequestrated before and after the passing of the Act shows this very clearly, as there is hardly a parish in the upper part of the county named in the earlier list.

The following are the parishes sequestrated before the Act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales, with the names of the ministers ejected, so far as we have been able to ascertain :—

Bassalleg, with Henllis and Risca.—The Manor of Bassalleg belonged to the see of Llandaff, and was after the seizure of the Bishop's lands sold on the 6th July, 1649, to Wm. Jones and others for £131. The ejected minister was named Geo. Walker, or Watkins.

Bedwas.—This living was held by Bishop Owen, and sequestered before his death in 1645. Walker states that the Bishop had, in consequence of the poverty of his see, been allowed to hold *in commendam* the rectory of Bedwas, Mon., of which he was deprived, as well as of his see of Llandaff. This, remarks Walker, was a fate too common to excite remark but for the vile profanation by which it was followed. One Rees John David, the agent and sequestrator, who lived in the parsonage house, managed the glebe, and received the tithe, removed a very fine font of stone out of the church of Bed-

was; and when himself and his man could not break it to pieces, he caused it to be placed under a tree, where it was used as a trough for his horses and cattle.

Betwellty.—James Lewis, or, according to the accounts of the sequestrators, Lewis James.

Bishton, with Llanwern.—Wm Thomas was ejected.

Caerwent.—Samuel Alsop is given in one list as the minister ejected before 1649. He is said to have survived the Restoration, but died before re-possessing his living.

Caldicott.—Nathaniel Collington. He lived to be restored.

Goldcliff, with Nash and Whitson.—Wm. Fairies.

Henllis.—See Bassalleg.

Ifton, with Roggiett.—Henry Walker.

Ifton.—Wm. Thomas was ejected about 1649.

Kemeys Inferior.—Wm. Evans.

Langstone.—John Edwards. See Tredunnock.

Llandavenny with St. Bride's Netherwent.—Wm. Morgan,

Llandegveth with Llanllowell.—Charles Lewis.

Llangattock-juxta-Usk.—Phil Fowler.

Llangattock Lingoed.—William Thomas.

Llangovan.—No minister's name is preserved, but the living was sequestered, and no minister was settled in it for 18 years, viz,, from 1642 to 1660.

Llanllowell.—See Llandegveth.

Llanmartin with Wilcrick.—John Edwards.

Llansoy.—Mr Legg.

Llanvaches.—Francis Price.

Llanwern.—See Bishton.

Marshfield with Peterstone.—Thomas Maddocks.

Mynyddislwyn.—The tithes of this parish belonged to the Bishop and were therefore sequestered at an early date. A reader or curate who served the church was ejected.

Nash.—See Goldcliff.

Peterstone.—See Marshfield.

Portskewett.—William Hurd.

Risca.—See Bassalleg.

Roggiett.—See Ifton.

St. Bride's Netherwent.—See Llandavenny

St. Pierre, *Sudbrook.*—See Portskewett.

Tintern.—No Name,

Tredunnock.—The minister of this parish, and also of Langstone, was named John Edwards, and was probably the same person. It is recorded that he was ejected from the latter place for malignancy and prosecution of the Godly in his neighbourhood. The date of his ejectment from Langstone is not given, but it was probably the same time as Tredunnock.

Whitson.—See Goldcliff.

Wilcrick.—See Llanmartin.

Judging from the sequestrations the number of Scandalous Ministers was astonishing. But though it may reasonably be doubted if all or any one of them was scandalous in the sense of being guilty of the numerous offences against morality so freely charged against the clergy and enumerated in the Act of Parliament, it is certain that the great majority of the clergy were truly "disaffected towards the Parliament," and this in itself was taken as sufficient cause for their sequestration and removal. Of the offences alleged against the ministers whose names have been given, only a few are specified. In the remaining cases the statement of the fact that they were turned out is all that we now know. Charles Lewis, the rector of Llaullowell and Llandegveth, is accused of drunkenness, and for this same offence it is recorded that he was put in the stocks at Chepstow after his ejectment. John Edwards, rector of Langstone and Tredunnock (the two parishes being so near together, we take it, that the minister named was one and the same person, although Walker states that they were not) was accused of malignancy and prosecuting the Godly in his neighbourhood, and Mr Legg, the rector of Llansoy, was removed for pluralities. What other livings this minister held is not stated, but the parish being one of the smallest in the county, with a population of less than 200 souls, it can hardly be regarded as a serious crime that he held another living to assist his maintenance.

Thus the most culpable offence enumerated, for which a score of clergymen were turned out of their livings, was drunkenness—an offence which, however heinous in the present day, was neither uncommon nor seriously regarded in the middle of the 17th century.

No sooner did the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel come into operation than the powers of the Commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers were vigorously exercised. In a very short time every living in the county was sequestered, and every clergyman ejected, excepting a few who probably sacrificed their principles to retain their position.

We append a list of the Parishes in Monmouthshire sequestered after the passing of the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales (1651) :—

Abergavenny (Vicarage).—Charles Herbert was ejected, but lived to be restored. A minister named Wm. Hughes is also said to have been turned out by the propagators for drunkenness and illegal induction. The later term means that the minister was presented by a person who, being loyal, was described as a malignant. Such presentations and inductions would not be recognised by the Parliamentary and Puritan party.

Bedwas (Rectory).—A clergyman named Hayward was ejected from this living. It is presumed that he obtained it after the death of Bishop Morgan Owen, and so was the second sufferer in it. Bedwas was consolidated with Rudry in Glamorganshire, and therefore the two livings were voided at the same time.

Bettws (Rectory). No minister's name given.

Bryngwyn (Rectory).—A clergyman named Frampton was sequested, but lived to be restored.

Caerleon (Vicarage).—A minister named Price was ejected.

Caerwent (Vicarage).—This living appears in the sequestrators' accounts, but no minister's name is given.

Chepstow (Vicarage).—This living was also sequestrated.

Clytha, Penros, and Tregare.—These three places appear as one sequestration.

Coedkernew, with St Bride's, Wentloog.—One Williams, A.M., was sequestered.

Cwmcarvan (Rectory).—Sequestrated.

Cwmyoy (Vicarage), *with Oldcastle.*—William Price was turned out by the propagators for using the Book of Common Prayer.

Dingestow (Vicarage).—William Jones lost his living for drunkenness and being an ignorant reader. The place remained vacant for some time, but at length one Charles Williams, a fell monger, of Monmouth, was put into the living, and being an active member of his party and looked upon as a man of more than ordinary merit he had an augmentation ordered him. Williams remained for two years only, and excepting for this period there was no other minister for the parish until the Restoration.

Dixton (Vicarage).—William Clark, minister of this parish, was dispossessed for malignancy and drunkenness.

Grosmont.—Richard Heth was arbitrarily thrust out of his vicarage house by a private person.

Gwehelog.—A minister named William Hughes was removed from this living.

Gwernesney (Rectory). — The Propagators discarded Edward Williams from this living, alleging against him tippling, swearing, and reading the Common Prayers.

Kilgwrrwg.—See Llanvihangel Torymynydd.

Llanarth (Vicarage).—A minister name Watkins was ejected from this living and afterwards restored.

Llanbedr.—Richard Jones is supposed to have been sequestered. It was said he was a great sufferer. His family were afterwards in want, and were relieved by the Corporation for Ministers' Widows among other widows of the sequestered clergy.

Llanbadoc (Vicarage).—George Parry, M.A., was ejected. He was succeeded by an illiterate man named Jones. Parry lived to be restored.

Llanddewi Skirrid (Rectory).—Lewis James or Jones, was turned out for illegal induction, which signifies that he was presented by a Malignant, and duly admitted by the Bishop. He lived to be restored.

Llandenny.—(See Raglan Vicarage).

Llandevaud (Rectory.)—See Lanbedr.

Llandogo (*Coleford*) Rectory } These appear in the list
Whitebrook Chapel } of sequestrations.

Llanellen (Vicarage)—Aaron Watkins was turned out for insufficiency and using the Common Prayer. He lived to be restored.

Llanfaenor.—(See Llangattock-vibon-avel.)

Llanfoist (Rectory).—John Jones was removed from here charged with drunkenness.

Llanfrechfa (Vicarage.)—Sequestrated.

Llangattock-juxta-Caerleon. — Flower, the rector, was ejected, but lived to be restored.

Llangattock-vibon avel (Vicarage), *with Llanfaenor and St. Maughans*).—John Dobbings was sequestrated for insufficiency and reading Common Prayer.

Llangua (Rectory.)—This was sequestrated.

Llangibby (Rectory).—John Clegg was turned out by the Commissioners for crimes thus expressed; for quitting his habitation in the time of the wars whenever the Parliament forces came near; for betaking himself to the late tyrant's service against the State, and sending to the Bishop in prosecution of Godly people, being an officer under them. To which is added his not being able to preach in Welsh. This John Clegg was a person of note, and after the Restoration was created D.D. for his services.

Llangwm Isha } Vicarage.—John Mapp was sequestered
Llangwm Uchaf } for drunkenness.

Llankenog (Vicarage).—Sequestrated as appears by the accounts of the Commissioners.

Llanhilleth (Rectory).—Sequestrated.

Llanover (Vicarage) *with Mamhilad*.—This living was sequestrated, but Walker conceived it to be an impropriation or rather an appropriation belonging to some cathedral. The present patrons are the Dean and Chapter.

Llanthewy Vach (Rectory).—This living appears in the list of those sequestrated.

Llanthony.—(See Cwmyoy)

Llantilio Crosenny (Vicarage).—Owen Rogers was ejected from here for drunkenness and malignancy.

Llantilio Pertholey (Vicarage.)—This living was sequestrated with that of Penrose.

Llanvapley (Rectory)—Sequestrated.

Llanvetherine (Rectory.)—Sequestrated.

Llanvihangel Crucorney (Vicarage).—Owen Price was ejected for malignancy and drunkenness.

Llanvihangel Llantarnam.—This living was sequestrated.

Llanvihangel Pontymoile (Vicarage).—David Pritchard sequestrated.

Llanvihangel Torymynydd, with Kilgwrrwg.—The living was sequestrated, but no minister's name is preserved.

Llanvihangel Gobion nigh Usk (Rectory)—Sequestrated, according to the Commissioners' accounts.

Llanfrechfa.—Sequestrated.

Llanwenarth Citra Rectory } Hugh Pritchard was ejected from this living, and was succeeded by one J. Edwards, a Baptist.
Llanwenarth Ultra Rectory }

Magor with Redwick (Vicarage).—A minister named Morgan suffered sequestration here; one named Jones is also mentioned.

Mamhilad (Vicarage).—Sequestrated.

Matherne (Vicarage).—The minister sequestered in this living is given as Jeffrey and Jeffreys Howells. The Bishop's Palace at Matherne, together with all his revenues, were taken possession of by a Mr Green, of Cardiff.

Michaelstone y Vedw (Rectory),—Rhys Jones was turned out from here for malignancy and utter insufficiency.

Monmouth, St. Mary (Vicarage). Robert Brabant was dispossessed by the Commissioners for propagating the Gospel, for malignancy, and delinquency. One Robert Charnock, presented to the living in 1654, was one of the Approvers appointed under the Act of Parliament.

Mynyddislwyn (Vicarage).—This place was in the hands of the sequestrators. The tithes belonging to the bishop were leased out. The church was served by a curate, who was turned out, and the bells of the church were sold.

Newport, St Woolos (Vicarage).—Sequestrated, but no name of minister preserved.

Oldcastle (Rectory).—See Cwmyoy, sequestered.

Panteg (Rectory).—Henry Vaughan, ejected from this living, was a minister of some note and an author of repute. Wood says he was one of the Court Preachers at Oxford, and by that University was presented to this living in 1643. He lived to see the Restoration and died the year following. He was tutor to Sir Leoline Jenkyns, Principal of Jesus College, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and also Secretary of State.

Penallt.—See Trelleck.

Penhow (Rectory).—Playford Field was sequestered by the Propagators for insufficiency and reading the Common Prayer

Penros (Vicarage).—See Clytha.

Penrose.—See Llantilio Crosenny.

Penterry.—Perpetual Curacy joined with Monmouth (q v.)

Penclawdd.—Sequestrated.

Trevethin, Pontypool (Vicarage).—Sequestered as belonging to the Dean and Chapter.

Raglan (Vicarage) *and Llandenny*.—Sequestrated.

Redwick.—See Magor.

Risca.—This living was joined with Bassaleg (which see).

Rumney (Vicarage).—Sequestrated.

Runston.—Sequestrated.

Skenfrith (Vicarage).—Lewis David was turned out for insufficiency and reading the Common Prayer. A minister named Phillips is also said to have been deprived of the rectory.

St. Brides, Wentlooge (Vicarage), *with Coedkernew*.—Sequestrated.

St. Maughan's.—See Llangattock vibon avel.

St Pierre.—See Portskewett.

St. Woolos.—See Newport.

Tregare (Vicarage).—See Clytha.

Trelleck (Vicarage), *with Penallt and Pentwyn* (*Chapel* P.C.).—Sequestrated.

Undy (Vicarage).—Wm. Rees was sequestered in 1650.

Usk (Vicarage), *with Glascoed* (Chapel), *Monkswood*.—Michael Hughes was turned out for drunkenness, for promoting the King's service, and for using the Common Prayer.

Whitsun (Vicarage).—See Nash.

Wilcrick.—See Llanmartin.

Wolvesnewton (Rectory).—Walter Harris was turned out from this living for drunkenness and assisting his Majesty King Charles.

Wonastow (Rectory).—Morgan Morris was dismissed from this living for drunkenness and insufficiency.

Walker gives also the names of Pendath, Llangynog, and Llanferring as places under sequestra-

tion, but they are not identified with any parishes in Monmouthshire.

In addition to the above, John Craig, an eminent scholar and divine, who kept a school near Abergavenny, was removed from his ministry and school. The rev gentleman, on the sudden spread of Baptist principles in the district, came forward as the champion of the Church, and assisted by the Rev Henry Vaughan, A.M., held a public debate on the subject of baptism in St. Mary's Church, Abergavenny, on the 5th September, 1653. Their opponents were the celebrated and learned disputant John Tombes of Leominster, Rev John Abbott, and Mr. Christopher Price, of Abergavenny. Reports of the discussion were published, and, as is not unusual in such cases, both sides claimed the victory.

It must be considered as a matter of good fortune that many records of the proceedings under the Propagation Act have been preserved, and of the terrible calamities which befel the clergy at this period throughout the kingdom there are no records more complete or better confirmed than those relating to Monmouthshire and the adjoining counties. The records were used by Walker in his Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, and they have since been examined also and used by Rees in his History of Nonconformity in Wales. Their authenticity has never been doubted. The papers are still to be found among the archives of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, and therefore we refer to them with the greater confidence.

The most considerable of the papers is entitled "An Account from the Commissioners by Act of Parliament for Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, of all the sequestered tithes, Church Livings, and Impropriations, within the Counties of South Wales, and County of Monmouth, together with all the proceedings made in obedience to the said Act of Parliament, and the said Commission." The paper is dated the 20th April, 1652. This account, Walker conceives, was occasioned by the petition of the inhabitants of the counties named to the Parliament against the

Propagators. It consists of several columns containing distinctly for each of the counties the parishes sequestered, the names of the ejected rectors and vicars, separately, as also the crimes respectively for which they (such of them as fell by the Act of Propagation) were sequestered, distinguishing such as were dispossessed by the Act from those who were ejected before it, the number of the Parsonages, Vicarages, and Impropriations then unsequestered, and the names of the old ministers left in them. According to this account there were in Monmouthshire sixteen clergymen sequestered before the Act, and twenty-four under the Act, making a total of forty. Some of the ministers, however, held a plurality of livings and hence we find that 47 livings were sequestered. It is evident, however, that these figures do not represent the whole of the sequestrations as the total livings represented to be in the hands of the Committee and Propagators for the several years are set down as follows :—1650, 81 ; 1651, 68 ; 1652, 69 ; and there occur in the papers the names of several ejected clergymen who are not mentioned in the list. The number of livings varied in the different years, as sequestrations were sometimes compounded for, and then removed, and the fact that other parishes came under the operation of the Act. The total number of livings on hand during the three years are stated to have been 85. In many parishes one or more curates were engaged, and then the number of clergymen ejected would be considerably increased.

The value of the livings which the Propagators got into their hands is better ascertained than the exact number of them, and it is given by Walker in the following form :—

	1650.			1651.			1652.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Monmouth	2,1 3	18	10	1,939	2	4	1,617	5	8
Glamorgan.....	2,360	11	6	2,923	10	8	2,694	18	0
Carmarthen.....	661	4	4	707	14	4	840	5	0
Pembroke	1,068	15	8	1,3 6	10	0	1,316	10	0
Cardigan	493	3	4	510	3	4	720	3	4
Brecon	1,282	13	4	1,543	11	8	1,543	11	8
Radnor	1,0 0	13	4	784	0	0	733	6	4
	£9,196	0	4	£9,694	12	4	£9,466	0	0

These amounts do not, however, represent fully the plunder of the Church or the extent of suffering and loss endured by the clergy, as many of the livings were let out to friends at half their real value, and it is computed that the profits of the tithes and livings sequestered in South Wales and Monmouthshire were annually worth £20,000. There was beside, the loss of household goods, horses, cattle, and travelling expenses incurred by the ejected ministers, in order to maintain their rights; and it can easily be imagined that if the best of the estates enabled the ministers to live in a state little short of downright poverty, as described by Macaulay, what must have been their condition under a total deprivation? They were in short, with their wives and families, "ready to perish," as a tract of the times states.

There is one matter to be mentioned with regard to these Committees—the neglect of many of those parishes from which they had ejected the ministers. It appears that when a minister was ejected and the living sequestrated, the profits and income were not directly or indirectly handed over to the person who succeeded, but received by some person named by the Committee; and where no successors were appointed, the revenues were put into their own pockets, and sometimes never accounted for at all. No more glaring instance of such shameful robbery was presented than that which occurred in this district. The crime was so flagrant that the attention of Parliament was called to it, but no remedy was ever afforded until the whole system of hypocrisy and cant prevailing was swept away on the Restoration of the Crown and the Church some years later.

It must not be forgotten that the itinerants in the several counties were not the only preachers, there still being a number of unejected ministers. In the whole of South Wales these numbered 127. In Monmouthshire, in the year 1650, according to the accounts, about nine appear. In the same year there were said to be seventeen Godly members of Llanvaches and Mynyddislwyn, which number in 1651 was increased to twenty. In 1652 about thirteen others received stipends.

Notwithstanding the clamours raised by ignorance and malice against the clergy who were ejected, it is well that the characters and positions of the itinerants who were appointed to succeed them and convey to the people "the glad tidings of Salvation" should be regarded. Authors of the time who knew of what they wrote describe them as such ignorant persons that they could neither read nor understand English.

Dr. Young, who lived through the period, and who spoke from his own knowledge, states in his Life of Hugh Peters that the vacancies in the Church were filled with Cooks, Ranters, Tailors, Weavers, Shoemakers, Feltmakers, Stocking-menders, Millers, Gingerbreadmakers, Collar-makers, Carpenters, and Cheese Vat Makers, and that there was no more than one Academician among them. This sweeping assertion, which many persons of the present day would be inclined to regard as incredible, is entirely corroborated, so far as it can be, by the records concerning Monmouthshire. One Reginald Morgan, a miller, was by an Order of the Commissioners for Approbation preferred to a living in Monmouthshire, and also had the living of Vaynor, in Breconshire. One Charles Williams, a fellmonger of Monmouth, was placed to succeed the Rev William Jones, of Dingestow, who was dispossessed for, among other crimes, being an ignorant reader. At St. Woollos one Henry Walter, who had not been brought up to the Ministry, and who was pastor of the Baptist congregation, performed divine service. At St. Fagan's a skinner was put into the living, at Swansea a weaver. A miller and shoemaker are also mentioned. The onerous duties of the cathedral services at Llandaff were performed by one Walter, a weaver, Henry Nicholls, and Watkin Jones, of Mynyddislwyn, the latter of whom was the gospeller who converted the font of the parish church into a trough to water his cattle, in which condition it was found at the Restoration. Of the profiters by the Revolution, Baxter, whose words no Nonconformist will

despise, remarks that the clergy cast out of the Church, though bad enough for the most part, were yet better than any of the few itinerants set up in their places. Hume, who may be regarded as an impartial writer on the question, says the itinerant preachers were all of them men of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades in order to follow the new profession, and in this particular, as well as in their own wandering life, they pretended to be more truly apostolical.

At length the project of Hugh Peters developed into full operation. The itinerant preachers or "Travelling Gospellers" as Walker calls them, set to work to supply the places and duties of the ministers who before were fixed and settled in the several parishes. It does not appear whether the new ministers were confined to a certain district and to stated and regular appearance at church, or whether they were left to roam at will in what parts of the county they felt inclined. In some counties it is clear that with the number of churches they could not go the round oftener than once a month. This was evidently the case in Monmouthshire where six itinerants had to supply something like 150 parish churches, or about 25 each. It is quite evident, therefore, as a writer states, you might ride twenty miles on a Sunday where there were 20 churches and find not a door of one of them open. Another writer remarks that there was scarce a sermon heard within a distance of sixty miles. The fabric of the churches, too, was altogether neglected, so that the buildings were ready to fall for want of repairs. The reader, therefore, cannot wonder that people complained that they had neither the comfort of preaching, nor praying, nor sacraments, nor visiting the sick, nor any decency of burial, all of which had been their privilege, and that they were ready to again turn Papists, or anything in fact that had the semblance of religion. In truth the Act which professed to provide for the propagation of the Gospel became the cause of its utter abrogation and ruin; and its

light was declared before the House of Commons "to be almost extinguished." The recurrence of such a state of things cannot surely be desired by those who in the present day clamour for the Disestablishment of the Church, but if their agitation prove successful it is not easy to perceive how such a calamity can be avoided.

It was a condition in the scheme propounded by Hugh Peters and accepted by the Commissioners for carrying the Propagation Act into effect, that each itinerant preacher should receive the sum of £100 a year out of the fund accumulated by the sequestrations, but the accounts preserved seem to show that the receipt of this amount by the preachers was the exception and not the rule. Thus the charges entered as payments to ministers for a year's services are in some cases not more than £70; others are £60, some £50, and a few £10 and £5.

According to the Sequestrators' accounts for Monmouthshire in the years 1650-51, there was distributed amongst seventeen godly members of the Churches of Mynyddislwyn and Llanvaches, sent forth to exercise their gifts and to promote the work of the Lord, mostly amongst the Welsh in the mountains, being also upon approbation before the Commissioners, £364 0s 10d, which amounted to about £21 apiece; but in the following years their numbers were increased and the sum total of this salary so much lessened as reduced it to about £17, as there was "distributed amongst 20 godly members of the church of Llanvaches and Mynyddislwyn, sent forth to exercise their gifts and to help on the work of the Lord mostly amongst the Welsh in the mountains," no more than £340. The amounts here named, cynically remarks Walker, was probably more than they could get by cobbling and those other trades they had previously engaged in.

Some of the leading itinerants, however, managed matters more to their advantage, receiving not only the full stipend allowed by Act of Parliament, but enjoyed the profits of certain livings in addition. Again, as in the case of Henry Walker, who did

duty at St. Woolos Church, they accepted salaries for pretending to serve in two counties. Henry Walter appears in the accounts as having received salaries in both Monmouthshire and Glamorgan shire. There seems also to have been another source from which they occasionally profitted, and that was the corporate funds. The corporate records of Swansea testify that it was a common practice at this period to pay out of the borough funds sums of money to itinerant preachers for sermons preached by them. The amounts, like the salaries, varied: thus Mr. Lewis Thomas, a preacher, received for two sermons 6s. 8d.; one Mr. Morgan had 10s.; a Mr. Love, 6s. 8d.; and one unnamed preacher of Monmouth for a sermon 10s.

It is much to be regretted that the borough records of Newport and Monmouth have not been preserved, as, so far as we know, there is not a vestige in existence bearing the date of this most disastrous period. The besom of destruction was freely applied not only to MSS. records, but also to works of art; and it is computed that in the course of two or three years the devastation was greater than had been perpetrated during the many centuries of Saxon and Norman rule. In some instances books and articles of value were removed by loyal friends, with a view to their preservation, until the troubleus times were over; but it was not always that the intended restoration was made, or was possible of being made. Some valuable MSS. belonging to Llandaff Cathedral, together with the ancient book of St. Chad, were removed for safety by the Rev. William Higgins, then precentor of the cathedral, who communicated the fact in 1658 to Dugdale, the antiquarian. The letter imparting this information, is now preserved with the book at Lichfield, from which place it has never again found its way back to Llandaff. Another instance has recently come to our knowledge relating to the pariah of Bryngwyn, near Raglan. The most ancient Register Book of Baptisms, &c., now preserved there, has the following inscription written on the first page :—

The old Register Book of Bryngwya deliver . . , seige of Reglan by Wm. Jones, of Uak, Esq., Parliament Commissioner to his Kinsman David Pritchard, of Bryngwyn, was all torn in pieces and lost saving this one poor leaf hereunto affixed.

Testo ROBERTO FRAMPTON,
Rector.

We have before noted in the list of pariahes sequestrated, that this Robert Frampton was ejected, but lived to be restored. He was rector from 1632, and died at the age of 83 years in 1685. There is a monument in the church with an inscription in good Latin to his memory.

If the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales contained one redeeming feature, it was the provision that for the maintenance of the wives and families of the ejected ministers during good behaviour one-fifth of the tithes of the pariah from which any minister had been ejected, should be paid to them. This was not a new feature. A similar clause had been inserted in the earlier acts of sequestration, and unfortunately was very grossly abused. By an omission of which every advantage was taken the clergymen were not expressed by name, and in consequence those who received the tithes, &c. sequestrated, refused to contribute what the law desired. A great outcry went throughout the land, and the clamours of the starving families became so loud that Parliament was compelled to give attention to it. With a view to remedy the injustice the following ordnanee was passed :—

November 11, 1657. "That the wives and children of all such persons as are or have b·en or shall be sequestered by order of either House of Parliament shall be comprehended within the ordinance that alloweth a fifth part for wives and children and sha'l have their fifth part allowed unto them; and the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration, and the Committee of Plundered Ministers, and all other Committees are required to take notice hereof and yield obedience hereunto accordingly."

From the prominence which this subject occupied, and the attention given to it by Parliament, it would have been supposed that no further cause of complaint would arise, but the rapacity of

those who held "the bag" was much greater then regard for any ordinance or law. Complaints were still made that the payment of fifths was withheld, and it is evident that of those entitled to the pittance very few indeed were able to obtain it.

In Monmouthshire the fifths prescribed to be allowed were not even charged to more than eleven persons for the years 1650 and 1651, although about 70 or 80 parishes appear to have been in the sequestrators' hands at that time.

What proportion these fifths bore to the whole revenues of the clergy which they had seized may be judged from the fact that in the year 1650 the revenues in Monmouthshire were £3,123, while the fifths charged were only £63. In many parts of South Wales it is stated that from 1646 to 1660 a period of 14 years, the livings were enjoyed by the sequestrators without payment of any fifths at all.

The deprivation of fifths was apparently not the only indignity to which the wives of the sequestered clergy were subjected to. Browne Willis states that in company with a number of cavaliers they were one day invited to Cardiff Castle, and there bid warm themselves by a fire which was there made of a heap of Common Prayer Books and a number of volumes which formed a portion of the Library of Llandaff Cathedral.

It must not be admitted for a moment that the state of things which prevailed after the Propagation came into operation was better than before the war broke out, or that it was satisfactory to any but a few who had profited by the misfortunes and sufferings of others. Cromwell had triumphed and silenced opposition by the sword, and the dissatisfied ones had to select by other means a remedy for evils which were unendurable. They tried the pen. A gigantic petition was prepared setting forth in much detail the lamentable condition of the people; and the complaints made in this petition were so generally acknowledged that in a short space of time no less than 15,000 inhabitants of Monmouthshire and South Wales appended their signatures to the document. The petition was presented to the House of Commons

on the 18th March, 1651, by Colonel Freeman, member for Leominster. It forcibly set forth among other things that since the Act had come into force most of the ministers had been unjustly ejected from their livings, and that few or none of the counties were supplied with a competent number of godly able teachers to officiate in the room of the ousted ministers, neither had there been a sufficient number of godly schools established as was the intention of Parliament; there not being above four or five itinerant preachers in some of the counties appointed and approved of, to teach the Gospel, whereas some of the counties consisted of 120 parishes, many whereof had more than 2,000 souls, and the least of the counties had fifty or sixty parishes. It declared the country to be in a most deplorable state for want of regular preaching. The Commissioners were accused of having embezzled the profits of the sequestered livings, and it was stated that the mock teachers would have been glad to have received £10 per annum, though their masters might set upon their score large reckonings to be accounted to the State. It further alleged that the revenues "went to the hands of private persons to build new sumptuous houses and buy lands; and that little of it had been converted towards the propagation of the Gospel."

With regard to the wives and children of the sequestrated clergymen, the petition set forth that the very fifths were denied them, though allowed by the Act for Propagation. According to the undervaluations made by the sequestrators and their agents, these would appear to be a small allowance to maintain a family; and yet this pitiful pittance cannot be received or obtained without many a tedious, tiresome journey, and much expense and hazard of man's lives; as some have perished in the waters by going to petition and seek relief for their perishing families; and others, being wearied out with fruitless journeys and dilatory answers, have given over all addresses to those unmerciful sequestrators and other officers to pour out their complaints to the all-seeing God.

It has been pointed out as a curious circumstance that altheugh this famous petition was signed by upwards of 15,000 inhabitants of South Wales, is has not, so far as can be ascertained, a single Cardiff signature.

Colonel Freeman, in presenting the petition to the House, put the case thus:—"How four or five itinerants can supply a whole county is humbly left to your Honours' grave consideration." An attempt was soon made to remedy the difficulty by a resolution of the House to the effect that the Itinerants in their expeditions should be supplied with fresh horses at every stage, commonly ten or twenty miles apart, and sometimes more, to ride post from place to place to spread their doctrine; but it was pointed out that horses ought also to have been provided for their auditors, who would need them as much as the preachers.

The petition gave considerable alarm to the instruments by which Parliament had been carrying out its set purpose, and Vavasour Powell and others were not slow in representing that the petition was a high contempt of the Act of Propagation, and that the petitioners desired the restoration of malignant, drunken, unpreaching, ejected curates. To counteract the effect of the petition, and if possible to suppress the sympathy which the promoters received, Powell, Walter Cradock, and other itinerants were ordered to ride post from county to county, and parish to parish, to threaten all the petitioners and their agents with damnation, sequestration, and ruin, unless they would deny their signatures. Fresh proceedings were also taken vindictively against the few clergy remaining unejected, with the object of throwing them out of their houses, and to deprive of their fifths the wives and families of such as had been already sequestered. Colonel Freeman, to whom the petition was entrusted, became a special object of detestation to the Commissioners and itinerants, the latter having instruction to preach especially against him, and to offer earnest prayers to the Lord to punish him in his person, power, and place. The Colonel shortly

afterwards, says Walker, fell sick of a fever, when public thanks were ordered to be offered to the Lord for hearing the prayers of his servants. Colonel Freeman, however, recovered, and continued his exertions in the interests of the petitioners, and to expose one of the greatest scandals ever perpetrated with the cognizance of a civilized Government.

The very reasonable desires of so great a number of the inhabitants of South Wales, supported by facts equally shameful and undeniable, were received by the House of Commons, and forthwith referred to the Committee of plundered Ministers to examine the business and state the matters of fact, and report their opinions thereon to the House. The Committee were furnished with the usual power of examining witnesses, and the Commissioners were authorised to examine witnesses upon oath touching all matters contained in the petitions.

Although the matter was of the first importance, no writer has been able to follow up the proceedings of the Committee, and only now and again does an entry crop up showing how they set about their work and how little they accomplished. One of the first steps was to order the Propagators to answer the petition and render their accounts by the 18th of May. This order, says a publication of the day, "Put the Welsh Saints in a pitiful cold sweat in riding up and down, and sitting up day and night to patch up their broken accounts, but the whole produce at last was only a sheet of paper, and a few general negatives, embellished, however, with many Godly words and phrases, with a confession of the receipt of £20,000 or thereabouts for the last two years, but not one particular how they had disposed of it, or what had become of it."

Walker enquires what proportion of the vast income of the Church, which in South Wales he estimates at £200,000, was applied to the purposes intended by Parliament, and concludes that during ten years not more than £20,000, or one year's profits, were devoted to the propagation of the

Gospel, the remainder being plundered by the Commissioners, their friends, and those connected with them. The committee's report shows that the committee had several meetings, and had the Commissioners' books examined before the solicitors for the petitioners, but delays were again and again interposed. From Whitelock's Memorials we find that on May 3, 1652 letters were received justifying the proceedings of the Commissioners for propagating the Gospel in Wales, written by Vavasour Powell, and that on September 9 of the same year further letters came to him stating that as soon as the Act become operative, there were 150 good preachers in the 13 counties, most of them preaching three or four times a week. The matter crops up again in the House of Commons, as evidenced by the Journals, vol. VIII., p. 271, where the following record appears :—

"Friday, the 25th March, 1653. The humble petition of divers well affected in South and North Wales was this day read."

A further account given by Walker from Scobell, seems to show that 19 Commissioners for South Wales and Monmouthshire were appointed August 30th, 1654, by an ordinance of the Protector and his Council, any three of whom were empowered to call before them all those who by the authority of the Act of Propagation had received or disposed of any of the profits of the rectories, vicarages, &c., to give a true and perfect account upon oath. Pursuant to this the sequestrators and the Collectors or Treasurers, as they are at times called, delivered in their accounts for 1650-1-2, at Neath, before George Gwyn, Herbert Evans, Charles Gwyn, John Williams, and Robert Thomas, five of the Commissioners.

An entry in Whitelock's Memorials, under date September, 1654, for an ordinance for the taking of accounts of money received by the Act for Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, does not throw more light upon the matter, but shows that it was still kept open.

The Act was to continue only for three years from the 25th March, 1650, but although it seems

never to have been renewed, the greater part of the livings sequestered remained in the hands of the sequestrators down to 1658, and probably until the Restoration, as until that time very few of the expelled clergy found means to re-possess themselves of the positions of which they had been deprived.

It is difficult to conceive that any further persecutions of the loyal clergy was possible, but Cromwell's ingenuity and vindictiveness produced yet other weapons to complete the nefarious designs against the Church. It having been ascertained that some loyalists had been re-appointed to their livings a Commission of Triers was appointed in 1654, of whom the notorious Walter Cradock was one. Their business was to satisfy themselves that all persons presented to livings had in them "the grace of God," and what in their eyes was still more important, that they were favourable to the Parliament. This Commission had far greater powers than Bishops or Archbishops ever possessed, and sequestered such loyal clergymen as had recently been appointed. This act swept out of benefices and schools the last few men who might have continued to linger on under the protection of a friendly squire or through the affection of their old parishioners.

By another ordinance passed August 29, 1654, called an "ordinance for the ejection of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters," it was enacted that such ministers and schoolmasters shall *be accounted scandalous in their lives* and conversations as have publicly and frequently read the Common Prayer Book, &c. There were few or none of the clergy who did not value the Prayer Book, and hence they indignantly refused to comply with such an outrage upon freedom. The ministers and schoolmasters to whom this ordinance applied were speedily dealt with, and without mercy.

It may be here added that the persons appointed to take the places of the schoolmasters who were ousted were "either the Commissioners' clerks or servants that had the capacity to read English and

make out a warrant," or such others that were more fitted to go to school than to keep one.

Yet another scourge was prepared for the already deeply suffering clergy, by a declaration or order, issued November 24, 1655, that no person should have in his house for the purpose of teaching children any sequestered or ejected minister, and no such minister should be allowed to keep a school, either public or private; or preach, or administer sacraments, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer contained in them. Such extreme measures did not meet with universal approval, even in the ranks of Puritanism, for Pryn, who was certainly no friend of the clergy, denounced this order as transcendant barbarism, impiety, and highway robbery to extirpate religion, as the Pope and Jesuits could not have invented the like; and exceeded all foreign persecutions against Protestant ministers by Popish princes.

The disturbed and unhappy condition of the country is indicated by statements contained in a tract published in 1654, and entitled "A perfect revelation of the whole transactions concerning the petition of the Six Counties of South Wales and the County of Monmouth," by Alexander Griffith, vicar of Glasbury, Breconshire. The writer in this pamphlet refers to "differences and disturbances having occurred at Bedwas on Easter Sunday, at Mynyddislwyn in Easter week, and at Swansea, Merthyr, and other places, at some of which there had been several swords drawn and some persons hurt, and the inhabitants generally put to great fear lest these differences do grow to the endangering of the public peace of this country."

The controversy between the petitioners and the Propagators, both in Parliament and the country continued until the Restoration; and after this enquiries were still pursued with the object of making the plunderers refund some of their ill-gotten wealth.

Before passing away altogether from the period of the Commonwealth to pursue the progress of religious matters in this district during the reign of Charles II., it might be convenient at this point

to interpose a few memoranda relating to civil and military affairs which we have not yet found an opportunity to introduce.

In our papers on the Civil War we had occasion to mention frequently the names of Major-General Laughorne and Colonels Powell and Poyer, who, after leading victoriously the Parliamentary forces in South Wales, became active Royalists. They were taken prisoners, and under articles of war sentenced to death in April, 1649. Subsequently an order was issued that the three officers should draw lots for their lives. The lot to die fell to Colonel Poyer, who was accordingly shot on the 15th April. The lives of the two other officers were spared.

The Bristol Channel was at this time still infested, as it had been for many years, with pirates and privateers, who profited by the unsettled condition of the times. A few instances are recorded which serve to illustrate the period. On June 26th, 1649, a frigate said to belong to Sir John Greenville, governor of Scilly, coming near to Swansea, the Governor of Cardiff sent out boats, and pursued her from creek to creek, and at length took her and all her crew, excepting the captain and some few of the men who escaped to the shore. The frigate was found to have on board two brass guns, twenty-four muskets, and twenty-four oars, and evidently had been fitted out for purposes of piracy. Early in the next year, viz., on January 11, 1650, an Irish frigate dropped anchor off Cardiff, and sent ashore for provisions. The Governor of Cardiff, suspecting something wrong, detained the men, and sent out a strong party in small boats. The frigate was captured, and found to be laden richly with plate and other commodities.

The people of Monmouth continued to give the Government much concern. Their loyalty, although repressed, could not be eradicated, and therefore broke out whenever the severity of repression was relaxed. On 2nd May, 1650, there was a little demonstration in the town, upon which the Parliamentary officers pounced upon the Royalist

leaders, termed malignants, and put them into safe custody. One of them is said by Whitelock to have had the Declaration of Major-General Massey in his pocket. and of proclamating the Act of Parliament at the County Court from the Council of State.

In the same year Parliament took into account the state of some of the castles in the county which they had been besieging and destroying, and the Parliamentary Committee voted the sum of £300 for the purpose of repairing and fortifying the castle of Chepstow, of which the governor at this time was Captain John Nicholas.

In the following year, according to the diary of Walter Powell, under date August 25, some commotion was again occasioned in the county town. A levy of horses was made throughout the county and the county troop assembled at Monmouth, a movement which, according to the prevailing rumour, was induced by a fear of some attempt being made by Charles II.

The representation of the country in Parliament was a subject which in 1653 occupied the attention of Cromwell and his Council. A scheme was deliberated upon and drawn up, and in a document agreed to and signed by Cromwell, it was arranged that the county of Monmouth should have three representatives in Parliament and the boroughs one. No borough is named, but it is presumed that no change was proposed and the boroughs contributing to the election of a member at that time were Monmouth, Usk and Trelleck. Newport had petitioned in 1640 to participate in the privilege of election, but as no result of the petition appears in the records of Parliament it is assumed that the claim was not conceded.

In 1654 there was a rising in the West of England, of which the leaders were Penruddock and Booth. Sympathy was openly expressed for this in the Monmouthshire district, which again gave Cromwell much anxiety. The friends of the the Protector immediately got up an address (mentioned by Whitelocke), signed by many persons in Monmouthshire and South Wales, and

forwarded to him in February, recognising his Government; but Cromwell lost no time in communicating with the commanders of the military forces in the several districts with the view to their adopting repressive measures. From their reports some light can be gathered as to what was done under the circumstances. Cromwell's order was dated March 14, and the answer of Captain Nicholas, governor of Chepstow Castle, was sent from Monmouth two days later to the following effect, that he had posted troops in various quarters, had sent 100 horse and dragoons to join Major Creed at Gloucester, and kept others in hand at Monmouth. He further stated that he had secured the chief of those whom "the honest people did judge most dangerous" in Chepstow Castle. Among those who were so confined, we learn from Walker, was one Roger Clark, rector of Ashmore in Dorsetshire, who had during a stay in this part said or done something in favour of Penruddock and Booth. Besides being confined in Chepstow Castle he was imprisoned for some time at Monmouth.

In further reply to Cromwell's orders above mentioned, Colonel Rogers reports from Herefordshire that though deficient in arms and ammunition, he had been raising a regiment of foot and two troops of horse in Hereford and Monmouthshire.

Later in the same year (November 15) Parliament took into consideration the standing forces, and it was proposed that certain garrisons should be dismantled and certain others continued and kept up. Among the latter was Chepstow, but upon Cromwell considering the report, he stated that as Chepstow Castle was his own house, he would not have a garrison there at the Commonwealth's charge.

It was a part of Cromwell's scheme of government to divide England into twelve "pachaliks," each to be under the command of a major-general. The county of Monmouth was included in the pachalick of Herefordshire, and in command of this division was placed one James Berry. This

person was at first a clerk at an ironworks, who having enlisted in Cromwell's original troop, and exhibited both devotion and courage, obtained rapid promotion. Cromwell at last selected him as one of the twelve major generals. He represented Monmouthshire in 1656, but he was soon succeeded by Nathaniel Waterhouse, but whether this was on his appointment as Major General or from other circumstances, is not clear. As Major General his powers were large, and these he did not fail to exercise. Some particulars are given of him in Webb's History of Herefordshire. He could interfere with the appointment of ministers as well as postmasters, and at Monmouth he would seem to have called in question the conduct of some municipal officers who had been disorderly in public houses. On February 19, 1656, we find him writing to Cromwell and expressing his anxiety lest "my lord should be too liberal in distributing his indulgences amongst those inconsistent people who have played with both hands." He specially mentions Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby, and says—"Sir Trevor Williams will visit you, who, though he may have something to plead for himself with strangers, yet with those who know him in these parts he hath no argument that will prevail." He begs the Protector not to interfere too much lest he should bring odium on his proceedings. He complains of the market towns as places where there are "vices abounding, and the magistrates fast asleep," and speaks contemptuously of the inhabitants of Monmouth, regarding them as a "pitiful people."

Cromwell's Diary shows that about 1658 one Colonel More was governor of Monmouth Castle.

A reference to the Protector's Letters also reveals to some extent how well he was provided for and how keenly he looked after his own interest amidst the multitudinous affairs of State. Soon after the war was ended the division of the spoil—or the allocation of the estates filched from the supporters of his Majesty, Charles I., began. The big plum in the county of Monmouth was the estates of the Marquis of Worcester, and

this is what Cromwell sets forth in a letter respecting it :—

"Truly the land to be settled—both what the Parliament gives me and my own—is very little less than £3,000 per annum—all things considered, if I be rightly informed; and a lawyer of Lincolns Inn having searched all the Marquis of Worcester's writings, which were taken at Ragland and sent for by the Parliament—assures me there is no scruple concerning the title."

Clement Walker reports upon the matter thus : "The 7th March, an ordinance to settle £2,500 a year of land out of the Marquis of Worcester's estate"—[old Marquis of Worcester at Ragland, father of my Lord Glamorgan, who in his turn became Marquis of Worcester, and wrote the Century of Inventions—£2,500 a year out of this old Marquis's estate]—"upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell. I have heard some gentlemen that know the manor of Chepstow and the other lands affirm that in reality they are worth £5,000 or even £6,000."

In the Commons Journals the affair is thus recorded :—"7th March. An ordinance for passing unto Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, Lieutenant-General, certain lands and manors in the counties Gloucester, Monmouth, and Glamorgan, late the Earl of Worcester's, was this day read the third time, and upon the question passed; and ordered to be sent unto the Lords for their concurrence."

All these estates remained in Cromwell's possession until the Restoration

We pass to the year 1660. Cromwell's power, like himself, was no more. The nation was weary, sick, and sorry for past events. The remedy enforced for the evils complained of during the reign of Charles I. proved inconceivably worse than the previous state of things. The military despotism grown up had become intolerable, and there was a danger of the nation becoming a prey to the caprices of insignificant military adventurers, as well as to sectarianism and fanaticism, which ran riot through the land. The sober minded of all classes entertained an earnest longing for a return of monarchy, and when Charles II. was proposed, he landed in England amidst

unbounded demonstrations of welcome. The civil polity was re-established exactly as it was in the time of his father. Charles entered London on the 29th of May, and no time was lost by the Convention Parliament in entering upon the consideration of the great question of the Church. The differences of the contending religious factions which had united to recall Charles soon broke forth. The majority of the Parliament were undoubtedly Presbyterians, but it speedily became evident that they did not represent the general opinion of the people. In the country there was a reaction against Puritanism in every form, and hypocrisy and cant practised by many were assumed to be vices participated in by the whole Puritan party. The death of the King, the violence and cruelty of the military, and in fact the whole evils which the country for 15 or 16 years had endured were set down to their discredit. A Grand Committee on Religion was appointed, and on July 9th they sat and entered upon a debate, the question being whether the Presbyterian Church Government or the Episcopal Church, formerly established, should be paramount. Sir Trevor Williams, who represented the Monmouthshire Boroughs, opened the debate by proposing for approval the established religion according to the 39 Articles, which he contended was not only according to the Old and New Testament, but was as much as all who owned Christianity professed. The majority of the Parliament was, as we have stated, composed of Presbyterians, and had the question come to the vote it would probably have been carried against Sir Trevor Williams, but before it could be settled, Charles, whose strong attachment to the Episcopal Church was well known, dissolved the Parliament.

The military forces in the Kingdom, amounting to about fifty thousand men, were now disbanded. They had become an object of abhorrence to all parties, the feeling being, Macaulay observes, even stronger among the Cavaliers than among the Roundheads. It is a fact worthy of remark that when our country was for the first and only time

ruled by the sword, that instrument was wielded not by her legitimate princes but by rebels who slew the King and destroyed the Church. The political descendants of these men seem to have read history to very little purpose. In April, 1660, Colonel Pury was instructed to have three companies of his regiment in this county, viz., one at Monmouth, one at Usk, and one at Abergavenny, until further orders. In October these further orders came, and were from Monk, Duke of Albermarle, directing the regiments to be disbanded and paid off before the 29th of that month. The evil effects expected from disbanding so large a force of men were happily not realised, and the men accustomed to strict military discipline fell into the participation of industrial pursuits without inconvenience either to themselves or society generally.

In 1661 a general election took place, when, as Macaulay says, the people were mad with loyal enthusiasm. The Presbyterian party was almost swept from the board, and a large proportion of the new representatives were men who had fought for the Crown and the Church. The Parliament met on the 6th of May, the Members for the County and Boroughs of Monmouth being the same as in the previous Parliament—viz., Lord Herbert and William Morgan for the former, and Sir Trevor Williams for the latter. Before the year expired, however, Lord Herbert was created Marquis of Worcester, and the county electors chose as their representative Sir Trevor Williams, the Borough Member, showing that, notwithstanding that he had been Royalist and Parliamentarian by turn, his independence and integrity had secured the admiration of those who knew him. The Boroughs elected in the place of their late member one Sir George Probert, Knight, who died while still representing them.

The new Parliament was zealous to an extreme, and it needed all the influence of the King to restrain them from retaliating without mercy for all that they had suffered. The Episcopacy was restored, Hugh Lloyd, Archdeacon of St. David's,

being appointed to the See of Llandaff. The old Liturgy was revived, unmodified in any way to conciliate the views of the Presbyterians, and an Act was introduced making Episcopal Ordination necessary for church preferment. This Act passed on the 19th of May, 1662, and came into operation the 24th of August following. Its effect was to cause about 2,000 persons who held livings in the Church to give them up. These were the Puritans who had from time to time been appointed by their political friends to fill the position of the Episcopal clergy ejected from their parishes for loyalty to their Church and King.

As we have previously given an account of the sufferings of the loyal clergy, so now we append the fullest information we have been able to learn respecting those who suffered by the violent reaction in favour of ecclesiastical uniformity,

Abergavenny.—John Abbot, who we have previously referred to as having taken part in a public discussion on Baptism at St. Mary's in 1653. The value of the living was estimated at £14 per annum. Charles Herbert, the former vicar, was subsequently restored.

Caerleon.—George Robinson was ejected from this vicarage, which was valued at £20. He was one of the approvers named in the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales.

Caerwent.—Hopkin Rogers was ejected. Value of the living £46.

Llanavering (Llanvetherine?).—Owen Morgan is named by Calamy as having been ejected.

Llangattock.—A Mr Robins is said to have been ejected from one of the parishes in the county of this name, the value of the living being £45.

Llanvapley.—A preacher named Williams, supposed to be Charles Williams, a fell monger of Monmouth, was ejected.

Magor.—Thomas Barnes was ejected.

Monmouth.—Nicholas Carey was ejected. He then left off preaching to study physic. He is said to have acquired peculiar success in curing diseases of the eye and ear.

St. Woollos, Newport.—Henry Walter, was ejected from his vicarage, valued at £20 per annum.

Tredunnock.—Walter Rosser was ejected. He is said to have attained some eminence as a preacher, and laboured in the adjacent parishes

Trelleck.—Mr Sims, the preacher ejected, is alleged to have persecuted the Quakers.

Vavasour Powell, one of Walter Cradock's disciples, and an avowed Republican, was imprisoned, and remained in custody at intervals until 1667. He was then released, and no sooner did he find himself in the fields of his former triumphs than the old spirit broke out again. At Newport he harangued large assemblies, and also at Merthyr, where he was arrested and conveyed to Cardiff prison. He was removed to the Fleet, and there died October 27, 1670.

We will not pretend to say that the above were all the ministers who sufferred loss through the operation of the Act of Uniformity; but they are the only complete particulars we have been able to glean. Calamy states that one William Millman of Magor, a Sabbatarian Baptist, was ejected from a living which he held in the county, but no parish is named; and from the statements that the former ministers in the parishes of Caldicot, Llanarth, Llanbadoc, Llanddewi Skirrid, Llanellen, and Llangattock (Caerleon), were restored, it may be inferred that the Nonconforming preachers were ejected from these places also. At all events it seems conclusive that the Nonconformists expelled from livings which they held in opposition to the general sense of the community were not one-tenth the number of those loyal ministers ejected by the cruel enactments of the Puritans under the Commonwealth.

It is refreshing to turn for a moment from dwelling upon the contentions and strife of opposing parties in the kingdom to the delightful seclusion of Llantarnam Abbey; closed in as it still remains from the busy haunts of men, and where Nature can be seen in charming loveliness Here in the quiet chamber of the Abbey, while the nation outside was in a delirium of change, Percy Enderbie sat, like a monk of earlier days, poreing over, in ponderous tomes and fusty MSS., the materials for perfecting his great historical work. The title of this is "Cambria Triumphans, or Britain in its perfect lustre, shewing the origin and antiquity of that illustrious nation; the succession of their Princes from the first to King

Charles of happy memory, &c. This repository of historical lore was issued to the world with a preface dated from "My Chamber at Llantarnam in Monmouthshire," dated 16th of May, 1661. In his address to the reader he gives several inducements which drew him on to attempt the work, and states that the help of a good library of Sir Edward Morgan encouraged him to bring the embryon to its full maturity Time brings its changes. In the course of two centuries the "good library" has been dispersed, and the name of Morgan is no longer connected with the old Abbey.

Reverting to the religious question, we may state that the very important petition of the inhabitants of South Wales, presented to Parliament in 1651, was not lost sight of, notwithstanding the many obstacles thrown in the way of its prosecution. Colonel Freeman from time to time called attention to it, and succeeded during the Commonwealth in getting Committees appointed to inquire into the management of the Church revenues, but the scandal was so huge, and the persons implicated so numerous and influential that no progress could be made. After the Restoration, Committees were again appointed, but there was the less necessity of prosecuting the question then, as many Church ministers were restored to their livings, and began to get back the emoluments of which they had been for some years so unjustly deprived.

From the papers preserved at Lambeth Palace, it is gleaned that in 1662 the petty constables were required to summon before the members of a Commission all persons in their respective parishes who had been in any way instrumental in ejecting the clergy from their livings, and among the said returns is the following :—

Walter Jones, petty constable of the parish of Llandenny, Mon., returns as follows :—"June, 1668. We return that Walter Cradock, of Llangwmisha, was the chief man with the rest of the Commissioners in putting ministers out of their churches and livings. We do return that Walter

Cradock died, and that Richard Creed and Thomas Jones, his sons-in-law, are his heirs, executors, and administrators." We do not find that any further action in this direction was ever taken.

However laudable were the objects of the promoters of the Act of Uniformity, they failed in producing the effect intended. The Nonconformists, who abolished the Episcopal form of public worship and made it penal for any person to use or even possess a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, did not submit to have the like measure of justice meted out to them as they had given to others. When in power they endeavoured to force unwilling people to comply with their religious formalities. Now that the power was in the hands of others they refused to change their religious views, and pleaded for toleration. They complained loudly, and Parliament, listening to their cries, sought to provide a remedy in the Conventicle Act, passed in 1664. This provided not only for freedom of worship in families, but permitted at such meetings for worship the presence of a limited number (not above five) of visitors.

The Act proved a great relief, and from its results have sprung those numerous chapels of the Nonconformist body which now stud the kingdom from end to end. In 1669 returns were made to Parliament of all the Conventicles in England and Wales, and the following are those relating to the county of Monmouth :—

DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF.

Panteg.—At the house of Richard Hanbury: Number 40, 50, 60, and sometimes more. Teachers: George White, of Llanvihangel, and sometimes the said Richard Hanbury.

Llanvenarth. — Anabaptists. Number, 80 to 100. Teachers: David Robert, and Morgan Evan.

Llanwerne.—Quakers. Number 30 or 40, and when they hear some eminent seducing teachers there will be 60 and upwards.

Abergavenny. — Anabaptists. Number, 60. Their teachers and seducers are Christopher Price, an apothecary; John Edward, shoemaker; and Watkin Morgan, shoemaker.

Caerleon.—At the house of Mr Henry Walter.

Magor.—At the house of Mr Samuel Jones, of Little Salisbury, and Mr Tromas Jones, of Milton.

Llanvaches.—At the house of Mr Nathan Rogers.
Dinham.—At the House of William Blethin.
Caldicot.—At the house of Hopkin Rogers.
Wilwick (Wilcrick).—At the house of John Jones.
Shirenewton.—At the house of Robert Jones.

These meetings are of three sects, viz., Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers. The number is sometimes 200 or more at the greatest. Of which number there are many persons of good quality, being country gentlemen, and such as either were in actual arms in the late rebellion or bred up under such, and many of the meaner sort of people, besides women and children. Teachers: Mr Henry Walter, of Parkypill, in the parish of Caerleon; Thomas Barnes, late of Magor, now of Bristol; one Lloyd, who pretends to be a scholar of New Inn Hall, Oxon; and one William Millman, of Magor, a Sabbatarian Anabaptist; besides Repeaters, viz., Samuel Jones, gent: Henry Ramsey, gent; Robert Jones, gent; Hopkin Rogers, George Edwards, Watkin George; with divers other vagrant persons, leaders and teachers of the Quakers.

Marshfield.—At the house of Jane Reynolds, the relict of Henry William, a lieutenant in the late rebellion. Number 100. Teachers: Thomas Quarrell, John Powell, and others. The congregation is made up of old Militia men of the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan.

Bedwas.—Every third Sabbath day, at the houses of William Evan and Thomas Morgan. Number 150. Teachers: Morgan Lewis Lawrence, of Bedwas, and Thomas Quarrell, of Whitchurch.

Mynyddislwyn and Bedwellty.—There are five conventicles in these two parishes; at the houses of Evan Lewis, Philip Rees, Evan Williams, Watkin John Evan, of Mynyddislwyn, and Edmund Morgan, of Bedwellty. Number 200. Teachers: Evan William, Watkin John Evans, Thomas Quarrell, and Wm. Lewis, of Gellygaer.

Newport.—At the house of Mr Rice Williams. Number 100, of all sorts; some gentlemen. Teachers: Mr Rice Williams, one Prosser, of the parish of Tredunnock, Mr Joshua Lloyd, Mr Rogers, and Watkin John, of Mynyddislwyn.

Llantrissant.—At the house of George Morgan. Number 40 or 50, Teacher: William Thomas, of the said parish, son-in-law of the said Morgan, their entertainer.

Llangwm.—At the houses of John Gwynne, John Morgan, Nathaniel Morgan, Thomas Williams, and David Evan. Number, sometimes 200, 100, 60, 30. Some men of competent parts and breeding; and have been, in the time of the late rebellion, in offices both military and civil, some of £500 a year, some £300, some £200, some £100, some £60, and some £30; besides people of mean sort. Teachers: William Thomas of Llantrissant, one Millman and one Jones, a Repeater.

